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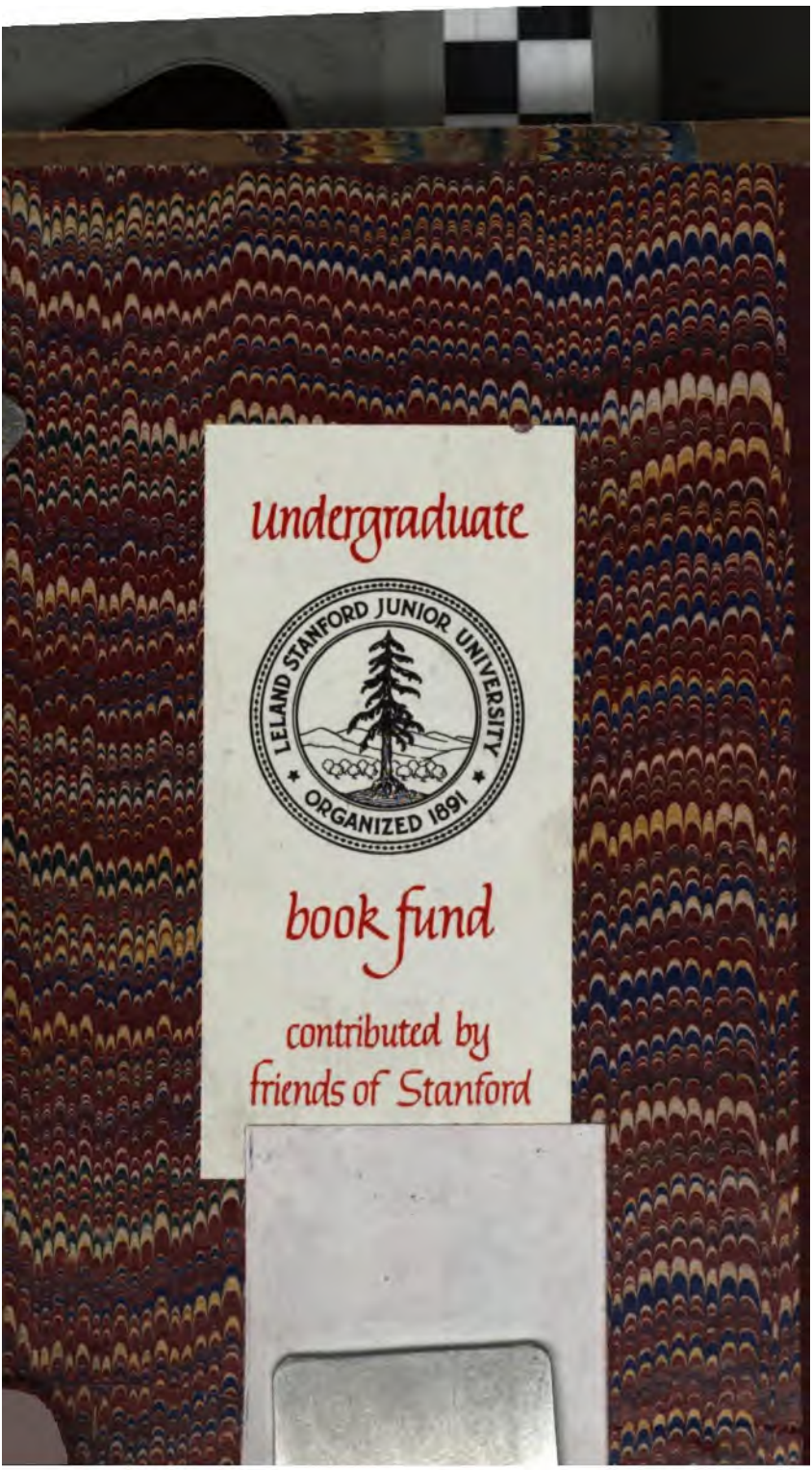
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1876



HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

FROM

THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT.

BY

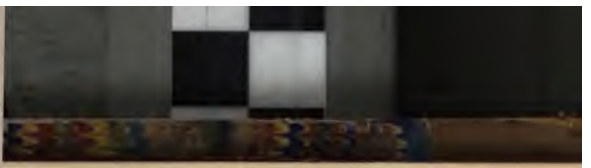
GEORGE BANCROFT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

CHAPTER XXI.

MARYLAND.

Maryland, p. 3 — Death of Lord Baltimore, 5 — "Baconists" in Maryland, 7 — Restrictions on Suffrage, 7 — Protestantism, 8 — A Tory President, 9 — Revolution, 10 — Culpepper in Virginia, 10 — Increase of Royal Power, 11 — Appeals to the Assembly prohibited, 12 — Virginia redeemed, 13 — Howard of Effingham, 13 — Rebels sent to Virginia, 13 — Kidnapped Men and Boys, 14 — Despotism, 15 — Resisted, 16 — Tendencies to Union, 17.

CHAPTER XXII.

NEW NETHERLAND.

Holland and Union, p. 18 — Revolution in the Netherlands, 19 — Holland, 20 — Zealand, 20 — Origin of the Dutch West India Company, 23 — Henry Hudson, 25 — Sails up the North River, 27 — The Uncultivated Wilderness, 29 — Geographical Features, 30 — Progress, 30 — Hudson's Last Voyage, 32 — The Dutch Traffic on the North River, 33 — Albany, 35 — Olden Barneveldt and Grotius oppose Colonization in America, 36 — West India Company chartered, 37 — Colonization, 37 — Colonial Diplomacy, 38 — Charter of Liberties, 40 — Monopoly of Lands, 43 — De Vries plants Delaware, 44 — Dutch Fort at Hartford, 45 — Gustavus Adolphus and New Sweden, 46 — Dutch and Indian Wars, 49 — Municipal Liberties desired, 53 — Roger Williams mediates a Truce, 54 — Peace, 54 — New Albion, 55 — Stuyvesant's Administration, 56 — New Sweden, 56 — Amsterdam purchases Delaware, 56 — Emigrants, 57 — Jews, 58 — Waldenses, 59 — Huguenots, 59 — Africans, 60 — Dawn of Democratic Liberty, 61 — Effects of the Restoration of Charles II., 64 — Conquest of New Netherland, 68 — New Jersey, 70 — Delaware, 73 — New York, 74 — New York reconquered, 75 — Restored, 75 — Rights of Neutral Flags, 77.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Unity of the Human Race, p. 78 — Progress of Emancipation, 78 — Power of the People in England, 80 — Progress of Intellectual Freedom, 80 — Speculative Truth, 81 — Quakers, 81 — George Fox, 81 — Struggle for Freedom of Mind, 82 — Obtains it; 84 — Preaches Freedom to the People, 84 — His Purpose, 86 — The Inner Light, 87 — Its Reality, 87 — Quaker Method, the Method of Des

cartes, 87 — Asserts Freedom of Conscience, and of Mind, 88 — Repels Superstition, 89 — Respects Universal and Necessary Truths, 90 — The Bible, 90 — Christianity, 91 — Philosophy, 92 — Quaker Morality, 92 — Vows, 93 — Power, 93 — Riches, 93 — Education, 93 — Capital Punishment, 94 — Imprisonment for Debt, 94 — War, 94 — Common Prayer, 94 — The Sacraments, 94 — Mourning, 94 — Oaths, 94 — Sensual Pleasures, 94 — Dress, 95 — Style, 95 — Tracts, 95 — Hireling Ministry, 95 — Persecution, 95 — Resistance, 96 — Quaker Method of Revolution, 96 — Power of Truth, 97 — Faith in Humanity, 97 — Universal Enfranchisement, 98 — Priesthood, 99 — Woman, 99 — Kings, 99 — Nobles, 99 Titles, 99 — Hat Worship, 100 — Influence of the Age on Fox, 100 — Progress of his Opinions, 100 — Quakers persecuted, 101 — They buy West New Jersey, 102 — The Concessions, 102 — The Quaker Constitution, 102 — Relations with the Indians, 103 — With the Duke of York, 103 — Progress of the Settlement, 105.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PENNSYLVANIA.

William Penn, p. 107 — Pennsylvania, 107 — Letter to the People, 108 — Monopoly, 109 — Government, 111 — Free Society, 111 — Delaware, 111 — Sails for America, 112 — Life of Penn, 112 — John Locke and Penn, 119 — Penn on the Delaware, 121 — The Great Treaty with the Indians, 122 — Organization of the Government, 124 — Penn and Baltimore, 125 — Philadelphia, 125 — Constitutions established, 126 — Trial for Witchcraft, 128 — Progress, 128 — Penn's Farewell, 130 — Boundary with Maryland, 130 — Penn in England, 131 — His Fame, 131 — His Fortunes, 133 — Quaker Legislation, 134 — Indian Alarm, 135 — Slavery, 135 — Death of George Fox, 136.

CHAPTER XXV.

JAMES II. CONSOLIDATES THE NORTHERN COLONIES.

Andros in New York, p. 137 — Claims Connecticut, 137 — Character of James II., 138 — His Colonial Policy, 139 — New York discontented, 140 — East New Jersey, 141 — Cause of the Emigration of Scottish Presbyterians, 142 — No Persecution in New Jersey, 144 — Free Trade in New York, 145 — Charter of Liberties, 146 — The Five Nations, 146 — Their Wars with other Tribes, 147 — With the French, 148 — Treaty at Albany, 150 — War with the French, 152 — Policy of Louis XIV., 153 — Magnanimity of the Onondagas, 153 — War revived, 154 — Treaty for New England, 154 — Dudley, Andros, 154 — Tyranny, 156 — John Wise resists, 156 — Connecticut, 158 — Rhode Island, 159 — Consolidation, 160.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

England, Clarendon's Ministry, p. 161 — The Cabal, 162 — Shaftesbury, 162 — Danby, 163 — Shaftesbury, 164 — Reaction, 165 — James II., 165 — Baxter, 167

— The Tories, the Whigs, 168 — Penn's Party, 169 — The Revolution of 1688, 170 — Revolution in Massachusetts, 171 — Plymouth, 172 — Rhode Island, 173 - Connecticut, New York, 173 — Absolute Sovereignty of Parliament, 174.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE RESULT THUS FAR.

Population of the Twelve Oldest States in 1688, p. 175 — Elements of the Country, 175 — A Free People, 175 — An Anglo-Saxon People, 176 — Character of the Virginians, 176 — A Christian People, 177 — A Protestant People, 177 — Political Character of Protestantism, 177 — Christianity originally an Enfranchisement, 177 — Origin of the Political Influence of the Seven Sacraments, 178 — The Exclusive Sacraments found a Spiritual Tyranny, 178 — Imperfect Resistance from Scholastic Theologians; from Sensualists; from the Feudal Aristocracy; from Monarchs; from Scholars, 179 — Wycliffe appeals to the People, 179 — John Huss, 179 — Luther and Lutheranism, 180 — Anabaptists, 181 — Calvin, 182 — Political Mission of Calvinism, 183 — Calvinism revolutionized the English World, 183 — Calvinism and Massachusetts, 183 — Progress in New England, 184 — Connecticut, 184 — Rhode Island, 184 — The Quakers, 185 — Coincidence of Quakers and Descartes, 185 — America struggles for Universality, 185 — Influence on the Red Man, 185 — On the Black Man, 185 — France, England, and the Rising Colonies, 186.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SOUTHERN STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

The Fortunes of the Stuarts, p. 188 — The Aristocratic Revolution of England, 188 — Character of William of Orange, 189 — Sketch of Somers, 190 — The Revolution vindicates English Liberties, 190 — The Anglican Church, 190 — Right of Resistance, 192 — Power of Parliament, 192 — Influence of the Commercial Classes, 193 — Theory of the Revolution, 194 — Power of Opinion, 194 — Free Press, 195 — Character of the Revolution, 195 — Parties in South Carolina, 196 — Abrogation of Locke's Constitution, 198 — Archdale, 198 — Progress; Huguenots enfranchised, 199 — High Church Faction, 200 — Produce of Carolina, 201 — North Carolina, 202 — Its Anarchy, 203 — Progress, 203 — Virginia, 205 — Forms of Government, 206 — The Church, 207 — Character of its People, 208 — Maryland, 210 — The Protestant Association, 210 — Legislation, 211 — Power of Proprietary restored, 211.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE MIDDLE STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

Pennsylvania, p. 214 — Delaware, 214 — George Keith's Schism, 215 — Fletcher claims the Government, 216 — Penn restored, 219 — Negroes, 219 — New Constitution, 220 — New Jersey, 223 — It becomes a Royal Province, 225 — New York, 226 — Leisler, 237 — Sloughter arrives, 228 — Leisler and Mil-

borne executed, 230 — Colonial Liberties asserted, 231 — Established Church, 232 — Bellomont, 233 — Sketch of Lord Cornbury, 234 — His Administration, 235 — Lovelace, Hunter, 237.

CHAPTER XXX.

NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

Connecticut, p. 242 — Commands its own Militia, 243 — Rhode Island, 244 — Charters endangered, 244 — Massachusetts, 245 — Revolution in Opinion, 247 — Belief in Witchcraft, 247 — Cotton Mather, 248 — Glover, the Witch, 249 — Skepticism, 250 — Cotton Mather, the Champion of Witchcraft, 250 — New Charter, 252 — New Hampshire a Royal Province, 254 — Phips and Stoughton, 255 — Witchcraft at Salem, 256 — The New Charter arrives, 258 — The Hanging of Witches begins, 259 — More Victims, 261 — Confessions, 262 — Willard, Burroughs, Proctor, 262 — Currier, Jacobs, 263 — Last Executions, 264 — Cotton Mather's "Wonders of the Invisible World," 265 — Meeting of General Court, 266 — The Delusion over, 267 — Moral Revolution, 269 — Dudley, 270.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE RULE OF PARLIAMENT AND THE COLONIES.

The Principles of the Revolution applied by the Colonies to their own Condition, p. 271 — The Anglican Church in England and Ireland, 272 — King William desires Union, 273 — System of James II., 273 — The System of Governing by Instructions, 274 — Appointment of the Board of Trade, 275 — Its Plan of Union, 276 — The Constitution proposed by Penn, 277 — Parliament and Taxation, 278 — The Prerogative and the Veto, 278 — The Judiciary, 279 — Writ of Habeas Corpus, 279 — The Press, 279 — The Church, 279 — The Slave-Trade, 280 — The Charter Governments threatened, 280 — The Mercantile System sustained and developed, 282 — Courts of Admiralty, 283 — Laws against Manufactures in the Colonies, 284 — Opposition to the Mercantile System, 285 — Piracy, 286 — Regulation of Colonial Currency, 286 — American Post-Office, 287 — Naval Stores and the Navy, 287 — As yet no Taxation by Parliament, 288 — Tendencies to Independence, 288.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PROGRESS OF FRANCE IN NORTH AMERICA.

European Colonial System, p. 290 — Mercantile System, 291 — Its Developments, 291 — The System of Portugal, 293 — Spain, Holland, 294 — France and England, 294 — New France, 298 — The Hundred Associates, 298 — Jesuits, 298 — Jesuits in Canada, 299 — Character of Brebeuf, 301 — Mode of Life, 302 — Hospital, 303 — Ursuline Convent, Montreal, 304 — Progress of Missions, 304 — Raymbault and Jogues at the Falls of the St. Mary, 306 — Jogues in Western New York, 308 — Bressani, 310 — Mission on the Kennebec, 311 — Martyrdom of Jogues, 312 — Of Daniel, 313 — Of Brebeuf and Lallemand, 314 — Missions to the Five Nations, 315 — Dablon, 317 — René Mesnard, Chaumonot, 318.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FRANCE AND THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

The Ottawas, p. 320 — Missions to the Far West; Gareau, 320 — René Mesnard, 321 — Allouëz, 323 — Dablon and Marquette, 325 — Congress at St. Mary's, 326 — Jesuits in Michigan, Wisconsin, Northern Illinois, 327 — Joliet, 328 — Marquette and Joliet discover the Mississippi, 328 — Death of Marquette, 333 — La Salle at Frontenac, 333 — On Lake Erie, 335 — On the Miami, 335 — Walks to Fort Frontenac, 336 — Hennepin's Discoveries, 337 — Tonti, 337 — La Salle descends the Mississippi, 338 — Colony for Louisiana, 338 — La Salle in Texas, 339 — Texas a Part of Louisiana, 340 — La Salle departs for Canada, 341 — Is murdered, 342 — Fate of his Companions, 343.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FRANCE CONTENDS FOR THE FISHERIES AND THE GREAT WEST.

American Possessions of France, p. 344 — Alliances; Objects of the War, 345 — Relative Strength of French and English Colonies, 345 — Plans of Hostility, 347 — Sack of Montreal; War in Hudson's Bay, 347 — Cocheco, 348 — Pemaquid, 349 — Schenectady, 349 — Salmon Falls, 350 — An American Congress, 350 — Conquest of Acadia, 351 — Expedition against Quebec, 351 — War on the Eastern Frontier, 353 — Hannah Dustin, 354 — War of the French with the Five Nations, 355 — Financial Measures, 357 — Peace of Ryswick, 357 — Boundaries, 358 — Detroit founded, 359 — Illinois colonized, 360 — Character of D'Iberville, 363 — Colonization of Louisiana, 365 — Collision with England on the Mississippi, 365 — Exploring Expeditions, 367 — Settlement on the Mobile, 367.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

War of the Spanish Succession, p. 369 — Expedition of South Carolina against St. Augustine, 371 — War with the Spanish Indians, 372 — Attack on Charleston, 372 — War with the Abenakis, 373 — Burning of Deerfield, 374 — Massacre at Haverhill, 376 — Bounty on Scalps, 377 — Conquest of Acadia, 378 — Character of Bolingbroke, 379 — Plan for conquering Canada, 380 — Sir Hovenden Walker and General Hill, 380 — Detroit besieged, 383 — France desires Peace, 386 — Peace of Utrecht, 387 — Balance of Power, 387 — Spain, Belgium, 388 — Free Ships, Free Goods, 390 — The Assiento, 390 — British Slave-Trade, 390 — Surrender of Territory to England, 392.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE ABORIGINES EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI. THEIR LANGUAGES.

Cape Breton, p. 393 — Languages of the Aborigines, 394 — The *Algonkin*; Micmacs, Etchemins, 395 — Abenakis, 395 — Pokanokets, 396 — Lenni-

Lenape, Nanticokes, Corees, 396 — Powhatan Confederacy, Shawnees, Miamis, 397 — Illinois, 398 — Chippewas, Ottawas, Menomonies, 398 — Sacs and Foxes, 399 — The *Dakota;* Sioux, Winnebagoes, 399 — *Huron-Iroquois;* Wyandots, Iroquois, 400 — Tuscaroras, 401 — The *Catawba;* Woccons, 401 — The *Cherokee,* 402 — The *Uchee,* 403 — The *Natchez,* 403 — The *Mobilian;* Chickasaws, 404 — Choctaws, Muskohgees, 405 — Numbers, 406 — Character of their Language, 408 — Its Letters, its Hieroglyphics, 409 — Its Poverty of Abstract Terms, 410 — Its Synthetic Character, 410 — Inferences, 415.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THEIR MANNERS, POLITY, AND RELIGION.

Manners of the Aborigines, p. 418 — Dwellings, 418 — Marriage, 419 — The Mother and Child, 419 — Education, 420 — Condition of Woman, 421 — Resources, 422 — Hospitality, 423 — Famine, 424 — Treatment of the Sick, the Aged, 424 — Dress, 424 — Political Institutions, 425 — Absence of Law, 426 — Retaliation, 426 — The Tribe, 427 — Its Chiefs, 427 — Its Councils, 428 — Records, 429 — The Code of War, 430 — Religion, 433 — Idea of Divinity, 434 — Origin of Faith, 434 — Manitous, 435 — Sacrifices, 436 — Penance, 437 — Guardian Spirits, 438 — Medicine Men, 438 — Temples, 440 — Dreams, 440 — Faith in Immortality, 441 — Burials, 441 — The World of Shades, 442 — Graves, 443.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THEIR NATURE AND ORIGIN.

Natural Endowments, p. 446 — Correspondence of Powers, 447 — Organic Differences, 448 — Inflexibility, 449 — Uniformity of Organization, 449 — Physical Characteristics, 450 — Progress of Improvement, 451 — Origin, 451 — Mounds, 451 — Traditions, 453 — Analogies of Language, 454 — Of Customs, 455 — Israelites, Egyptians, Carthaginians, 456 — Scandinavians, Chinese, 457 — Astronomical Science in America and Asia, 457 — American Culture its own, 458 — Connection of America and Asia, 459 — The American and Mongolian Races, 460.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

COLONIAL RIVALRY OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

House of Hanover; George I., p. 462 — Philip of Orleans, 463 — Walpole, 464 — Fleury, 464 — War with the Yamassees, 465 — Revolution in Carolina, 467 — It becomes a Royal Province, 468 — Treaty with the Cherokees, 469 — Disputes with France on the North-east, 470 — Sebastian Rasles, 471 — His Death, 474 — Lovewell's Fight, 474 — Peace with the Eastern Indians, 474 — Bounds on the Lakes and St. Lawrence, 475 — Oswego, 475 — Claims of England, 476 — French Forts at Crown Point, at Niagara, 477.

CHAPTER XL.

PROGRESS OF LOUISIANA.

Louisiana, p. 479 — The French on the Ohio, 480 — English Jealousy aroused, 480 — Indifference of Walpole, 481 — Vincennes, 481 — Louisiana under Crozat, 482 — The Credit System of Law, 484 — The Mississippi Company, 485 — New Orleans, 486 — War between France and Spain, 487 — France claims Texas, 487 — Progress and End of the Mississippi Company, 487 — Its Moral, 490 — The Natchez, 491 — They begin a Massacre, 493 — The Natchez are defeated, 494 — The Crown resumes Louisiana, 495 — War with the Chickasaws, 495 — D'Artaguette and Vincennes, 497 — War renewed, 498 — Louisiana in 1740, 499.

CHAPTER XLI.

TWENTY-SIX YEARS OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

Progress of Anglo-American Colonies, p. 500 — Taxation by Parliament, 500 — Regulation of Charters, 501 — Colonial Manufactures repressed, 502 — Parliament and Colonial Administration, 503 — Carolina, 503 — Pennsylvania, 503 — Virginia, 503 — New Jersey, 503 — New York, 504 — Massachusetts, 504 — Policy of Sir Robert Walpole, 505 — The Board of Trade on Colonial Commerce and such Encroachments, 506 — Proposes a New System of Colonial Administration, 507 — The Charters in Danger, 508 — Dummer's Defence of the Charters, 508 — Advice of Trenchard, 510 — Flight of Shute to England, 510 — The Duke of Newcastle, 511 — Opinion of Yorke on the Power of Parliament to tax the Colonies, 512 — New York Assembly and Periodical Grants, 512 — Burnet succeeded by Montgomery, 513 — Sir William Keith and a New Plan of Colonial Administration, 513 — Burnet in Boston, 513 — Belcher made Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 515 — New York and New Jersey, 516 — Carolina, 517 — Contest on Laws of Inheritance, 519 — Gee on Colonial Trade, 519 — The Restrictive System, 521 — Discrimination in Favor of Southern Colonies, 522 — Of the Islands against the Continent, 523 — Prohibitory Duties for the Colonists, 524 — Cosby, 524 — The Press, 525 — Clarke in New York, 526 — Walpole and Colonial Commerce, 527 — The Board of Trade urges Strong Measures, 528 — Paper Money, 529 — Religion in the Colonies, 532 — Beneficent Measure of Parliament, 533 — Prosperity of the Colonies, 533 — Immigration, 534 — Berkeley, 535 — Education and the Press, 537 — Benjamin Franklin, 538 — Growth of Liberty, 541.

CHAPTER XLII.

BRITISH MONOPOLY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE. COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA.

Motives of an Historian to write a True History: Test of Truth, p. 544 — Truth in History can be ascertained, 545 — The Law of Progress, 545 — History the Record of God's Providence, 545 — Edwards, Vico, Bossuet, 545 — Metropolitan Monopolists divided, 546 — South Sea Company and the Assiento, 547 —

England and the Slave-Trade, 547 — Slave Coast, 548 — The Slave in Africa, 548 — The Passage, 549 — The African in North America, 550 — Numbers, 551 — Labors, 551 — Progress; Emancipation, 552 — Conversion did not enfranchise, 553 — Color, 554 — Colonies and the Slave-Trade, 554 — England and the Slave-Trade, 555 — Moral Opinion, 555 — English Legislation, 557 — England compels the Colonies to admit Negro Slaves, 558 — England and Spain, 559 — Colonization of Georgia proposed, 560 — Oglethorpe and Imprisonment for Debt, 560 — Plans a Colony, 561 — Oglethorpe at Savannah, 562 — Council with the Muskohgees, 563 — Cherokees and Choctaws, 564 — Lutheran Emigrants, 564 — Oglethorpe returns to England, 566 — Land Titles, 567 — Ardent Spirits, 567 — Slaves, 567 — New Emigration, 568 — John and Charles Wesley, 568 — Whitefield, 569 — Frederica, 570 — Darien, 570 — Contest on Boundaries, 571 — Treaty with Indians, 572.

CHAPTER XLIII.

WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.

Oglethorpe among the Muskohgees, p. 573 — England and English Smugglers, 574 — Tale of Jenkins's Ears, 575 — The Convention, 576 — War, 577 — Anson, 577 — Vernon at Porto Bello, 577 — Attack on Carthagena, 579 — Ill Success, 579 — Oglethorpe invades Florida, 580 — Spaniards invade Georgia, 580 — Character of Oglethorpe, 581 — Slavery in Georgia, 582 — Fleury averse to War, 582 — War of the Austrian Succession, 583 — War of France with England, 583 — The Pretender, 584 — Frederic II. and Prussia, 585 — War in the East Indies, 585 — Madras taken, 585 — Behring discovers North-West America, 586 — The Central Provinces undisturbed, 586 — Treaty at Lancaster with the Six Nations, 587 — Franklin's Volunteer Militia, 588 — New England resolves to conquer Louisburg, 588 — The Expedition, 589 — Sails to Cape Breton, 590 — Lands at Louisburg, 591 — The Siege, 592 — The Surrender, 593 — Ill Success of French Fleets, 594 — Plan of conquering Canada abandoned, 594 — Kalm's Opinion, 594 — Impressment of Sailors, 595 — Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 596 — Washington, 597.



COLONIAL HISTORY,

CONTINUED.



COLONIAL HISTORY,

CONTINUED.

CHAPTER XXI.

MARYLAND.

The progress of Maryland, under the more generous proprietary government, was tranquil and rapid. Like Virginia, Maryland was a colony of planters; its staple was tobacco, and its prosperity was equally checked by the navigation acts. Like Virginia, it possessed no considerable village; its inhabitants were scattered among the woods and along the rivers; each plantation was a little world within itself, and legislation vainly attempted the creation of towns by statute. Like Virginia, its laborers were in part indented servants, whose term of service was limited by persevering legislation; in part negro slaves whose importation was favored both by English cupidity and by provincial statutes. As in Virginia, the appointing power to nearly every office in the counties as well as in the province was not with the people, and the judiciary was placed beyond their control; while the party of the proprietary, which possessed the government, was animated by a jealous regard for his prerogative and derived his authority from the will of Heaven. As in Virginia, the taxes imposed by the county officers were not conceded by the direct vote of the people, and were burdensome alike from their excessive amount and the manner of their levy. But, though the administration of Maryland did not favor the increasing spirit of popular liberty, it was marked by conciliation and humanity. To foster industry, to promote union, to cherish religious peace, — these were the honest purposes of Lord Baltimore during his long supremacy. 1660.

At the restoration, the authority of Philip Calvert, the proprietary's deputy, was promptly and quietly recognised. Fendall, the former governor, who had obeyed the impulse of the popular will as paramount to the authority of Baltimore, was convicted of treason. His punishment
1661. was mild; a wise clemency veiled the incipient strife between the people and their sovereign, under a general amnesty. Peace was restored, but Maryland was not placed beyond the influence of the ideas which that age of revolution had set in motion; and the earliest opportunity would renew the strife.

Yet the happiness of the colony was enviable. The persecuted and the unhappy thronged to its domains. If Baltimore was, in one sense, a monarch, his monarchy was tolerable to the exile who sought for freedom and repose. Numerous ships found employment in its harbors. The white laborer rose rapidly to the condition of a free proprietor; the female emigrant was sure to improve her condition, and the charities of home gathered round her in the New World. In the wilderness, where artificial amusements were unknown, the planter's heart was in his family; his pride in his children.

Emigrants arrived from every clime; and the colo-
1666. nial legislature extended its sympathies to many nations as well as to many sects. From France came Huguenots; from Germany, from Holland, from Sweden, from Finland, I believe from Piedmont, the children of misfortune sought protection under the tolerant sceptre of the Roman Catholic. The country of Jerome and of Huss sent forth its sons, who at once were made citizens of Maryland with equal franchises. The empire of justice and humanity, according to the light of those days, had been complete but for the sufferings of the people called Quakers. Yet they were not persecuted for their religious worship, which was held publicly and without interruption. "The truth was received with reverence and gladness;" and with secret satisfaction George Fox relates that members of the legislature and the council, persons of quality, and justices of the peace, were present at a large and very heavenly

meeting. The Indian emperor, after a great debate with his council, came, followed by his kings, with their subordinate chieftains, and, reclining on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, they listened to the evening discourse of the benevolent wanderer. At a later day, the heir of the province attended a Quaker assembly. But the refusal of the Quakers to perform military duty subjected them to fines and harsh imprisonment; the refusal to take an oath sometimes involved them in a forfeiture of property; nor was it before 1688, six years after the arrival of William Penn in America, that indulgence was fully conceded.

Meantime, Charles, the eldest son of the proprietary, resided in his patrimony. He visited the banks 1662.
of the Delaware, and struggled to extend the limits
of his jurisdiction. As in Massachusetts, money was coined
at a provincial mint, and, at a later day, the value
of foreign coins was arbitrarily advanced. A duty 1686.
was levied on the tonnage of every vessel that en- 1662.
tered the waters. A state house was built at a cost 1674.
of forty thousand pounds of tobacco, — about a thou-
sand dollars. The Indian nations were pacified; and 1666.
their rights, subordination, and commerce defined.
By acts of compromise between Lord Baltimore and 1662.
the representatives of the people, the power of the 1671.
former to raise taxes was accurately limited, and the 1674.
mode of paying quit-rents established on terms favor-
able to the colony; while, on the other hand, a custom of two shillings a hogshead was levied on all exported tobacco, of which a moiety was appropriated to the defence of the government; the residue became conditionally the revenue of the proprietary.

Thus was the declining life of Cecilius Lord Baltimore, the father of Maryland, the tolerant legislator, blessed with success. The colony which he had planted in youth crowned his old age with its gratitude. Who among his peers could vie with him in honors? A firm supporter of prerogative, a friend to the Stuarts, he was touched with the sentiment of humanity; though of the Roman church, of which he venerated the expositions of truth as infallible, he established

an incipient equality among sects. He knew not the worth of popular power; he had not perceived the character of the institutions which were forming in the New World, and his benevolent designs were the fruit of his personal character, his proprietary interests, and the necessity of his position. In Rhode Island, intellectual freedom was a principle which Roger Williams had elicited from the sympathies of the people; in Maryland, it was the policy of the sovereign, who did not know that ideas find no secure shelter but in the breast of the multitude. The people are less easily shaken than the prince. Rhode Island never lost the treasure of which it had become conscious. The principle of liberty of conscience was in Maryland an uncertain possession, till the same process of thought, which had redeemed the little colony of the north, slowly but surely infused itself into the public mind on the Chesapeake. Lord Baltimore failed to obtain that fame which springs from successful influence on the masses; his personal merits
1675. Nov. 30. are free from stain. He died after a supremacy of more than forty-three years. The commercial metropolis of Maryland commemorates his name.

The death of Cecilius recalled to England the heir
1676. of the province, who had now administered its government for fourteen years with a moderation which had been rewarded by the increasing prosperity of his patrimony. Previous to his departure, the code of laws received a thorough revision; the memorable act of
1670. Apr. 20. toleration was confirmed. Virginia had, in 1670, prohibited the importation of felons until the king or privy council should reverse the order. In Maryland, six years later, "the importation of convicted persons" was absolutely prohibited without regard to the will of the king or the English parliament, and in 1692 the prohibition was renewed. The established revenues of the proprietary were continued.

As Lord Baltimore sailed for England, the seeds of discontent were already germinating. The office of proprietary, a feudal principality with extensive manors in every county, was an anomaly; the sole hereditary legislator in the prov-

ince, his power was not in harmony with the political predilections of the colonists or the habits of the New World. The doctrine of the paramount authority of an hereditary sovereign was at war with the spirit which emigration fostered, and the principles of civil equality naturally grew up in all the British settlements. The insurrection of Bacon found friends north of the Potomac, and a rising was checked only by the prompt energy of the government. But the vague and undefined cravings after change, the tendency toward more popular forms of administration, could not be repressed. The assembly which was convened 1678. during the absence of the proprietary shared in this spirit; and the right of suffrage was established on a corresponding basis. The party of "Baconists" had obtained great influence on the public mind. Differences between the proprietary and the people became apparent. On his return to the province, he himself, 1681. June 27. by proclamation, annulled the rule which the representatives of Maryland had established respecting the elective franchise, and, by an arbitrary ordinance, limited the right of suffrage to freemen possessing a Sept. 6. freehold of fifty acres, or having a visible personal estate of forty pounds. No difference was made with respect to color. In Virginia, the negro, the mulatto, and the Indian were first disfranchised in 1723; in Maryland, they retained by law the right of suffrage till the time when the poorest white man recovered his equal franchise. The restrictions, which for one hundred and twenty-one years successfully resisted the principle of universal suffrage among freemen of the Caucasian race, were introduced in the midst of scenes of civil commotion. Fendall, the old republican, was again planning schemes of insurrection, and even of independence. The state was not only troubled with poverty, but was in danger of falling to pieces; for it was said, "The maxims of the old Lord Baltimore will not do in the present age."

The insurrection was for the time repressed; but its symptoms were the more alarming from the religious fanaticism with which the principle of popular power was com-

bined. The discontents were increased by hostility toward the creed of papists; and, as Protestantism became a political sect, the proprietary government was in the issue easily subverted; for it had struck no deep roots either in the religious tenets, the political faith, or the social condition of the colony. It had rested only on a grateful deference, which was rapidly wearing away.

1676. On the death of the first feudal sovereign of Maryland, the archbishop of Canterbury had been solicited to secure an establishment of the Anglican church, which clamored for favor in the province where it enjoyed equality. Misrepresentations were not spared. "Maryland," said a clergyman of the church, "is a pest-house of iniquity." The cure for all evil was to be "an established support of a Protestant ministry." The prelates demanded not freedom, but privilege; an establishment to be maintained at the common expense of the province. Lord Baltimore resisted; the Roman Catholic was inflexible in his regard for freedom of worship.

The opposition to Lord Baltimore as a feudal sovereign easily united with Protestant bigotry. When an
1681. insurrection was suppressed by methods of clemency and forbearance, the government was accused of partiality towards papists; and the English ministry issued an order that offices of government in Maryland should be intrusted exclusively to Protestants. Roman Catholics were disfranchised in the province which they had planted.

With the colonists Lord Baltimore was at issue for his hereditary authority, with the English church for his religious faith; attempts to modify the unhappy effects of the navigation acts on colonial industry involved him in opposition to the commercial policy of England. His rights of jurisdiction had been disregarded; the custom-house officer of Maryland had been placed under the superintendence of the governor of Virginia; and the unwelcome relations, resisted by the officers of Lord Baltimore, had led to quarrels and bloodshed, which were followed by a con-
1685. troversy with Virginia. The accession of James II. seemed an auspicious event for a Roman Catholic

proprietary; but the first result from parliament was an increased burden on the industry of the colony, by means of a new tax on the consumption of its produce in England; while the king, who meditated the subversion of British freedom, resolved with impartial injustice to reduce all the colonies to a direct dependence on the crown. The proprietary, hastening to England, vainly pleaded his irreproachable administration. His remonstrance was disregarded, his chartered rights despised; and a writ of quo warranto was ordered against his patent. But, before the legal forms could be brought to an issue, the people of England had sat in judgment on their king. 1687.

The approach of the revolution effected no immediate benefit to Lord Baltimore. What though mutinous speeches and practices against the proprietary government were punishable by whipping, boring of the tongue, imprisonment, exile, death itself? The spirit of popular liberty, allied to Protestant bigotry and the clamor of a pretended popish plot, was too powerful an adversary for his colonial government. William Joseph, the president to whom he had intrusted the administration, convened an assembly. The address, on opening it, explains the character of the proprietary and of the insurrection which followed. "Divine Providence," said the representative of Lord Baltimore, "hath ordered us to meet. The power by which we are assembled here is undoubtedly derived from God to the king, and from the king to his excellency, the lord proprietary, and from his said lordship to us. The power, therefore, whereof I speak, being, as said, firstly, in God and from God; secondly, in the king and from the king; thirdly, in his lordship; fourthly, in us, — the end and duty of and for which this assembly is now called and met is that from these four heads; to wit, from God, the king, our lord, and selves." Having thus established the divine right of the proprietary, he endeavored to confirm it by invading the privileges of the assembly, and exacting a special oath of fidelity to his dominion. The assembly resisted, and was prorogued. Is it strange that excitements increased; that they were height- 1688. 1688. Nov.

ened by tidings of the invasion of England; that they were kindled into a flame by a delay in proclaiming the new sovereign? An organized insurrection was conducted by John Coode, a worthless man, of old an associate of Fendall; and

1689. Aug. 23. "The Association in arms for the defence of the Protestant religion" usurped the government. The party was strengthened by the most false and virulent calumnies against the absent proprietary, and the overthrow of liberty of conscience was menaced by the insurrection. But would the reformed English government suffer papists to be oppressed in the colony where they had taken some steps towards toleration? Would the new dynasty seek to appropriate to itself the power and the rights that had been wrested from Lord Baltimore by turbulent violence? The method pursued by the ministry of William and Mary towards Maryland would test their sincerity, and show whether they were governed by universal principles of justice, or had derived their inspiration for liberty from circumstances and times; whether they had made a revolution in favor of humanity or in behalf of established privileges.

1675. July 8. About two years after Virginia had been granted to Arlington and Culpepper, the latter obtained an appointment as governor of Virginia for life, and was proclaimed soon after Berkeley's departure. The

1677. Aug. 25. Ancient Dominion was changed into a proprietary government, and the administration surrendered, as it were, to one of the proprietaries, who at the same time was sole possessor of the domain between the Rappahannock and the Potomac. Culpepper was disposed to regard his office as a sinecure, but the king chid him for remaining in England; and, embarking for Virginia, the gover-

1680. nor, early in 1680, arrived in his province. He had no high-minded regard for Virginia; he valued his office and his patents only as property. Clothed by the royal clemency with power to bury past contests, he perverted the duty of humanity into a means of enriching himself and increasing his authority. Yet Culpepper was not singular in his selfishness; it was in harmony with the

maxims which prevailed in England. As the British merchant claimed the monopoly of colonial commerce, as the British manufacturer valued Virginia only as a market for his goods, so British courtiers looked to appointments in America as a source of revenue to themselves, or a provision for their dependants. Nothing but Lord Culpepper's avarice gives him a place in American history.

Having taken the oath of office at Jamestown, and organized a council of members friendly to prerogative, the wilful followers of Bacon were disfranchised. Till this time the council and house sat together. To an assembly convened in June, three acts, framed in England and confirmed in advance by the great seal, were proposed for acceptance. The first was of indemnity and oblivion, — less clement than had been hoped, yet definitive, and therefore welcome. The second withdrew from the assembly the powers of naturalization, and declared it a prerogative of the governor. And the third, still more grievous to colonial liberty, constructed after an English precedent, yet so hateful to Virginians that it encountered severe opposition and was carried only from hope of pardon for the rebellion, authorized a perpetual export duty of two shillings a hogshead on tobacco, and granted the proceeds for the support of government, to be accounted for not to the assembly, but to the king. Thus the power of Virginia over colonial taxation, the only check on the administration, was voted away without condition. The royal revenue was ample and was perpetual. Is it strange that political parties in Virginia showed signs of change? that many who had been zealous among the Cavaliers learned to distrust the royal influence?

1680, May 10.

June 8.

The salary of governor of Virginia had been a thousand pounds: for Lord Culpepper it was doubled, because he was a peer. A further grant was made for house-rent. Perquisites of every kind were sought for and increased. Nay, the peer was not an honest man. He defrauded the soldiers of a part of their wages by an arbitrary change in the value of current coin. Having made himself familiar with Virginia, and employed the summer profitably, in the

month of August he sailed for England from Boston. How unlike Winthrop and Haynes, Clarke and Williams!

Virginia was impoverished; the low price of tobacco left the planter without hope. The assembly had at-
1680. tempted by legislation to call towns into being and cherish manufactures. With little regard to colonial liberties, it also petitioned the king to prohibit by proclamation the planting of tobacco in the colonies for one year. The first measure could not countervail the navigation acts; with regard to the second, riots were substituted for the royal proclamation, and mobs collected to cut up the fields of tobacco-plants.

1682. Culpepper returned to reduce Virginia to quiet, and to promote his own interests as proprietor of the Northern Neck. A few victims on the gallows silenced discontent. The assembly was convened, and its little remaining control over the executive was wrested from it. The council constituted the general court of Virginia; according to usage, appeals lay from it to the general assembly. The custom menaced Culpepper with defeat in his attempts to appropriate to himself the cultivated plantations of the Northern Neck. The artful magistrate, for a private and lucrative purpose, fomented a dispute between the council and the assembly. The burgesses, in their high court of appeal, claimed to sit alone, excluding the council from whose decision the appeal was made; and Culpepper, having referred the question to the king for decision,
1683. May 23. soon announced that no appeals whatever should be permitted to the assembly, nor to the king in council, under the value of one hundred pounds sterling. It shows the spirit of the council of Virginia, that it welcomed the new rule, desiring only that there might be no appeal to the king under the value of two hundred pounds. The holders of land within the grant of Culpepper now lay at his mercy, and were compelled eventually to negotiate a compromise.

All accounts agree in describing the condition of Virginia, at this time, as one of extreme distress. Culpepper had no compassion for poverty, no sympathy for a province

wasted by perverse legislation; and the residence in Virginia was so irksome that he returned to England. Nor did he retain his office as governor. His patent was for life; but it was rendered void by a process of law, not so much from regard to colonial liberties as to recover a prerogative for the crown. The council of Virginia reported the griefs and restlessness of the country, and renewed the request that the grant to Culpepper and Arlington might be recalled. The exhaustion of the province rendered negotiation more easy; the design agreed well with the new colonial policy of Charles II. Arlington surrendered his rights to Culpepper; and in the following year Virginia became again a royal province.

1683. May 4.

1684. July 25.

Lord Howard of Effingham was Culpepper's successor. Like so many before and after him, he solicited office in America to get money, and resorted to the usual expedient of exorbitant fees. It is said he did not scruple to share perquisites with his clerks. The ideas of right and wrong — the same in every breast, if the voice within does but find a willing listener — are yet obscured and perverted by men's interests and habits. In Virginia, the avarice of Effingham was the public scorn; in England, it met with no severe reprobation.

Aug.

The accession of James II. made but few changes in the political condition of Virginia. The suppression of Monmouth's rebellion gave to the colony useful citizens. Men connect themselves, in the eyes of posterity, with the objects in which they take delight. James II. was inexorable towards his brother's favorite. Monmouth was beheaded; and the triumph of legitimacy was commemorated by a medal, representing the heads of Monmouth and Argyle on an altar, their bleeding bodies beneath, with this inscription, "*Sic aras et sceptra tuemur*," "Thus we defend our altars and our throne." "Lord chief justice is making his campaign in the west:" I quote from a letter which James II., with his own hand, wrote to one in Europe, in allusion to Jeffries's circuit for punishing the insurgents; "he has already condemned several hundreds,

1685.

some of whom are already executed, more are to be, and the others sent to the plantations." This is the language of the sovereign of our ancestors. The prisoners condemned to transportation were a salable commodity. Such was the demand for labor in America that convicts and laborers were regularly purchased and shipped to the colonies, where they were sold as indented servants. The courtiers round James II. exulted in the rich harvest which the rebellion promised, and begged of the monarch frequent gifts of their condemned countrymen. Jeffries heard of
1685. Sept. 19. the scramble, and indignantly addressed the king: "I beseech your majesty that I may inform you that each prisoner will be worth ten pound, if not fifteen pound, apiece; and, sir, if your majesty orders these as you have already designed, persons that have not suffered in the service will run away with the booty." At length the spoils were distributed. The convicts were in part persons of family and education, accustomed to elegance and ease.
"Take all care," wrote the monarch, under the coun-
Oct. 4. tersign of Sunderland, to the government in Virginia, "take all care that they continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted in any manner to redeem themselves, by money or otherwise, until that term be fully expired. Prepare a bill for the assembly of our colony, with such clauses as shall be requisite for this purpose." No Virginia legislature seconded such malice; and in December, 1689, the exiles were pardoned. Tyranny and injustice peopled America with men nurtured in suffering and adversity. The history of our colonization is the history of the crimes of Europe.

On another occasion, Jeffries exerted an opposite influence. Kidnapping had become common in Bristol; and not felons only, but young persons and others, were hurried across the Atlantic and sold for money. At Bristol, the mayor and justices would intimidate small rogues and pilferers, who, under the terror of being hanged, prayed for transportation as the only avenue to safety, and were then divided among the members of the court. The trade was exceedingly profitable, — far more so than the

slave-trade, — and had been conducted for years. By accident it came to the knowledge of Jeffries, who delighted in a fair opportunity to rant. Finding that the aldermen, justices, and the mayor himself were concerned in this sort of man-stealing, he turned to the mayor, who was sitting on the bench, bravely arrayed in scarlet and furs, and gave him every ill name which scolding eloquence could devise. Nor would he desist till he made the scarlet chief magistrate of the city go down to the criminal's post at the bar, and plead for himself as a common rogue would have done. The prosecutions depended till the revolution, which made an amnesty; and the judicial kidnappers, retaining their gains, suffered nothing beyond disgrace and terror.

Virginia ceased for a season to be the favorite resort of voluntary emigrants. Men were attracted to the New World by the spirit of enterprise and the love of freedom. In Virginia, industry was depressed and the royal authority severe. The presence of a frigate had sharpened the zeal of the royal officers in enforcing the acts of navigation. The new tax in England, on the consumption 1685. of tobacco, was injurious to the producer. Culpepper and his council had arraigned a printer for publishing 1683. Feb 23. the laws, and ordered him to print nothing till the king's pleasure should be known. And Effingham was the bearer of the royal pleasure; having received the express instruction to allow no printing-press on any pretence whatever. The rule was continued under James II. The methods of despotism are monotonous.

To perfect the system, Effingham established a chancery court, in which he himself was chancellor. The councillors might advise, but were without a vote. An arbitrary table of fees followed of course. This is the period when royal authority was at its height in Virginia. The executive, the council, the judges, the sheriffs, the county commissioners, and local magistrates, were all appointed directly or indirectly by the crown. Virginia had no town-meetings, no village democracies, no free municipal institutions. The custom of a colonial assembly remained, but it was chosen under a restricted franchise; its most confidential officer

was ordered to be appointed by the governor, and its power over the revenue was impaired by the permanent grant which it could not recall. The indulgence of liberty of conscience, and the enfranchisement of papists, were in themselves unexceptionable measures; they could bring no detriment to colonial liberties; yet toleration itself was suspected in King James, as a device to restore dominion "to popery." The year after Bacon's rebellion, when the royal commissioners forcibly seized the records of the assembly, the act had been voted "a violation of privilege," "an outrage never practised by the kings of England," and "never to be offered in future." When the records were again demanded, that this resolution might be expunged, Beverley, the clerk of the house, refused obedience to the lieutenant-governor and council, saying he might not do it without leave of the burgesses, his masters.

1686. Aug. 1.

1678.

In 1685, the first assembly convened after the accession of James II. questioned a part of his negative power. Former laws had been repealed by the assembly; the king negatived the repeal, which necessarily revived the earlier law. It marks the determined spirit of the colonists, and their rapid tendency towards demanding self-government as a natural right, that the assembly obstinately refused to acknowledge this exercise of prerogative, and brought upon themselves, from King James, a censure of their "unnecessary debates and contests touching the negative voice," "the disaffected and unquiet disposition of the members, and their irregular and tumultuous proceedings." The assembly was dissolved by royal proclamation. James Collins was imprisoned and loaded with irons for treasonable expressions. The servile council pledged to the king their lives and fortunes, but the people were more intractable than ever. The indomitable spirit of personal independence, nourished by the manners of rural life, could never be repressed. Unlike ancient Rome, Virginia placed the defence of liberty not in municipal corporations, but in persons. The liberty of the individual was ever highly prized; and freedom sheltered itself in the collected energy of the public mind. Such

1686. Nov. 15.

1687. April 4.

was the character of the new assembly which was convened some months before the British revolution. 1688. April. The turbulent spirit of the burgesses was greater than ever, and an immediate dissolution of the body seemed to the council the only mode of counteracting their influence. But the awakened spirit of free discussion, banished from the hall of legislation, fled for refuge among the log houses and plantations that were sprinkled along the streams. The people ran to arms: general discontent threatened an insurrection. The governor, in a new country, without soldiers and without a citadel, was compelled to practise moderation. Tyranny was impossible; it had no powerful instruments. When the prerogative of the governor was at its height, he was still too feeble to oppress the colony. Virginia was always "A LAND OF LIBERTY."

Nor let the first tendencies to union pass unnoticed. In the Bay of the Chesapeake, Smith had encountered warriors of the Five Nations; and others had fearlessly roamed to the shores of Massachusetts Bay, and even invaded the soil of Maine. Some years before Philip's war, the Mohawks committed ravages near Northampton, on 1667. Connecticut River; and the general court of Massachusetts addressed them a letter: "We never yet did any wrong to you, or any of yours," such was the language of the Puritan diplomatists, "neither will we take any from you, but will right our people according to justice." In 1677 Maryland invited Virginia to join with itself and with New York in a treaty of peace with the Seneca Indians, and in the month of August a conference was held with that tribe at Albany. In July, 1684, the governor of Virginia and of New York, and the agent of Massachusetts, met the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany, to strengthen and burnish the covenant-chain, and plant the tree of peace, of which the top should reach the sun, and the branches shelter the wide land. The treaty extended from the St. Croix to Albemarle. New York was the bond of New England and Virginia. The north and the south were united by the acquisition of NEW NETHERLAND.

CHAPTER XXII.

NEW NETHERLAND.

THE spirit of the age was present when the foundations of New York were laid. Every great European event affected the fortunes of America. Did a state prosper, it sought an increase of wealth by plantations in the west. Was a sect persecuted, it escaped to the New World. The Reformation, followed by collisions between English dissenters and the Anglican hierarchy, colonized New England; the Reformation, emancipating the Low Countries, led to settlements on the Hudson. The Netherlands divide with England the glory of having planted the first colonies in the United States; they also divide the glory of having set the example of public freedom. If England gave our fathers the idea of a popular representation, the united provinces were their model of a federal union.

At the discovery of America, the Netherlands possessed the municipal institutions which had survived the wreck of the Roman world and the feudal liberties of the middle ages. The landed aristocracy, the hierarchy, and the municipalities exercised political franchises. The municipal officers, in part appointed by the sovereign, in part perpetuating themselves, had common interests with the industrious citizens, from whom they were selected; and the nobles, cherishing the feudal right of resisting arbitrary taxation, joined the citizens in defending national liberty against encroachments.

1517 to 1559. The urgencies of war, the Reformation, perhaps also the arrogance of power, often tempted Charles V. to violate the constitutions of the Netherlands; Philip II., on his accession in 1559, formed the deliberate purpose of subverting them, and found a willing coad-

jutor in the prelates. During the middle age the church was the sole guardian of the people; and its political influence rested on gratitude towards the order which limited arbitrary power by invoking the truths of religion, and opened to plebeian ambition the highest distinctions. In the progress of society, the ward was become of age, and could protect its rights; the guardian had fulfilled its office, and might now resign its supremacy. But the Roman hierarchy, rigidly asserting authority, refused to submit belief to the test of inquiry, and struggled to establish a spiritual despotism: the sovereigns of Europe, equally refusing to subject their administrations to discussion, aimed at absolute dominion in the state. A new political alliance was the consequence. The Catholic priesthood and the temporal sovereigns, during the middle age so often and so bitterly opposed, entered into a natural and necessary friendship. By increasing the number of bishops, who, in right of their office, had a voice in the states, Philip II., in 1559, destroyed the balance of the constitution.

Thus the power of the sovereign sought to crush inherited privileges. Patriotism and hope animated the provinces; despotism and bigotry were on the side of Philip. We have witnessed the sanguinary character of the Spanish system at St. Augustine; we are now to trace the feudal liberties of the Netherlands to the Isle of Manhattan.

The contest in the Low Countries was one of the most memorable in the history of the human race. All classes were roused to opposition. The nobles framed a solemn petition; the common people broke in pieces the images that filled the churches. Despotism then seized possession of the courts, and invested a commission with arbitrary power over life and property; to overawe the burghers, the citadels were filled with mercenary soldiers; to strike terror into the nobility, Egmont and Horn were executed. Men fled; but whither? The village, the city, the court, the camp, were held by the tyrant; the fugitive had no asylum but the ocean.

The establishment of subservient courts was followed by arbitrary taxation. But feudal liberty forbade taxation

except by consent; and the levying of the tenth penny excited more commotion than the tribunal of blood. Merchant and landholder, citizen and peasant, Catholic and Protestant, were ripe for insurrection; and even with foreign troops Alba vainly attempted to enforce taxation without representation. Just then, in April, 1572, a party of the fugitive "beggars" succeeded in gaining the harbor of Briel; and, in July of the same year, the states of Holland, creating the Prince of Orange their stadholder, prepared to levy money and troops. In 1575 Zealand joined with Holland in demanding for freedom some better safeguard than the word of Philip II., and in November of the following year nearly all the provinces united to drive foreign troops from their soil. "The spirit that animates them," said Sidney to Queen Elizabeth, "is the spirit of God, and is invincible."

1572. 1575. 1576.

The particular union of five northern provinces at Utrecht, in January, 1579, perfected the insurrection by forming the basis of a sovereignty; and, when their ablest chiefs were put under the ban, and a price offered for the assassination of the Prince of Orange, the deputies in the assembly at the Hague, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1581, making few changes in their ancient laws, declared their independence by abjuring their king. "The prince," said they, in their manifesto, "is made for the subjects, without whom there would be no prince; and if, instead of protecting them, he seeks to take from them their old freedom and use them as slaves, he must be holden not a prince, but a tyrant, and may justly be deposed by the authority of the state." A rude structure of a commonwealth was the unpremeditated result of the revolution.

1579. 1581. July 26.

The republic of the United Netherlands was by its origin and its nature commercial. The device on an early Dutch coin was a ship laboring on the billows without oar or sails. The rendezvous of its martyrs had been the sea; the muster of its patriot emigrants had been on shipboard; and they had hunted their enemy, as the whale-ships pursue their game, in every corner of the ocean. The two leading mem-

bers of the confederacy, from their situation, could seek subsistence only on the water. Holland is but a peninsula, intersected by navigable rivers; protruding itself into the sea; crowded with a dense population on a soil saved from the deep by embankments, and kept dry only with pumps driven by windmills. Its houses were rather in the water than on land.

And Zealand is composed of islands. Its inhabitants were nearly all fishermen; its villages were as nests of sea-fowl, on the margin of the ocean. In both provinces every house was by nature a nursery of sailors; the sport of children was among the breakers; their boyish pastimes in boats; and, if their first excursions were but voyages to some neighboring port, they soon braved the dangers of every sea. The states advanced to sudden opulence; before the insurrection, they could with difficulty keep their embankments in repair; and now they were able to support large fleets and armies. Their commerce gathered into their harbors the fruits of the wide world. Producing almost no grain of any kind, Holland had the best-supplied granary of Europe; without fields of flax, it swarmed with weavers of linen; destitute of flocks, it became the centre of all woollen manufactures; and provinces which had not a forest built more ships than all Europe besides. They connected hemispheres. Their enterprising mariners displayed the flag of the republic from Southern Africa to the arctic circle. The ships of the Dutch, said Raleigh, outnumber those of England and ten other kingdoms. To the Italian cardinal the number seemed infinite. Amsterdam was the centre of the commerce of Europe. The sea not only bathed its walls, but flowed through its streets; and its merchantmen lay so crowded together that the beholder from the ramparts could not look through the thick forests of masts and yards. War for liberty became unexpectedly a well-spring of opulence; Holland plundered the commerce of Spain by its maritime force, and supplanted its rivals in the gainful traffic with the Indies. Lisbon and Antwerp were despoiled; Amsterdam, the depot of the merchandise of Europe and of the east, was become beyond dispute the

first commercial city of the world; the Tyre of modern times; the Venice of the north; the queen of all the seas.

1581. In 1581, the year after Portugal had been forcibly annexed to Spain and the Portuguese settlements in Asia were become for a season Spanish provinces, the epoch of the independence of the Netherlands, Thomas Buts, an Englishman who had five times crossed the Atlantic, offered to the states to conduct four ships-of-war to America. The adventure was declined by the government; but no 1591. obstacles were offered to private enterprise. Ten years afterwards, William Usselinx, who had lived some years in Castile, Portugal, and the Azores, proposed a West India company; but the dangers of the undertaking were still too appalling.

1594. In 1594 the port of Lisbon was closed by the king of Spain against the Low Countries. Their carrying trade in Indian goods was lost, unless their ships could penetrate to the seas of Asia. A company of merchants, believing that the coast of Siberia fell away to the south-east, hoped to shorten the voyage at least eight thousand miles by using a north-eastern route. A double expedition was sent forth on discovery; two fly-boats vainly tried to pass through the Straits of Veigatz, while, in a large ship, William Barentsen, whom Grotius honored as the peer of Columbus, coasted Nova Zembla to the seventy-seventh degree, without finding a passage.

Netherlanders in the service of Portugal had visited India, Malacca, China, and even Japan. Of these, 1595. Cornelius Houtman in April, 1595, sailed for India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and before his return circumnavigated Java. In the same year, Jacob van Heemskerk, the great mariner and naval hero, aided by Barentsen, renewed the search on the north-east, but attempted in vain to pass to the south of Nova Zembla. The republic, disheartened by the repeated failure, refused to fit out another expedition; but the city of Amster-1596. dam, in 1596, despatched two ships under Heemskerk and Barentsen to look for the open sea, which, it had been said, was to be found to the north of all known

land. Braver men never battled with arctic dangers; they discovered the jagged cliffs of Spitzbergen, and came within ten degrees of the pole. Then Barentsen sought to go round Nova Zembla, and, when his ship was hopelessly enveloped by ice, had the courage to encamp his crew on the desolate northern shore of the island, and cheer them during a winter, rendered horrible by famine, cold, and the fierce attacks of huge white bears, whom hunger had maddened. When spring came, the gallant company, traversing more than sixteen hundred miles in two open boats, were tossed for three months by storms and among icebergs, before they could reach the shelter of the White Sea. Barentsen sunk under his trials, but was engaged in poring over a sea-chart as he died. The expeditions of the Dutch were without a parallel for daring.

It was not till 1597 that voyages were undertaken 1597. from Holland to America. In that year, Bikker of Amsterdam, and Leyen of Enkhuisen, each formed a company to traffic with the West Indies. The commerce was continued with success; but Asia had greater attractions. In 1598, two-and-twenty ships sailed from 1598. Dutch harbors for the Indian seas, in part by the Cape of Good Hope, in part through the Straits of Magellan. When in 1600, after years of discussion, 1600. a plan for a West India company was reduced to writing, and communicated to the states-general, it was not adopted, though its principle was approved.

But the zeal of merchants and of statesmen was concentred on the east, where jealousy of the Portuguese inclined the native princes and peoples to welcome the Dutch as allies and protectors. In March, 1602, by the pre- 1602. vailing influence of Olden Barneveldt, the advocate of Holland, the Dutch East India company was chartered with the exclusive right to commerce beyond the Cape of Good Hope on the one side, and beyond the Straits of Magellan on the other. The states, unwilling to pledge themselves to the chances of war, granted all powers requisite for conquests, colonization, and government. In the age of feudalism, privileged bodies formed the balance of

the commercial and manufacturing interests against the aristocracy of the sword, and suited the genius of the republic. The Dutch East India company is the first in the series of great European trading corporations, and became the model for those of France and England.

As years rolled away, the progress of English commerce in the west awakened the attention of the Netherlands. England and Holland had been allies in the contest against Spain; had both spread their sails on the Indian seas; had both become competitors for possessions in America. In the same year in which Smith embarked for Virginia, vast designs were ripening among the Dutch; and Grotius, himself of the commission to which the affair was referred, acquaints us with the opinions of his countrymen. The United Provinces, it was said, abounded in mariners and in unemployed capital: not the plunder of Spanish commerce, not India itself, America alone, so rich in herbs of healing virtues, in forests, and in precious ores, could exhaust their enterprise. Their merchants had perused every work on the Western World, had gleaned intelligence from the narratives of sailors; and now they planned a privileged company, which should count the states-general among its stockholders, and possess exclusively the liberty of approaching America from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan, and Africa from the tropics to the Cape of Good Hope. The Spaniards are feeblest, it was confidently urged, where they are believed to be strongest; there would be no war but on the water, the home of the Batavians. It would, moreover, be glorious to bear Christianity to the heathen, and rescue them from their oppressors. Principalities might easily be won from the Spaniards, whose scattered citadels protected but a narrow zone.

1607.

To the eagerness of enterprise, it was replied that war had its uncertain events, the sea its treacheries; the Spaniards would learn naval warfare by exercise; and the little fleets of the provinces could hardly blockade an ocean or battle for a continent; the costs of defence would exceed the public resources; home would be lost in the search for

a foreign world, of which the air breathed pestilence, the natives were cannibals, the unoccupied regions were hopelessly wild. The party that desired peace with Spain, and counted Grotius and Olden Barneveldt among its leaders, for a long time succeeded in defeating every effort at Batavian settlements in the west.

While the negotiations with Spain postponed the formation of a West India company, the Dutch found their way to the United States through another channel.

In 1607, a company of London merchants, excited by the immense profits of voyages to the east, contributed the means for a new attempt to discover the near passage to Asia; and HENRY HUDSON, an Englishman by birth, was the chosen leader of the expedition. With his only son for his companion, he coasted the shores of Greenland, and hesitated whether to attempt the circumnavigation of that country or the passage across the north. He came nearer the pole than any earlier navigator; but, after he had renewed the discovery of Spitzbergen, vast masses of ice compelled his return.

The next year beheld Hudson once more on a voyage, to ascertain if the seas which divide Spitzbergen from Nova Zembla open a path to China. 1608.

The failure of two expeditions daunted Hudson's employers; they could not daunt the great navigator. 1609.

The discovery of the passage was the desire of his life; and, repairing to Holland, he offered his services to the Dutch East India company. The Zealanders, disheartened by former ill-success, made objections; but they were overruled by the directors for Amsterdam; and on the fourth day of April, 1609, five days before the truce with Spain, the "Half Moon," a yacht of about eighty tons' burden, commanded by Hudson and manned by a mixed crew of Netherlanders and Englishmen, his son being of the number, set sail for China by way of the north-east. On the fifth day of May he had attained the height of the north cape of Norway; but fogs and fields of ice near Nova Zembla closed against him the Straits of Veigatz. Remembering the late accounts from Virginia, Hudson, with prompt

decision, turned to the west, to look for some opening north of the Chesapeake. On the thirtieth of May he took in water at the Faroe Isles, and in June was on the track of Frobisher. Early in July, with foremast carried away and canvas rent in a gale, he found himself among fishermen from France on the Banks of Newfoundland. On the eighteenth he entered a very good harbor on the coast of Maine, mended his sails, and refitted his ship with a foremast from the woods. On the fourth of August, a boat was sent on shore at the headland which Gosnold seven years before had called Cape Cod, and which was now named New Holland; and on the eighteenth of August the "Half Moon" rode at sea off the Chesapeake Bay, which was known to be the entrance to the river of King James in Virginia. Here Hudson changed his course. On the twenty-eighth he entered the great bay, now known as Delaware, and gave one day to its rivers, its currents and soundings, and the aspect of the country. Then, sailing to the north along the low sandy coast that appeared like broken islands in the surf, on the second of September he was attracted by the "pleasant sight of the high hills" of Navesink. On the following day, as he approached the "bold" land, three separate rivers seemed to be in sight. He stood towards the northernmost, which was probably Rockaway Inlet; but, finding only ten feet of water on its bar, he cast about to the southward, and, almost at the time when Champlain was invading New York from the north, he sounded his way to an anchorage within Sandy Hook.

1609. Sept.

On the fourth, the ship went further up the Horse Shoe to a very good harbor near the New Jersey shore; and that same day the people of the country came on board to traffic for knives and beads. On the fifth, a landing was made from the "Half Moon." When Hudson stepped on shore, the natives stood round and sang in their fashion. Men, women, and children were feather-mantled, or clad in loose furs. Their food was Indian corn, which, when roasted, was pronounced to be excellent. They always carried with them maize and tobacco. Some had pipes of red copper,

with earthen bowls and copper ornaments round their necks. Their boats were made each of a single hollowed tree. Their weapons were bows and arrows, pointed with sharp stones. They slept abroad on mats of bulrushes or on the leaves of trees. They were friendly, but thievish, and crafty in carrying away what they fancied. The woods, it was specially noticed, abounded in "goodly oakes," and from that day the new comers never ceased to admire the great size of the trees.

On the sixth, John Colman and four others, in a boat, sounded the Narrows, and passed through Kill van Kull to Newark Bay. The air was very sweet, and the land as pleasant with grass and flowers and trees as they had ever seen; but, on the return, the boat was attacked by two canoes, and Colman killed by an arrow. 1609. Sept.

On Wednesday the ninth, Hudson moved cautiously from the lower bay into the Narrows; and on the eleventh, by aid of a very light wind, he went into the great river of the north, and rode all night in a harbor, which was safe against every wind.

On the morning of the twelfth, the natives, in eight-and twenty canoes, crowded about him, bringing beans and very good oysters. The day was fair and warm, though the light wind was from the north; and as Hudson, under the brightest autumnal sun, gazed around, having behind him the Narrows opening to the ocean, before him the noble stream flowing from above Weehawken with a broad, deep channel between forest-crowned palisades and the gently swelling banks of Manhattan, he made a record that "it was as fair a land as can be trodden by the foot of man." That night he anchored just above Manhattanville. The flood-tide of the next morning and of evening brought him near Yonkers. On the fourteenth, a strong south-east wind wafted him rapidly into the Highlands.

At daybreak, on the fifteenth, mists hung over the landscape; but, as they rose, the sun revealed the neighborhood of West Point. With a south wind the "Half Moon" soon emerged from the mountains that rise near the water's edge; sweeping upwards, it passed the elbow at Hyde

Park, and at night anchored a little below Red Hook, within the shadow of the majestic Catskill range, which it was noticed stands at a distance from the river.

Trafficking with the natives, who were "very loving," taking in fresh water, grounding at low tide on a shoal, the Netherlanders, on the evening of the seventeenth, reached no higher than the latitude of about forty-two degrees eighteen minutes, just above the present city of Hudson. The next day Hudson went on shore in one of the boats of the natives with an aged chief of a small tribe of the River Indians. He was taken to a house well constructed of oak bark, circular in shape, and arched in the roof, the granary of the beans and maize of the last year's harvest; while outside enough of them lay drying to load three ships. Two mats were spread out as seats for the strangers; food was immediately served in neat red wooden bowls; men, who were sent at once with bows and arrows for game, soon returned with pigeons; a fat dog, too, was killed; and haste made to prepare a feast. When Hudson refused to wait, they supposed him to be afraid of their weapons; and, taking their arrows, they broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire. The country was pleasant and fruitful, bearing wild grapes. "Of all lands on which I ever set my foot," says Hudson, "this is the best for tillage." The River Indians, for more than a century, preserved the memory of his visit.

1609. Sept.

The "Half Moon," on the nineteenth, drew near the landing of Kinderhook, where the Indians brought on board skins of beaver and otter. Hudson ventured no higher with the yacht; an exploring boat ascended a little above Albany to where the river was but seven feet deep, and the soundings grew uncertain.

So, on the twenty-third, Hudson turned his prow towards Holland, leaving the friendly tribes persuaded that the Dutch would revisit them the next year. As he went down the river, imagination peopled the region with towns. A party which, somewhere in Ulster county, went to walk on the west bank, found an excellent soil, with large trees of oak and walnut and chestnut. The land near Newburg

seemed a very pleasant site for a city. On the first of October Hudson passed below the mountains. On the fourth, not without more than one conflict with the savages, he sailed out of "the great mouth of THE GREAT RIVER" which bears his name; and, about the season of the return of John Smith from Virginia to England, he steered for Europe, leaving to its solitude the beautiful land which he admired beyond any country in the world. 1609. Oct.

Sombre forests shed a melancholy grandeur over the useless magnificence of nature, and hid in their deep shades the rich soil which no sun had ever warmed. No axe had levelled the giant progeny of the crowded groves, in which the fantastic forms of limbs, withered or riven by lightning, contrasted strangely with the verdure of a younger growth of branches. The wanton grape-vine, fastening its leafy coils to the top of the tallest forest tree, swung with every breeze, like the loosened shrouds of a ship. Trees might everywhere be seen breaking from their root in the marshy soil, and threatening to fall with the first rude gust; while the ground was strown with the ruins of former woods, over which a profusion of wild flowers wasted their freshness in mockery of the gloom. Reptiles sported in the stagnant pools, or crawled unharmed over piles of mouldering logs. The spotted deer couched among the thickets; and there were none but wild animals to crop the uncut herbage of the prairies. Silence reigned, broken, it may have been, by the flight of land-birds or the flapping of water-fowl, and rendered more dismal by the howl of beasts of prey. The streams, not yet limited to a channel, spread over sand-bars, tufted with copses of willow, or waded through wastes of reeds; or slowly but surely undermined the groups of sycamores that grew by their side. The smaller brooks spread out into sedgy swamps, that were overhung by clouds of mosquitoes; masses of decaying vegetation fed the exhalations with the seeds of pestilence, and made the balmy air of the summer's evening as deadly as it seemed grateful. Life and death were hideously mingled. The horrors of corruption frowned on the fruitless fertility of uncultivated nature.

And man, the occupant of the soil, was untamed as the savage scene, in harmony with the rude nature by which he was surrounded; a vagrant over the continent, in constant warfare with his fellow-man; the bark of the birch his canoe; strings of shells his ornaments, his record, and his coin; the roots of uncultivated plants among his resources for food; his knowledge in architecture surpassed both in strength and durability by the skill of the beaver; bended saplings the beams of his house; the branches and rind of trees its roof; drifts of leaves his couch; mats of bulrushes his protection against the winter's cold; his religion the adoration of nature; his morals the
1609. promptings of undisciplined instinct; disputing with the wolves and bears the lordship of the soil, and dividing with the squirrel the wild fruits with which the universal woodlands abounded.

The history of a country is modified by its climate, and, in many of its features, determined by its geographical situation. The region which Hudson had discovered possessed near the sea an unrivalled harbor; a river that admits the tide far into the interior on the north, the chain of great lakes, which have their springs in the heart of the continent; within its own limits the sources of rivers that flow to the Gulfs of Mexico and St. Lawrence, and to the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware; of which, long before Europeans anchored off Sandy Hook, the warriors of the Five Nations availed themselves in their excursions to Quebec, to the Ohio, or the Susquehannah. With just sufficient difficulties to irritate, and not enough to dishearten, New York united richest lands with the highest adaptation to foreign and domestic commerce.

How changed is the scene from the wild country on which Hudson gazed! The earth glows with the colors of civilization; the meadows are enamelled with choicest grasses; woodlands and cultivated fields are harmoniously blended; the birds of spring find their delight in orchards and trim gardens, variegated with selected plants from every temperate zone; while the brilliant flowers of the tropics bloom from the windows of the greenhouse or mock

at winter in the saloon. The yeoman, living like a good neighbor near the fields he cultivates, glories in the fruitfulness of the valleys, and counts with honest exultation the flocks and herds that browse in safety on the hills. The thorn has given way to the rosebush; the cultivated vine clambers over rocks where the brood of serpents used to nestle; while industry smiles at the changes she has wrought, and inhales the bland air which now has health on its wings.

And man is still in harmony with nature, which he has subdued, developed, and adorned. For him the rivers that flow to remotest climes mingle their waters; for him the lakes gain new outlets to the ocean; for him the arch spans the flood, and science spreads iron pathways to the recent wilderness; for him the hills yield up the shining marble and the enduring granite; for him immense rafts bring down the forests of the interior; for him the marts of the city gather the produce of all climes, and libraries collect the works of every language and age. The passions of society are chastened into purity; manners are made benevolent by refinement; and the virtue of the country is the guardian of its peace. Science investigates the powers of every plant and mineral, to find medicines for disease; schools of surgery rival the establishments of the Old World; the genius of letters begins to unfold his powers in the warm sunshine of public favor. An active daily press, vigilant from party interests, free even to dissoluteness, watches the progress of society, and communicates every fact that can interest humanity; and commerce pushes its wharfs into the sea, blocks up the wide rivers with its fleets, and sends its ships, the pride of naval architecture, to every zone.

A happy return voyage brought the "Half Moon" into Dartmouth on the seventh of November. There 1609. the vessel was arbitrarily delayed, and the services of its commander and English seamen were claimed by their liege. Hudson could only forward to his employers an account of his discoveries; he never again saw Holland or the land which he eulogized.

1610. The Dutch East India company refused to search further for the north-western passage; but English merchants, renewing courage, formed a company, and Hudson, in "The Discovery," engaged again in his great pursuit. He had already explored the north-east and the north, and the region between the Chesapeake and Maine. There was no room for hope but to the north of Newfoundland. Proceeding by way of Iceland, where "the famous Hecla" was casting out fire, passing Greenland and Frobisher's Straits, he sailed on the second of August, 1610, into the straits which bear his name, and into which no one had gone before him. As he came out from the passage upon the wide gulf, he believed that he beheld "a sea to the westward," so that the short way to the Pacific was found. How great was his disappointment, when he found himself embayed in a labyrinth without end. Still confident of ultimate success, the determined mariner resolved on wintering in the bay, that he might perfect his discovery in the spring. His crew murmured at the sufferings of a winter for which no preparation had been made. At length the late and anxiously expected spring burst forth; but it opened in vain for Hudson. Provisions were exhausted; he divided the last bread among his men, and prepared for them a bill of return; and "he wept as he gave it them." Believing himself almost on the point of succeeding, where Spaniards and English, and Danes and Dutch, had failed, he left his anchoring-place to steer for Europe. For two days the ship was encompassed by fields of ice, and the discontent of the crew broke forth into mutiny. Hudson was seized, and, with his only son and seven others, four of whom were sick, was thrown into the shallop. Seeing his commander thus exposed, Philip Staffe, the carpenter, demanded and gained leave to share his fate; and just as the ship made its way out of the ice, on a midsummer day, in a latitude where the sun, at that season, hardly goes down and evening twilight mingles with the dawn, the shallop was cut loose. What became of Hudson? Did he die miserably of starvation? Did he reach land to perish from the fury of the natives? Was he crushed between ribs of

ice? The returning ship encountered storms, by which he was probably overwhelmed. The gloomy waste of waters which bears his name is his tomb and his monument.

The "Half Moon," having been detained for many months in Dartmouth by the jealousy of the English, did not reach Amsterdam till the middle of July, 1610, too late, perhaps, in the season for the immediate equipment of a new voyage. At least no definite trace of a voyage to Manhattan in that year has been discovered. Besides, to avoid a competition with England, the Dutch ambassador at London, that same year, proposed a joint colonization of Virginia, as well as a partnership in the East India trade; but the offer was put aside from fear of the superior "art and industry of the Dutch."

The development of a lucrative fur-trade in Hud- 1611.
son River was therefore left to unprotected private adventure. In 1613, or in one of the two previous years, the experienced Hendrik Christiaensen of Cleve "and the worthy Adriaen Block chartered a ship with the skipper Ryser," and made a voyage into the waters of New York, bringing back rich furs, and also two sons of native sachems.

The states-general still hesitated to charter a West India company; but on the twenty-seventh of March, 1614, they ordained that private adventurers might 1614.
enjoy an exclusive privilege for four successive voyages to any passage, haven, or country they should thereafter find. With such encouragement, a company of merchants, in the same year, sent five small vessels, of which the "Fortune," of Amsterdam, had Christiaensen for its commander; the "Tiger," of the same port, Adriaen Block; the "Fortune," of Hoorn, Cornelis Jacobsen May, to extend the discoveries of Hudson as well as to trade with the natives.

The "Tiger" was accidentally burnt near the Island of Manhattan; but Adriaen Block, building a yacht of sixteen tons' burden, which he named the "Unrest," plied forth to explore the vicinity. First of European navigators, he steered through Hellgate, passed the archipelago near Norwalk, and discovered the river of Red Hills, which we

know as the Housatonic. From the Bay of New Haven he turned to the east, and ascended the beautiful river which he called the Freshwater, but which, to this hour, keeps its Indian name of Connecticut. Near the site of Wethersfield he came upon one Indian tribe; just above Hartford, upon another; and he heard tales of the Horicans, who dwelt in the west, and moved over lakes in bark canoes. The Pequods he found on the banks of their river. At Montauk Point, then occupied by a savage nation, he reached the ocean, proving the land east of the sound to be an island. After discovering the island which bears his name, and exploring both channels of that which owes to him the name of Roode Eiland, now Rhode Island, the mariner from Holland imposed the names of places in his native land on groups in the Atlantic, which, years before, Gosnold and other English navigators had visited. The "Unrest" sailed beyond Cape Cod; and, while John Smith was making maps of the bays and coasts of Maine and Massachusetts, Adriaen Block traced the shore as far at least as Nahant. Then leaving the American-built yacht at Cape Cod, to be used by Cornelis Hendricksen in the fur-trade, Block sailed in Christiaensen's ship for Holland.

The states-general, in an assembly where Olden Barneveldt was present, readily granted to the united company of merchants interested in these discoveries a three years' monopoly of trade with the territory between Virginia and New France, from forty to forty-five degrees of latitude. Their charter, given on the eleventh of October, 1614, names the extensive region NEW NETHERLAND. Its northern part John Smith had that same year called NEW ENGLAND.

1615. To prosecute their commerce with the natives, Christiaensen built for the company, on Castle Island, south of the present city of Albany, a truck-house and military post. The building was thirty-six feet by twenty-six, the stockade fifty-eight feet square, the moat eighteen feet wide. The garrison was composed of ten or twelve men. The fort, which may have been begun in 1614, which was certainly finished in 1615, was called Nassau; the river

for a time was known as the Maurice. With the Five Nations a friendship grew up, which was soon ratified according to the usages of the Iroquois, and during the power of the Dutch was never broken. Such is the beginning of Albany: it was the outpost of the Netherland fur-trade.

The United Provinces, now recognised even by Spain as free countries, provinces, and states, set no bounds to their enterprise. The world seemed not too large for their commerce under the genial influence of liberty, achieved after a struggle longer and more desperate than that of Greece with Persia. This is the golden age of their trade with Japan, and the epoch of their alliance with the emperor of Ceylon. In 1611 their ships once again braved the frosts of the arctic circle in search of a new way to China; and it was a Dutch discoverer, Schouten, from Hoorn, who, in 1616, left the name of his own beloved seaport 1616. on the southernmost point of South America. In the same year a report was made of further discoveries in North America. Three Netherlanders — who went up the Mohawk valley, struck a branch of the Delaware, and made their way to Indians near the site of Philadelphia — were found by Cornelis Hendricksen, as he came in the "Unrest" to explore the bay and rivers of Delaware. On his return to Holland in 1616, the merchants by whom he had been employed claimed the discovery of the country between thirty-eight and forty degrees. He described the inhabitants as trading in sables, furs, and other skins; the land as a vast forest, abounding in bucks and does, in turkeys and partridges; the climate temperate, like that of Holland; the trees mantled by the vine. But the states-general refused to grant a monopoly of trade.

On the first day of January, 1618, the exclusive 1618. privilege conceded to the company of merchants for New Netherland expired; but voyages continued to be made by their agents and by rival enterprise. The fort near Albany having been destroyed by a flood, a new post was taken on Norman's Kill. But the strife of political parties still retarded the establishment of permanent settle-

ments. By the constitution of the Low Countries, the municipal officers, who were named by the stadholder or were self-renewed on the principle of close corporations, appointed delegates to the provincial states; and these again, a representative to the states-general. The states, the true personation of a fixed commercial aristocracy, resisted popular innovations; and the same instinct which led the Romans to elevate Julius Cæsar, the commons of England to sustain Henry VII., the Danes to confer hereditary power on the descendants of Frederic III., the French to substitute absolute for feudal monarchy, induced the people of Holland to favor the stadholder. The division extended to domestic politics, theology, and international intercourse. The friends of the stadholder asserted sovereignty for the states-general; while the party of Olden Barneveldt and Grotius, with greater reason in point of historic facts, claimed sovereignty exclusively for the provincial assemblies. Prince Maurice, who desired to renew the war with Spain, favored colonization in America; the aristocratic party, fearing the increase of executive power, opposed it from fear of new collisions. The Gomarists, who satisfied the natural passion for equality by denying personal merit, and ascribing every virtue and capacity to the benevolence of God, leaned to the crowd; while the Arminians, nourishing pride by asserting power and merit in man, commended their creed to the aristocracy. Thus the Calvinists, popular enthusiasm, and the stadholder, were arrayed against the provincial states and municipal authorities. The colonization of New York by the Dutch depended on the struggle; and the issue was not long doubtful. The excesses of political ambition, disguised under the forms of religious controversy, led to violent counsels. In August, 1618, Olden Barneveldt and Grotius were taken into custody.

1618. In November, 1618, a few weeks after the first acts of violence, the states-general gave a limited incorporation to a company of merchants; yet the conditions of the charter were not inviting, and no organization took place. In May of the following year, Grotius, the first polit-

ical writer of his age, was condemned to imprisonment for life; and by the default of the stadholder, Olden Barneveldt, at the age of threescore years and twelve, the venerable founder of the republic, was conducted to the scaffold.

These events hastened the colonization of New Netherland, where as yet no Europeans had repaired except commercial agents and their subordinates. In 1620, 1620. merchants of Holland, who had thus far had a trade only in Hudson River, wished to plant there a new commonwealth, lest the king of Great Britain should first people its banks with the English nation. To this end it was proposed to send over John Robinson, with four hundred families of his persuasion; but the pilgrims had not lost their love for the land of their nativity, and the states were unwilling to guarantee them protection. A voyage from Virginia, to vindicate the trade in the Hudson for England, proved a total loss. The settlement of Manhattan grew directly out of the great continental struggles of Protestantism.

The thirty years' war of religion in Germany had 1621. begun; the twelve years' truce between the Netherlands and the Spanish king had nearly expired; Austria hoped to crush the Reformation in the empire, and Spain to recover dominion over its ancient provinces. The states-general, whose existence was menaced by a combination of hostile powers, were summoned to display unparalleled energy in their foreign relations; and on the third of June, 1621, the Dutch West India company, which became the sovereign of the central portion of the United States, was incorporated for twenty-four years, with a pledge of a renewal of its charter. It was invested, on the part of the Netherlands, with the exclusive privilege to traffic and plant colonies on the coast of Africa from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope; on the coast of America, from the Straits of Magellan to the remotest north. Subscription to its joint stock was open to every nation; the states-general made it a gift of half a million of guilders, and were stockholders to the amount of another half million. The franchises of the company were immense, that it might lay its

own plans, provide for its own defence, and in all things take care of itself. The states-general, in case of war, were to be known only as its allies and patrons. While it was expected to render efficient aid in the impending war with Spain, its permanent objects were the peopling of fruitful unsettled countries and the increase of trade. It might acquire provinces, but only at its own risk; and it was endowed with absolute power over its possessions, subject to the approval of the states-general. The company was divided into five branches or chambers, of which that in Amsterdam represented four ninths of the whole. The government was intrusted to a board of nineteen, of whom eighteen represented the five branches, and one was named by the states.

Thus did a nation of merchants give away the leave to appropriate continents; and the corporate company, invested with a boundless liberty of choice, culled the rich territories of Guinea, Brazil, and New Netherland.

Colonization on the Hudson and the Delaware was neither the motive nor the main object of the establishment of the Dutch West India company; the territory was not described either in the charter or at that time in any public act of the states-general, which neither made a formal specific grant nor offered to guarantee the possession of a single foot of land. Before the chamber of Amsterdam, under the authority of the company, assumed the care of New Netherland, while the trade was still prosecuted by private enterprise, the English privy council listened to the complaint of Arundel, Gorges, Argall, and Mason of the Plymouth company against "the Dutch intruders;" and by the
1622. king's direction, in February, 1622, Sir Dudley Carleton, then British ambassador at the Hague, claiming the country as a part of New England, required the states-general to stay the prosecution of their plantation. This remonstrance received no explicit answer; while Carleton reported of the Dutch that all their trade there was in ships of sixty or eighty tons at the most, to fetch furs, nor could he learn that they had either planted or designed to plant a colony. Bnt the English, at that time disheartened by

the sufferings and losses encountered in Virginia, were not disposed to incur the unprofitable expense of a new settlement; and the Dutch ships, which went over in 1622, found none to dispute the possession of the country.

The organization of the West India company in 1623 was the epoch of its zealous efforts at colonization. In the spring of that year, "The New Netherland," a ship of two hundred and sixty tons' burden, carried out thirty families. They were chiefly Walloons, Protestant fugitives from Belgian provinces. April was gone before the vessel reached Manhattan. A party under the command of Cornelis Jacobsen May, who has left his name on the southern county and cape of New Jersey, ascended the river Delaware then known as the South River of the Dutch, and on Timber Creek, a stream that enters the Delaware a few miles below Camden, built Fort Nassau. At the same time Adriaen Joris, on the site of Albany, threw up and completed the fort named Orange. There eighteen families were settled; their huts of bark rose round the fort, and were protected by covenants of friendship with the various tribes of Indians. 1623.

The next year, 1624, may be taken as the era of a continuous civil government, with Cornelis Jacobsen May as the first director. It had power to punish, but not with death; judgments for capital crimes were to be referred to Amsterdam. The emigrant ship returned laden with valuable furs, and the colony was reported to be bravely prosperous. 1624.

In 1625, May was succeeded by William Verhulst. The colony was gladdened by the arrival of two large ships freighted with cattle and horses, as well as swine and sheep. At Fort Orange a child of Netherland parentage was born. In that year, Frederick Henry, the new stadholder, was able to quell the passions of religious sects, and unite all parties in a common love of country. Danger from England also was diminished; for Charles I., soon after his accession, entered into a most intimate alliance with the Dutch. Just then Jean de Laet, a member of the chamber of Amsterdam, in an elaborate work on the 1625.

West Indies, opportunely drew the attention of his countrymen to their rising colony, and published Hudson's glowing description of the land.

Under such auspices, Peter Minuit, a German
1626. of Wesel, in January, 1626, sailed for New Netherland as its director-general. He arrived there on the fourth of May. Hitherto the Dutch had no title to ownership of the land; Minuit purchased the Island of Manhattan from its native proprietors. The price paid was sixty guilders, about twenty-four dollars for more than twenty thousand acres. The southern point was selected for "a battery," and lines were drawn for a fort, which took the name of New Amsterdam. The town had already thirty houses, and the emigrants' wives had borne them children. In the want of a regular minister, two "consolers of the sick" read to the people on Sundays "texts out of the Scriptures, together with the creeds."

No danger appeared in the distance except from the pretensions of England. The government of Manhattan sought an interchange of "friendly kindness and neighborhood" with the nearest English at New Plymouth; and by
1627. a public letter in March, 1627, it claimed mutual "good-will and service," pleading "the nearness of their native countries, the friendship of their forefathers, and the new covenant between the states-general and England against the Spaniards." Bradford, in reply, gladly accepted the "testimony of love." "Our children after us," he added, "shall never forget the good and courteous entreaty which we found in your country, and shall desire your prosperity for ever." His benediction was sincere; though he called to mind that the English patent for New England extended to forty degrees, within which, therefore, the Dutch had no right "to plant or trade;" and he especially begged them not to send their yachts into the Narragansett.

"Our authority to trade and plant we derive from the states of Holland, and will defend it," rejoined Minuit. But, in October of the same year, he sent De Rasières, who stood next him in rank, on a conciliatory embassy to New

Plymouth. The envoy proceeded in state with soldiers and musicians. At Scusset, on Cape Cod Bay, he was met by a boat from the Old Colony, and "was honorably attended with the noise of trumpets." He succeeded in concerting a mutual trade; but Bradford still warned the authorities of New Amsterdam to "clear their title" to their lands without delay. The advice seemed like a wish to hunt the Dutch out of their infant colony, and led the college of nineteen to ask of the states-general forty soldiers for its defence.

Such were the rude beginnings of New Netherland. 1628. The women and children of the colony were concentred on Manhattan, which, in 1628, counted a population of two hundred and seventy souls, including Dutch, Walloons, and slaves from Angola. Jonas Michaelius, a clergyman, arriving in April of that year, "established a church," which chose Minuit one of its two elders, and at the first administration of the Lord's Supper counted fifty communicants. This was the age of hunters and Indian traders; of traffic in the skins of otters and beavers; when the native tribes were employed in the pursuit of game, as far as the St. Lawrence, and the skiffs of the Dutch, in quest of furs, penetrated every bay and bosom and inlet, from Narragansett to the Delaware. It was the day of straw roofs and wooden chimneys and windmills. There had been no extraordinary charge; there was no multitude of people; but labor was well directed and profitable; and the settlement promised fairly both to the state and to the undertakers. The experiment in feudal institutions followed.

Reprisals on Spanish commerce were the alluring pursuit of the West India company. On a single occasion, in 1628, the captures secured by its privateers were almost eighty-fold more valuable than all the exports from their colony for the four preceding years. While the company of merchant warriors, conducting their maritime enter- 1629. prises like princes, were making prizes of the rich fleets of Portugal and Spain, and, by their victories, pouring the wealth of America into their treasury, the states-general

interposed to subject the government of foreign con-
1629. quests to a council of nine; and in 1629 the college of nineteen adopted a charter of privileges for patroons who desired to found colonies in New Netherland.

These colonies were to resemble the lordships in the Netherlands. Every one who would emigrate on his own account was promised as much land as he could cultivate; but husbandmen were not expected to emigrate without aid. The liberties of Holland were the fruit of municipalities; the country people were subordinate to their landlord, against whose oppression the town was their refuge. The boors enjoyed as yet no political franchises, and had not had the experience required for planting states on a principle of equality. To the enterprise of proprietaries, New Netherland was to owe its tenants. He that within four years would plant a colony of fifty souls became lord of the manor, or patroon, possessing in absolute property the lands he might colonize. Those lands might extend sixteen miles in length; or, if they lay upon both sides of a river, eight miles on each bank, stretching indefinitely far into the interior; yet it was stipulated that the soil must be purchased of the Indians. Were cities to grow up, the institution of their government would rest with the patroon, who was to exercise judicial power, yet subject to appeals. The schoolmaster and the minister were praised as desirable; but there was no establishment for their maintenance. The colonists were forbidden to manufacture any woollen or linen or cotton fabrics; not a web might be woven, not a shuttle thrown, on penalty of exile. To impair the monopoly of the Dutch weavers was punishable as a perjury. The company, moreover, pledged itself to furnish the manors with negroes; yet not, it was warily provided, unless the traffic should prove lucrative. The Isle of Manhattan, as the chosen seat of commerce, was reserved to the company.

This charter of liberties was fatal to the interests of the corporation; its directors and agents immediately appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of its territory. In June, 1629, three years, therefore, before the concession of the charter for Maryland, Samuel Godyn and

Samuel Blommaert, both directors of the Amsterdam chamber, bargained with the natives for the soil from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of Delaware River; in July, 1630, this purchase of an estate, more than thirty miles long, was ratified at Fort Amsterdam by Minuit and his council. It is the oldest deed for land in Delaware, and comprises the water-line of the two southern counties of that state. Still larger domains were in the same year appropriated by the agents of another director of the Amsterdam chamber, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, to whom successive purchases from Mohawk and Mohican chiefs gave titles to land north and south of Fort Orange. His deeds also were promptly confirmed; so that his possessions, including a later supplementary acquisition, extended above and below Fort Orange, for twenty-four miles on each side of the river and forty-eight miles into the interior. In the same year he sent out emigrants to the colony of Rensselaerwyck. In July, 1630, Michael Pauw, another director, bought Staten Island; in the following November, he became the patroon of Hoboken and what is now Jersey City; and he named his "colonie" on the mainland Pavonia. 1630.

The company had designed, by its charter of liberties, to favor the peopling of the province, and yet to retain its trade; under pretence of advancing agriculture, individuals had acquired a title to all the important points, where the natives resorted for traffic. As a necessary consequence, the feudal possessors were often in collision with the central government; while, to the humble emigrant, the monopoly of commerce was aggravated by the monopoly of land.

A company was soon formed to colonize the tract acquired by Godyn and Blommaert. The first settlement in Delaware, older than any in Pennsylvania, was undertaken by a company, of which Godyn, Van Rensselaer, Blommaert, the historian De Laet, and a new partner, David Pietersen de Vries, were members. By joint enterprise, in December, 1630, a ship of eighteen guns, commanded by Pieter Heyes, and laden with emigrants, store of seeds, cattle, and agricultural implements, embarked from the Texel, partly to cover the southern shore of Delaware Bay with fields of wheat and

tobacco, and partly for a whale-fishery on the coast. A yacht which went in company was taken by a Dun-
1631. kirk privateer; early in the spring of 1631, the larger vessel reached its destination, and just within Cape Henlopen, on Lewes Creek, planted a colony of more than thirty souls. The superintendence of the settlement was intrusted to Gillis Hosset. A little fort was built and well beset with palisades; the arms of Holland were affixed to a pillar; the country received the name of Swaanendael; the water, that of Godyn's Bay. The voyage of Heyes was the cradling of a state. That Delaware exists as a separate commonwealth is due to this colony. According to English rule, occupancy was necessary to complete a title to the wilderness; and the Dutch now occupied Delaware.

On the fifth of May, Heyes and Hosset, in behalf of Godyn and Blommaert, made a further purchase from Indian chiefs of the opposite coast of Cape May, for twelve miles on the bay, on the sea, and in the interior; and, in June, this sale of a tract, twelve miles square, was formally attested at Manhattan.

Animated by the courage of Godyn, the patroons of Swaanendael fitted out a second expedition, under the command of De Vries. But, before he set sail, news was received of the destruction of the fort and the murder of its people. Hosset, the commandant, had caused the death of an Indian chief; and the revenge of the savages was not appeased till not one of the emigrants remained alive. De Vries, on his arrival, found only the ruins of the house and its palisades, half consumed by fire, and here and there the bones of the colonists.

Before the Dutch could recover the soil of Delaware from the natives, the patent granted to Baltimore gave them an English competitor. Distracted by anarchy, the administration of New Netherland could not withstand encroachments. The too powerful patroons disputed the fur-trade with the agents of the West India company. In
1632. 1632, to still the quarrels, the discontented Minuit was displaced; but the inherent evils in the system were not lessened by appointing as his successor the

selfish and incompetent Wouter van Twiller. The English government claimed that New Netherland was planted only on sufferance. The ship in which Minuit embarked for Holland entered Plymouth in a stress of weather, and was detained for a time on the allegation that it had traded without license in a part of the king's dominions. Van Twiller, who arrived at Manhattan in April, 1633, 1633. was defied by an English ship, which sailed up the river before his eyes. The rush of Puritan emigrants to New England had quickened the movements of the Dutch on the Connecticut, which they undoubtedly were the first to discover and to occupy. The soil round Hartford was purchased of the natives, and a fort was erected Jan. 8. on land within the present limits of that city, some months before the pilgrims of Plymouth colony raised their block-house at Windsor, and more than two years before the people of Hooker and Haynes began 1635. the commonwealth of Connecticut. To whom did the country belong? Like the banks of the Hudson, it had been first explored, and even occupied, by the Dutch; but should a log hut and a few straggling soldiers seal a territory against other emigrants? The English planters were on a soil over which England had ever claimed the sovereignty, and of which the English monarch had made a grant; they were there with their wives and children, and they were there for ever. It were a sin, said they, to leave so fertile a land unimproved. Their religious enthusiasm, zeal for popular liberty, and numbers, did not leave the issue uncertain. Altercations continued for years. The Dutch fort remained in the hands of the Dutch West India company till it was surrounded by English towns. At last, the English in Connecticut grew so numerous as not only to overwhelm its garrison, but, under a grant from Lord Stirling, to plant a part of Long Island. In the second year of the government of William Kieft, the 1640. arms of the Dutch on the east end of that island were thrown down in derision, and a fool's head set in their place.

While the New England men were thus encroaching on

the Dutch on the east, a new competitor for possessions in America appeared in Delaware Bay. Gustavus Adolphus, the greatest benefactor of his race in the line of Swedish kings, had discerned the advantages which might be expected from colonies and widely extended commerce.

1624. The royal zeal was encouraged by William Usselinx, a Netherlander, who for many years had given thought to the subject; at his instance, a commercial company, with exclusive privileges to traffic beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and the right of planting colonies, was

1626. June 14. sanctioned by the king and incorporated by the states

1627. May 1. of Sweden. The stock was open to all Europe for subscription; the king himself pledged four hundred thousand dollars of the royal treasure on equal risks; the chief place of business was established at Gottenburg; a branch was promised to any city which would embark three hundred thousand dollars in the undertaking. The government of the future colonies was reserved to a royal council: for "politics," says the charter, "lie beyond the profession of merchants." Men of every rank were solicited to engage in the enterprise; it was resolved to invite "colonists from all the nations of Europe." Other nations employed slaves in their colonies; and "slaves," said they, "cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and soon perish from hard usage; the Swedish nation is laborious and intelligent, and surely we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children." To the Scandinavian imagination, hope painted the New World as a paradise; the proposed colony as a benefit to the persecuted, a security "to the honor of the wives and daughters" of those whom wars and bigotry had made fugitives; a blessing to the "common man;" to the "whole Protestant world." It may

1629. prove the advantage, said Gustavus, of "all oppressed Christendom."

But the reviving influence of the pope menaced Protestant Christendom with ruin. The insurrection against intellectual servitude, of which the Reformation was the great expression, appeared in danger of being sup-

1630. May 29. pressed, when Gustavus Adolphus resolved to in-

vade Germany and vindicate the rights of conscience with his sword. Even the cherished purpose of colonization yielded in the emergency; and the funds of the company were arbitrarily applied as resources in the war. It was a war of revolution; a struggle to secure German liberty by establishing religious equality; yet even the great events on which the destinies of Germany were suspended could not wholly drive from the mind of Gustavus his designs in America. They did but enlarge his views; 1632. Oct. 16. and at Nuremberg, only a few days before the battle of Lützen, where humanity won one of her most glorious victories, and lost one of her ablest defenders, the enterprise, which still appeared to him as "the jewel of his kingdom," was recommended to the people of Germany.

In confirming the invitation to Germany, Oxen- 1633. stiern declares himself to be but the executor of Apr. 10. the wish of Gustavus. The same wise statesman, one of the great men of all time, the serene chancellor, who in the busiest scenes never took a care with him to his couch, renewed the patent of the company in June, 1633, June 26. and in December of the next year extended its benefits to Germany. The charter was soon confirmed by the deputies of the four upper circles at Frankfort. "The consequences" of this design, said Oxenstiern, "will be favorable to all Christendom, to Europe, to the whole world." And were they not so? The first permanent colonization of the banks of the Delaware is due to Oxenstiern.

Yet more than four years passed away before the design was carried into effect. We have seen Min- 1638. uit, the early governor of New Netherland, forfeit his place amidst the strifes of faction. He now offered the benefit of his experience to the Swedes; and leaving Sweden, probably near the close of the year 1637, he sailed for the Bay of Delaware. Two vessels, the "Key of Calmar" and the "Griffin," formed his whole fleet; the Swedish government provided the emigrants with a religious teacher, with provisions, and merchandise for traffic with the natives. Early in the year 1638, the little company of Swedes and Finns arrived in the Delaware Bay; the lands

from the southern cape, which the emigrants from hyperborean regions named Paradise Point, to the falls in the river near Trenton, were purchased of the natives; and near the mouth of Christiana Creek, within the limits of the present state of Delaware, Christiana Fort, so called from the little girl who was then queen of Sweden, was erected.

The colony was not unmolested. Should the Dutch suffer their province to be dismembered? The records at Albany still preserve the paper in which Kieft, then director-general of New Netherland, claimed for the Dutch the country on the Delaware: their possession had long been guarded by forts, and had been sealed by the blood of their countrymen. But at that time the fame of Swedish arms protected the Swedish flag in the New World; and, while Banner and Torstenson were humbling Austria and Denmark, the Dutch did not proceed beyond a protest.

Meantime, tidings of the loveliness of the country had been borne to Scandinavia, and the peasantry of Sweden and of Finland longed to exchange their farms in Europe for homes on the Delaware. Emigration increased; at the last considerable expedition, there were more than a hundred families eager to embark for the land of promise, and unable to obtain a passage in the crowded vessels. The plantations of the Swedes were gradually extended; and to preserve the ascendency over the Dutch, who renewed their fort at Nassau, Printz, the governor,
1643. in 1643, established his residence in Tinicum, a few miles below Philadelphia. A fort, constructed of hemlock logs, defended the island; and houses began to cluster in its neighborhood. Pennsylvania, like Delaware, traces its lineage to the Swedes, who had planted a suburb of Philadelphia before William Penn became its proprietary. The banks of the Delaware from the ocean to the falls were known as New Sweden. The few English families within its limits, emigrants from New England,
1640. allured by the climate and the opportunity of Indian traffic, were either driven from the soil or submitted to Swedish jurisdiction.

While the limits of New Netherland were narrowed by

competitors on the east and on the south, and Long Island was soon to be claimed by the agent of Lord Stirling, the colony was almost annihilated by the vengeance of the neighboring Algonkin tribes. Angry and even bloody quarrels had sometimes arisen between dishonest traders and savages maddened by intoxication. The blameless settlement on Staten Island had, in consequence, 1640.
been ruined by the blind vengeance of the tribes of New Jersey. The strife continued. An Indian boy, who had been present when, years before, his uncle had been robbed and murdered, had vowed revenge, and, now that he was grown to man's estate, remembered and 1641.
executed the vow of his childhood. A roving but fruitless expedition into the country south of the Hudson was the consequence. The Raritans were outlawed, and a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum was offered for every member of the tribe. The season of danger brought with it the necessity of consulting the people; and the commons elected a body of twelve to assist the governor. De Vries, the head of the committee of the people, urged the advantage of friendship with the natives. But the traders did not learn humanity, nor the savage forget revenge; and the son of a chief, stung by the conviction of having been defrauded and robbed, aimed an unerring arrow at the first Hollander exposed to his fury. A deputation of the 1642.
river chieftains hastened to express their sorrow, and deplore the never-ending alternations of bloodshed. The murderer they could not deliver up; but after the custom of the Saxons in the days of Alfred, or the Irish under Elizabeth, in exact correspondence with the usages of earliest Greece, they offered to purchase security for the murderer by a fine for blood. Two hundred fathom of the best wampum might console the grief of the widow. "You yourselves," they added, "are the cause of this evil; you ought not craze the young Indians with brandy. Your own people, when drunk, fight with knives, and do foolish things; you cannot prevent mischief, till you cease to sell strong drink to the Indian."

Kieft was inexorable, and demanded the murderer. Just

1643. Feb. then, a small party of Mohawks from the neighborhood of Fort Orange, armed with muskets, descended from their fastnesses, and claimed the natives round Manhattan as tributaries. At the approach of the formidable warriors of a braver Huron race, the more numerous but cowering Algonkins crowded together in despair, begging assistance of the Dutch. Kieft seized the moment for an exterminating massacre. In vain was it foretold that the ruin would light upon the Dutch themselves. In the Feb. 25, 26. stillness of a dark winter's night, the soldiers at the fort, joined by freebooters from Dutch privateers, and led by a guide who knew every by-path and nook where the savages nestled, crossed the Hudson, for the purpose of destruction. The unsuspecting tribes could offer little resistance. Nearly a hundred perished in the carnage. Daybreak did not end its horrors; men might be seen, mangled and helpless, suffering from cold and hunger; children were tossed into the stream, and, as their parents plunged to their rescue, the soldiers prevented their landing, that both child and parent might drown.

The massacre was held in detestation by the colonists, who afterwards decided to imitate the precedent of Virginia, by deposing their governor and sending him back to Holland. For the moment, he was proud of his deed of treachery, and greeted the returning troops with exultation. But his joy was short. No sooner was it known that the midnight attack had been made not by the Mohawks, but by the Dutch, than every Algonkin tribe round Manhattan was seized with frenzy. From the swamps sudden onsets were made in every direction; villages were laid waste; the farmer murdered in the field; his children swept into captivity. From the shores of New Jersey to the borders of Connecticut, not a bowery was safe. It was on this occasion that Anne Hutchinson perished with her family. The Dutch colony was threatened with ruin. "Mine eyes," says a witness, "saw the flames at their towns, and the frights and hurries of men, women, and children, the present removal of all that could for Holland." The director was compelled to desire peace.

On the fifth of March, 1643, a convention of sixteen sachems assembled in the woods of Rockaway; 1643. Mar. 5. and at daybreak De Vries and another, the two envoys from Manhattan, were conducted to the centre of the little senate. Their best orator addressed them, holding in one hand a bundle of small sticks. "When you first arrived on our shores, you were destitute of food; we gave you our beans and our corn; we fed you with oysters and fish; and now, for our recompense, you murder our people." Such were his opening words; having put down one little stick, he proceeded: "The traders whom your first ships left on our shore, to traffic till their return, were cherished by us as the apple of our eye: we gave them our daughters for their wives; among those whom you have murdered were children of your own blood." He laid down another stick; and many more remained in his hand, each a memento of an unsatisfied wrong. "I know all," said De Vries, interrupting him, and inviting the chiefs to repair to the fort. The speaking ceased; the chieftains gave costly presents, ten fathoms of seawan, to each of the whites; and then the party went by water to New Amsterdam. There peace was made; but the presents of Kieft were those of a niggard, and left still in the Indians the rankling memory of the cruel slaughter of their infants. A month later, a similar covenant was made with the tribes on the river. But confidence was not restored. The young warriors among the red men would not be pacified; one had lost a father or a mother; a second owed revenge to the memory of a friend. No sufficient ransom had stifled revenge and calmed the pride of honor. "The presents we have July 20. received," said an older chief, in despondency, "bear no proportion to our loss; the price of blood has not Sept. 15. been paid;" and war was renewed.

The commander of the Dutch troops was John Underhill, a fugitive from New England, a veteran in Indian warfare, and one of the bravest men of his day. Having the licentiousness not less than the courage of the soldiers of that age, he had been compelled, at Boston, in a great assembly, on lecture-day, during the session of the 1640.

general court, dressed in the habit of a penitent, to stand upon a platform, and with sighs and tears, and brokenness of heart, and the aspect of sorrow, to beseech the compassion of the congregation. In the following year,
1641. Sept. he removed to New Netherland, and now, with an army of one hundred and twenty men, became the protector of the Dutch settlements. The war con-
1643 to 1645. tinued for two years. At length, the Dutch were weary of danger; the Indians tired of being hunted like beasts. The Mohawks claimed a sovereignty
1645. Aug. 30. over the Algonkins; their ambassador appeared at Manhattan to negotiate a peace; and in front of Fort Amsterdam, according to Indian usage, under the open sky, on the spot now so beautiful, where the commerce of the world may be watched from shady walks, in the presence of the sun and of the ocean, the sachems of New Jersey, of the River Indians, of the Mohicans, and of Long Island, acknowledging the chiefs of the Five Nations as witnesses and arbitrators, and having around them the director and council of New Netherland, with the whole commonalty of the Dutch, set their marks to
Sept. 6. a solemn treaty of peace. The joy of the colony broke forth into a general thanksgiving; but infamy attached to the name of Kieft, the author of the carnage; the emigrants desired to reject him as their governor; the West India company disclaimed his barbarous policy.
1647. 1648. About two years after the peace, he embarked for Europe in a large and richly laden vessel; but the ship in which he sailed was dashed in pieces on the coast of Wales, and the man of blood was overwhelmed by the waves.

A better day dawned on New Netherland, when the brave and honest Stuyvesant, recently the vice-director of Curaçao, wounded in the West Indies, in the attack on St. Martin, a soldier of experience, a scholar of some
1646. learning, was promoted for his services, and entered on the government of the province. Sad experience
1647. May 11. dictated a system of lenity towards the natives. The interests of New Netherland required free trade; at

first, the department of Amsterdam, which had alone borne the expense of the colony, would tolerate no interlopers. But the monopoly could not be enforced; and export duties were substituted. Manhattan began to prosper, when its merchants obtained freedom to follow the impulses of their own enterprise. The glorious destiny of the city was anticipated. "When your commerce becomes established, and your ships ride on every part of the ocean, throngs that look towards you with eager eyes will be allured to embark for your island." This prophecy was, nearly two centuries ago, addressed by the merchants of Amsterdam to the merchants of Manhattan. At that time, who could have foreseen that the population and wealth of that famed emporium would one day be so far excelled by the settlement that had barely saved its life from the vengeance of the savages? The Island of New York was then chiefly divided among farmers; the large forests which covered the park and the adjacent region long remained a common pasture, where, for yet a quarter of a century, tanners could obtain bark, and boys chestnuts; and the soil was so little valued that Stuyvesant thought it no wrong to his employers to purchase of them at a small price an extensive bowery just beyond the coppices, among which browsed the goats and kine from the village. 1648. 1649.

A desire grew up for municipal liberties. The company which effected the early settlements of New Netherland introduced the self-perpetuating councils of the Netherlands. The emigrants were scattered on boweries or plantations; and, seeing the evils of this mode of living widely apart, they were advised in 1643 and 1646 by the Dutch authorities to gather into "villages, towns, and hamlets, as the English were in the habit of doing." In 1649, when the province was "in a very poor and most low condition," the commonalty of New Netherland, in a petition addressed to the "states-general," prayed for a suitable municipal government. They referred to the case of New England, saying "neither patroons, lords, nor princes are known there, only the people. Each town, no matter how small, hath its

own court and jurisdiction, also a voice in the capitol, and elects its own officers." But the prayer was unheeded.

With its feeble population, New Netherland could not protect the eastern boundary. Of what avail were
1647. protests against actual settlers? Stuyvesant was instructed to preserve the House of Good Hope at
1649. 1650. Hartford; but, while he was claiming the country from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen, there was danger that the New England men would stretch their settlements to the North River, intercept the navigation from Fort Orange, and monopolize the fur-trade. The commercial corporation would not risk a war; the expense would impair its dividends. "War," they declared, "cannot in any event be for our advantage; the New England people are too powerful for us." No issue was left but by nego-
1650. Sept. 11. tiation; Stuyvesant himself repaired as ambassador to Hartford, and was glad to conclude a provisional treaty, which allowed New Netherland to extend on Long Island as far as Oyster Bay, on the main to the neighborhood of Greenwich. This intercolonial treaty was acceptable to the West India company, but was never ratified in England; its conditional approbation by the states-general is the only state paper in which the Dutch government recognised the boundaries of the province on the Hudson. The West India company could never obtain a national guarantee for the integrity of their possessions.

1651 to 1654. The war between the rival republics in Europe did not extend to America; in England, Roger Williams delayed an armament against New Netherland. It is true that the West India company, dreading an attack
1652. Aug. 15. from New England, had instructed their governor "to engage the Indians in his cause." But the friendship of the Narragansetts for the Puritans could not be shaken. "I am poor," said Mixam, one of their sachems, "but no presents of goods, or of guns, or of powder and shot, shall draw me into a conspiracy against my friends the English." The naval successes of the Dutch in-
1653. spired milder counsels; and the news of peace in Europe soon quieted every apprehension.

The provisionary compact left Connecticut in possession of a moiety of Long Island; the whole had often, but ineffectually, been claimed by Lord Stirling. Near the southern frontier of New Belgium, on Delaware Bay, 1634. June 21. the favor of Strafford had also obtained for Sir Edward Ployden a patent for New Albion. The 1641 to 1648. county never existed, except on parchment. The lord palatine attempted a settlement; but, for want of a pilot, he entered the Chesapeake; and his people were absorbed in the happy province of Virginia. He was never able to dispossess the Swedes.

With the Swedes, therefore, powerful competitors for the tobacco of Virginia and the beaver of the Schuylkill, the Dutch were to contend for the banks of the Delaware. In the vicinity of the river, the Swedish company was more powerful than its rival; but the whole province of New Netherland was tenfold more populous than New Sweden. From motives of commercial security, the Dutch built Fort Casimir, on the site of Newcastle, within five 1651. miles of Christiana, near the mouth of the Brandywine. To the Swedes this seemed an encroachment; jealousies ensued; and at last, aided by stratagem and 1654. immediate superiority in numbers, Rising, the Swedish governor, overpowered the garrison. The aggression was fatal to the only colony which Sweden had planted. That kingdom was exhausted by a long succession of wars; the statesmen and soldiers whom 1654. 1655. Gustavus had educated had passed from the public service; Oxenstiern, after adorning retirement by the sublime pursuits of philosophy, was no more; a youthful and licentious queen, greedy of literary distinction, and without capacity for government, had impaired the strength of the kingdom by nursing contending factions, and then capriciously abdicating the throne. Sweden had ceased to awaken fear, and the Dutch company commanded Stuyvesant to "revenge their wrong, to drive the 1654. Nov. 16. Swedes from the river, or compel their submission." The order was renewed; and in September, 1655, 1655. after they had maintained their separate existence

for a little more than seventeen years, the Dutch governor, collecting a force of more than six hundred men, sailed into the Delaware with the purpose of conquest.

1655. Sept. 25. Resistance would have been unavailing. One fort after another surrendered: to Rising honorable terms were conceded; the colonists were promised the quiet possession of their estates; and, in defiance of protests and the turbulence of the Scandinavians, the jurisdiction of the Dutch was established. Such was the end of New Sweden, the colony that connects our country with Gustavus Adolphus and the nations that dwell on the Gulf of Bothnia. The descendants of the colonists, in the course of generations, widely scattered and blended with emigrants of other lineage, constituted perhaps more than one part in two hundred of the population of our country in the early part of the nineteenth century. At the surrender, they did not much exceed seven hundred souls. Free from ambition, ignorant of the ideas which were convulsing the English mind, it was only as Protestants that they shared the impulse of the age. They cherished the calm earnestness of religious feeling; they reverenced the bonds of family and the purity of morals; their children, under every disadvantage of want of teachers and of Swedish books, were well instructed. With the natives they preserved peace. A love for Sweden, their dear mother country, the abiding sentiment of loyalty towards its sovereign, continued to distinguish them; at Stockholm, they remained for a century the objects of a disinterested and generous regard; affection united them in the New World; and a part of their descendants still preserve their altar and their dwellings round the graves of their fathers.

1656. The conquest of the Swedish settlements was followed by relations bearing a near analogy to the provincial system of Rome. The West India company desired an ally on its southern frontier; the country above Christiana was governed by Stuyvesant's deputy; while

Dec. the city of Amsterdam became, by purchase, the proprietary of Delaware, from the Brandywine to

1658. 1659. Bombay Hook; and afterwards, under cessions from

the natives, extended its jurisdiction to Cape Henlopen. But did a city ever govern a province with forbearance? The noble and right honorable lords, 1656. 1657. the burgomasters of Amsterdam, instituted a paralyzing commercial monopoly, and required of the colonists an oath of absolute obedience to all their past or future commands. But Maryland was free; Virginia governed itself. The restless colonists, almost as they landed, and even the soldiers of the garrison, fled from the dominion of Amsterdam to the liberties of English colonies. The attempt to elope was punishable by death, and scarce thirty families remained.

During the absence of Stuyvesant from Manhattan, the warriors of the neighboring Algonkin tribes, 1655. Sept. never reposing confidence in the Dutch, made a desperate assault on the colony. In sixty-four canoes, they appeared before the town, and ravaged the adjacent country. The return of the expedition restored confidence. The captives were ransomed, and industry repaired its losses. The Dutch seemed to have firmly established their power, and promised themselves happier years. New Netherland consoled them for the loss of Brazil. They exulted in the possession of an admirable territory, that needed no embankments against the ocean. They were proud of its vast extent, from New England to Maryland, from the sea to the Great River of Canada, and the remote north-western wilderness. They sounded with exultation the channel of the deep stream, which was no longer shared with the Swedes; they counted with delight its many lovely runs of water, on which the beavers built their villages; and the great travellers who had visited every continent, as they ascended the Delaware, declared it one of the noblest rivers in the world, with banks more inviting than the lands on the Amazon.

Meantime, the country near the Hudson gained by increasing emigration. Manhattan was already the chosen abode of merchants; and the policy of the government invited them by its good-will. If Stuyvesant sometimes displayed the rash despotism of a soldier, he was sure to be reproved by his employers. Did he change the rate of

1650 to 1660. duties arbitrarily, the directors, sensitive to commercial honor, charged him "to keep every contract inviolate." Did he tamper with the currency by raising the nominal value of foreign coin, the measure was rebuked as dishonest. Did he attempt to fix the price of labor by arbitrary rules, this also was condemned as unwise and impracticable. Did he interfere with the merchants by inspecting their accounts, the deed was censured as without precedent "in Christendom;" and he was ordered to "treat the merchants with kindness, lest they return, and the country be depopulated." Did his zeal for Calvinism lead him to persecute Lutherans, he was chid for his bigotry. Did his hatred of "the abominable sect of Quakers" imprison and afterwards exile the blameless Bowne, "let every peaceful citizen," wrote the directors, "enjoy freedom of conscience; this maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps, and you shall be blessed."

Private worship was therefore allowed to every religion. Opinion, if not yet enfranchised, was already tolerated. The people of Palestine, from the destruction of their temple an outcast and a wandering race, were allured by the traffic and the condition of the New World; and not the Saxon and Celtic races only, the children of the bondmen that broke from slavery in Egypt, the posterity of those who had wandered in Arabia, and worshipped near Calvary, found a home, liberty, and a burial-place on the Island of Manhattan.

The emigrants from Holland were themselves of the most various lineage; for Holland had long been the gathering-place of the unfortunate. Could we trace the descent of the emigrants from the Low Countries to New Netherland, we should be carried not only to the banks of the Rhine and the borders of the German Sea, but to the Protestants who escaped from France after the massacre of Bartholomew's eve, and to those earlier inquirers who were swayed by the voice of Huss in the heart of Bohemia. New York was always a city of the world. Its settlers were relics of the first-fruits of the Reformation, chosen from the Belgic

provinces and England, from France and Bohemia, from Germany and Switzerland, from Piedmont and the Italian Alps.

The religious sects, which, in the middle ages, had been fostered by the municipal liberties of the south of France, were the harbingers of modern freedom, and had therefore been sacrificed to the inexorable feudalism of the north. After a bloody conflict, the plebeian reformers, crushed by the merciless leaders of the military aristocracy, escaped to the highlands that divide France and Italy. Preserving the discipline of a benevolent, ascetic morality, with the simplicity of a spiritual worship,

"When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,"

it was found, on the progress of the Reformation, that they had by three centuries anticipated Luther and Calvin. The hurricane of persecution, which was to have swept Protestantism from the earth, did not spare their seclusion; mothers with infants were rolled down the rocks, and the bones of martyrs scattered on the Alpine mountains.

The city of Amsterdam offered the fugitive Waldenses a free passage to America, and a welcome was prepared in New Netherland for the few who were willing to emigrate. 1656. Dec. 19.

The persecuted of every creed and every clime were invited to the colony. When the Protestant churches in Rochelle were razed, the Calvinists of that city were gladly admitted; and the French Protestants came in such numbers that the public documents were sometimes issued in French as well as in Dutch and English. Troops of orphans were shipped for the milder destinies of the New World; a free passage was offered to mechanics; for "population was known to be the bulwark of every state." The government of New Netherland had formed just ideas of the fit materials for building a commonwealth; they desired "farmers and laborers, foreigners and exiles, men inured to toil and penury." The colony increased; children swarmed in every village; the advent of the year and the month of May were welcomed with noisy frolics: new modes of activity were devised; lumber

was shipped to France; the whale pursued off the coast; the vine, the mulberry, planted; flocks of sheep as well as cattle were multiplied; and tile, so long imported from Holland, began to be manufactured near Fort
1664. Orange. New Amsterdam could, in a few years, boast of stately buildings, and almost vied with Boston. "This happily situated province," said its inhabitants, "may become the granary of our fatherland; should our Netherlands be wasted by grievous wars, it will offer our countrymen a safe retreat; by God's blessing, we shall in a few years become a mighty people."

Thus did various nations of the Caucasian race assist in colonizing our central states. The African also had his portion on the Hudson. The West India company, which sometimes transported Indian captives to the West Indies, having large establishments on the coast of Guinea,
1626. at an early day introduced negroes into Manhattan, and continued the negro slave-trade without remorse. We have seen Elizabeth of England a partner in the commerce, of which the Stuarts, to the days of Queen Anne, were distinguished patrons; the city of Amsterdam did not blush to own shares in a slave-ship, to advance money for the outfits, and to participate in the returns. In pro-
1664. portion to population, New York had imported as many Africans as Virginia. That New York is not a slave state like Carolina is due to climate, and not to the superior humanity of its founders. Stuyvesant was instructed to use every exertion to promote the sale of negroes. They were imported sometimes by way of the West Indies, often directly from Guinea, and were sold at public auction to the highest bidder. The average price was less than one hundred and forty dollars. The monopoly of the traffic was not strictly enforced; and a change of policy sometimes favored the export of negroes to the English colonies. The enfranchised negro might become a freeholder.

With the Africans came the African institution of abject slavery; the large emigrations from Connecticut engrafted on New Netherland the Puritan idea of popular freedom.

There were so many English at Manhattan as to require an English secretary, preachers who could speak in English as well as in Dutch, and a publication of civil ordinances in English. Whole towns had been settled by New England men, who, having come to America to serve God with a pure conscience, and desiring to provide for the outward comforts and souls' welfare of their posterities, planted New England liberties in a Congregational way, with the consent and under the jurisdiction of the Dutch. Their presence and their activity foretold a revolution.

In the fatherland, the power of the people was unknown; in New Netherland, the necessities of the colony had given it a twilight existence, and delegates from the Dutch towns, at first twelve, then perhaps eight in number, had mitigated the arbitrary authority of Kieft. There 1642. was no distinct concession of legislative power to the people; but the people had, without a teacher, become convinced of the right of resistance. The brewers refused to pay an arbitrary excise: "Were we to 1644. Aug. 18. yield," said they, "we should offend the eight men, and the whole commonalty." The large proprietaries did not favor popular freedom; the commander of Rensselaer Stein had even raised a battery, that "the 1644. canker of freemen" might not enter the manor; but the patrons cheerfully joined the free boors in resisting arbitrary taxation. As a compromise, it was 1647. proposed that, from a double nomination by the villages, the governor should appoint tribunes, to act as magistrates in trivial cases, and as agents for the towns, to give their opinion whenever they should be consulted. Town-meetings were absolutely prohibited.

Discontents increased. Vander Donk and others were charged with leaving nothing untried to abjure what they called the galling yoke of an arbitrary gov- 1649 to 1652. ernment. A commission repaired to Holland for redress; as farmers, they claimed the liberties essen- 1650. tial to the prosperity of agriculture; as merchants, they protested against the intolerable burden of the customs, and, when redress was refused, tyranny was followed

by its usual consequence, clandestine associations against oppression. The excess of complaint obtained for
1652. Apr. 4. New Amsterdam a court of justice like that of the metropolis; but the municipal liberties included no political franchise; the sheriff was appointed by the governor; the two burgomasters and five schepens made a double nomination of their own successors, from which "the valiant director himself elected the board." The city had privileges, not the citizens. The province gained only the municipal liberties, on which rested the commercial aristocracy of Holland. Citizenship was a commercial privilege, and not a political enfranchisement. It was not much more than a license to trade.

The system was at war with Puritan usages; the Dutch in the colony always relied on themselves; and
1653. Nov. to Dec. the persevering restlessness of the people led to a general assembly of two deputies from each village in New Netherland; an assembly which Stuyvesant was unwilling to sanction, and could not prevent. As in Massachusetts, this first convention sprung from the
Dec. will of the people; and it claimed the right of deliberating on the civil condition of the country.

"The states-general of the United Provinces," such was the remonstrance and petition, drafted by George Baxter, and unanimously adopted by the convention, "are our liege lords; we submit to the laws of the United Provinces; and our rights and privileges ought to be in harmony with those of the fatherland, for we are a member of the state, and not a subjugated people. We, who have come together from various parts of the world, and are a blended community of various lineage; we, who have, at our own expense, exchanged our native lands for the protection of the United Provinces; we, who have transformed the wilderness into fruitful farms, — demand that no new laws shall be enacted but with consent of the people, that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people, that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived."

Stuyvesant was taken by surprise. He never had faith in "the wavering multitude;" and doubts of man's capacity

for self-government dictated his reply. "Will you set your names to the visionary notions of an Englishman? Is there no one of the Netherlands' nation able to draft your petition? And your prayer is so extravagant, you might as well claim to send delegates to the assembly of their high mightinesses themselves.

1. "Laws will be made by the director and council. Evil manners produce good laws for their restraint; and therefore the laws of New Netherland are good.

2. "Shall the people elect their own officers? If this rule become our cynosure, and the election of magistrates be left to the rabble, every man will vote for one of his own stamp. The thief will vote for a thief; the smuggler for a smuggler; and fraud and vice will become privileged.

3. "The old laws remain in force; directors will never make themselves responsible to subjects."

The delegates, in their rejoinder, appealed to their inalienable rights. "We do but design the general good of the country and the maintenance of freedom; nature permits all men to constitute society, and assemble for the protection of liberty and property." Stuyvesant, having exhausted his arguments, could reply only by an act of power; and, dissolving the assembly, he commanded its members to separate on pain of arbitrary punishment. "We derive our authority from God and the West India company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects:" such was his farewell message to the convention which he dispersed. 1653. Dec. 13.

The West India company declared this resistance to arbitrary taxation to be "contrary to the maxims of every enlightened government." "We approve the taxes you propose,"—thus they wrote to Stuyvesant; "have no regard to the consent of the people;" "let them indulge no longer the visionary dream that taxes can be imposed only with their consent." But the people continued to indulge the dream; taxes could not be collected; and the colonists, in their desire that popular freedom might prove more than a vision, listened with complacency 1654 to 1658.

to the hope of obtaining English liberties by submitting to English jurisdiction.

Cromwell had planned the conquest of New Netherland; in the days of his son, the design was revived; and the restoration of Charles II. threatened New Netherland with danger from the south, the north, and from England.

1659. In previous negotiations with the agent of Lord Baltimore, the envoy of New Netherland had firmly maintained the right of the Dutch to the southern bank of the Delaware, pleading purchase and colonization before the patent to Lord Baltimore had been granted. The facts were conceded; but, in the pride of strength, it was answered that the same plea had not availed Clayborne, and should not avail the Dutch. On the restoration, Lord Baltimore renewed his claims to the country from Newcastle to Cape Henlopen; they were defended by his agents in Amsterdam and in America, and were even presented to the states-general of the United Provinces. The college of nineteen of the West India company was inflexible;

1660. Sept. 1. conscious of its rights, it refused to surrender its possessions, and resolved "to defend them even to the spilling of blood." Beekman, the Dutch lieutenant-governor on the Delaware, was faithful to his trust; the jurisdiction of his country was maintained; and when

1659 to 1664. young Baltimore, with his train, appeared at the mouth of the Brandywine, he was honored as a guest; but the proprietary claims of his father were triumphantly resisted. The Dutch and Swedes and Finns kept the country safely for William Penn. At last, the West India company, desiring a barrier against the English

1663. Feb. and July. on the south, transferred the whole country on the Delaware to the city of Amsterdam. The banks of the river from Cape Henlopen to the falls at Trenton certainly remained under the jurisdiction of the Dutch. In the interior, the salt springs of Syracuse were discovered by the Jesuits in 1654; and in the course of two following years the place was occupied by a colony of the French.

With Virginia, during the protectorate, the most amicable relations had been confirmed by reciprocal cour-

tesies. Even during the war between England and Holland, friendly intercourse had continued; for why, it was said, should there be strife between old friends and neighbors, brothers in Christ, dwelling in countries so far from Europe? Commerce, if interrupted by a transient hesitancy as to its security, soon recovered its freedom, and was sometimes conducted even with Europe by way of Virginia. Equal rights in the colonial courts were reciprocally secured by treaty. But, upon the restoration, the act of navigation, at first evaded, was soon enforced; and by degrees Berkeley, whose brother coveted the soil of New Jersey, threatened hostility. Clouds gathered in the south. 1653. 1659. 1664. June 10.

In the north, affairs were still more lowering. Massachusetts did not relinquish its right to an indefinite extension of its territory to the west; and the people of Connecticut not only increased their pretensions on Long Island, but, regardless of the provisionary treaty, claimed West Chester, and were steadily advancing towards the Hudson. To stay these encroachments, Stuyvesant himself repaired to Boston, and entered his complaints to the convention of the united colonies. His voyage was a confession of weakness; Massachusetts maintained a neutrality, and Connecticut demanded delay. An embassy to Hartford renewed the language of remonstrance with no better success. Did the Dutch assert their original grant from the states-general, it was interpreted as conveying no more than a commercial privilege. Did they plead discovery, purchase from the natives, and long possession, it was replied that Connecticut, by its charter, extended to the Pacific. "Where, then," demanded the Dutch negotiators, "where is New Netherland?" And the agents of Connecticut, with provoking indifference, replied: "We do not know." 1662. Oct. 1663. Sept. Oct. 15-26.

These unavailing discussions were conducted during the horrors of a half-year's war with the savages round Esopus. The rising village on the banks of that stream was laid waste; many of its inhabitants murdered or made captive; and it was only on the approach of June. Nov.

winter that an armistice restored tranquillity. The colony had no friend but the Mohawks. "The Dutch," said the faithful warriors of the Five Nations, "are our brethren. With them we keep but one council fire; we are united by a covenant chain."

The contest with the natives, not less than with New England, displayed the feebleness of New Netherland. The province had no popular freedom, and therefore had no public spirit. In New England, there were no poor; in New Netherland, the poor were so numerous it was difficult to provide for their relief. The Puritans easily supported schools everywhere, and Latin schools in their larger villages; on Manhattan, a Latin school lingered with difficulty through two years, and was discontinued. In New England, the people, in the hour of danger, rose involuntarily, and defended themselves; in the Dutch province, men were unwilling to go to the relief even of villages that were in danger from the Indians, and demanded protection from the company, which claimed to be their absolute sovereign.

1663. Nov. 1. The necessities of the times wrung from Stuyvesant the concession of an assembly; the delegates of the villages would only appeal to the states-general and to the West India company for protection. But the states-general had, as it were, invited aggression by abstaining from every public act which should pledge their honor to the defence of the province; and the West India company was too penurious to risk its funds, where victory was so hazardous. A new and more full diet was held in

1664. April. the spring of 1664. Rumors of an intended invasion from England had reached the colony; and the popular representatives, having remonstrated against the want of all means of defence, and foreseeing the necessity of submitting to the English, demanded plainly of Stuyvesant: "If you cannot protect us, to whom shall we turn?" The governor, faithful to his trust, proposed the enlistment "of every third man, as had more than once been done in the fatherland." And thus Manhattan was left without defence; the people would not expose life for the West India company; and the company would not risk bankruptcy for

a colony which it valued chiefly as property. The estab
lished government could not but fall into contempt.
In vain was the libeller of the magistrates fastened 1664. May 12.
to a stake, with a bridle in his mouth. Stuyvesant
confessed his fear of the colonists: "To ask aid of June 2.
the English villages would be inviting the Trojan
horse within our walls." "I have not time to tell Aug. 4.
how the company is cursed and scolded; the inhabi-
tants declare that the Dutch have never had a right to
the country." Half Long Island had revolted; the settle-
ments on the Esopus wavered; the Connecticut men had
purchased of the Indians all the sea-board as far as the North
River. Such were the narratives of Stuyvesant to his em-
ployers.

In the mean time the united provinces could not expect a
war with England. No cause for war existed except Eng-
lish envy of the commercial glory and prosperity of Holland.
In confidence of peace, the countrymen of Grotius were
planning liberal councils; at home, they designed an aban-
donment of the protective system and concessions to free
trade; in the Mediterranean, their fleet, under De Ruyter,
was preparing to suppress the piracies of the Barbary states.
At that very time the English were engaging in a piratical
expedition against the Dutch possessions on the coast of
Guinea. The king had also, with equal indifference Feb.
to the chartered rights of Connecticut and the claims
of the Netherlands, "by the most despotic instrument re-
corded in the colonial archives of England," granted
to the Duke of York, not only the country from the Mar. 12.
Kennebec to the St. Croix, but the territory from the
Connecticut River to the shores of the Delaware; and,
under the conduct of Richard Nicolls, groom of the bed-
chamber to the Duke of York, the English squadron,
which carried the commissioners for New England to July 23.
Boston, having demanded recruits in Massachusetts,
and received on board the governor of Connecticut, Aug. 28.
cast anchor in Gravesend Bay. Long Island was lost;
soldiers from New England pitched their camp near Breuke-
len ferry.

1664. Aug. 30. In New Amsterdam there existed a division of counsels. Stuyvesant, faithful to his employers, struggled to maintain their interests; the municipality, conscious that the town was at the mercy of the English fleet, desired to avoid bloodshed by a surrender. A joint committee from the governor and the city having demanded of Nicolls the cause of his presence, he replied by requiring of Stuyvesant the immediate acknowledgment of English sovereignty, with the condition of security to the inhabitants in life, liberty, and property. At the same time, Winthrop of Connecticut, whose love of peace and candid affection for the Dutch nation had been acknowledged by the West India company, advised his personal friends to offer no resistance. "The surrender," Stuyvesant Sept. 1. nobly answered, "would be reproved in the fatherland." The burgomasters, unable to obtain a copy of the letter from Nicolls, summoned not a town-meeting, — that had been inconsistent with the manners of the Dutch, — but the principal inhabitants to the public hall, where it was resolved that the community ought to know all Sept. 2. that related to its welfare. On a more urgent demand for the letter from the English commander, Stuyvesant angrily tore it in pieces; and the burgomasters, instead of resisting the invasion, spent their time in framing Sept. 3. a protest against the governor. On the next day, a new deputation repaired to the fleet; but Nicolls declined discussion. "When may we visit you again?" said the commissioners. "On Thursday," replied Nicolls; "for to-morrow I will speak with you at Manhattan." "Friends," it was smoothly answered, "are very welcome there." "Raise the white flag of peace," said the English commander, "for I shall come with ships-of-war and soldiers." The commissioners returned to advocate the capitulation, which was quietly effected on the following days. The aristocratic liberties of Holland yielded to the hope of popular liberties like those of New England.

The articles of surrender, framed under the auspices of the municipal authority, by the mediation of the younger Winthrop and Pynchon, accepted by the magistrates and

other inhabitants assembled in the town-hall, and not ratified by Stuyvesant till the surrender had virtually been made, promised security to the customs, the religion, the municipal institutions, the possessions of the Dutch. The enforcement of the navigation act was delayed for six months. During that period, direct intercourse with Holland remained free. The towns were still to choose their own magistrates, and Manhattan, now first known as New York, to elect its deputies, with free voices in all public affairs. 1664. Sept. 8.

Very few of the colonists embarked for Holland; it seemed, rather, that English liberties were to be added to the security of property. In a few days, Fort Orange, now named Albany, from the Scottish title of the Duke of York, quietly surrendered; and the league with the Five Nations was renewed. Early in October, the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware capitulated; and for the first time the whole Atlantic coast of the old thirteen states was in possession of England. Our country had obtained geographical unity. Sept. 24. Oct. 1.

The dismemberment of New Netherland ensued on its surrender. Two months before the conquest, the Duke of York had assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both proprietaries of Carolina, the land between the Hudson and the Delaware. In honor of Carteret, the territory, with nearly the same bounds as at present, except on the north, received the name of New Jersey. If to fix boundaries and grant the soil could constitute a state, the Duke of York gave political existence to a commonwealth. Its moral character was moulded by New England Puritans, English Quakers, and dissenters from Scotland. June 23, 24.

Meantime, avarice paid its homage to freedom; and the royalists, who were become lords of the soil, indifferent to liberty, sought to foster their province by most liberal concessions. Security of persons and property under laws to be made by an assembly composed of the governor and council, and at least an equal number of representatives of the people; freedom from taxation except by the 1665. Feb. 10.

colonial assembly; a combined opposition of the people and the proprietaries to any arbitrary impositions from England; freedom of judgment, conscience, and worship to every peaceful citizen, — these were the allurements to New Jersey. To the proprietaries were reserved a veto on provincial enactments, the appointment of judicial officers, and the executive authority. Lands were promised at a moderate quit-rent, not to be collected till 1670. The Duke of York, now president of the African company, was the patron of the slave-trade; the proprietaries, more true to the prince than to humanity, offered a bounty of seventy-five acres for the importation of each able emigrant, and the concession was interpreted to include the negro slave. That the tenure of estates might rest on equity, the Indian title to lands was in all cases to be quieted.

The portion of New Netherland which thus gained popular freedom was at that time almost a wilderness. The first occupation of Fort Nassau in Gloucester, and the grants to Godyn and Blommaert, above Cape May, had been of so little avail that, in 1634, not a single white man dwelt within the Bay of the Delaware. The pioneers of Sir Edmund Ployden and the restless emigrants from New Haven had both been unsuccessful. Here and there, in the counties of Gloucester and Burlington, a Swedish farmer may have preserved his dwelling on the Jersey side of the river; and, before 1664, perhaps three Dutch families were established about Burlington; but as yet West New Jersey had not a hamlet. In East Jersey, of which the hills and the soil had been trodden by the mariners of Hudson, a trading station seems, in 1618, to have been occupied at Bergen. In December, 1651, Augustine Herman purchased, but hardly took possession of the land that stretched from Newark Bay to the west of Elizabethtown; while, in January, 1658, other purchasers obtained the large grant called Bergen, where the early station became a permanent settlement. Before the end of 1664, a few families of Quakers appear also to have found a refuge south of Raritan Bay.

1663. Mar. 26. More than a year earlier, New England Puritans, sojourners on Long Island, solicited of the Dutch,

and, as the records prove, obtained leave to establish on the banks of the Raritan and the Minisink their cherished institutions, and even their criminal jurisprudence. Soon after the surrender, a similar petition was renewed to the representative of the Duke of York; and, as the parties, heedless of the former grant to Herman, succeeded in obtaining from the Indians a deed of an extensive territory on Newark Bay, Nicolls, ignorant as yet of the sale of New Jersey, and having already granted land on Hackensack Neck, encouraged emigration by ratifying the sale. The tract afterwards became known as "the Elizabethtown purchase," and led to abundant litigation. In April, 1665, a further patent was issued, under the same authority, to William Goulding and others, for the region extending from Sandy Hook to the mouth of the Raritan. For a few months, East New Jersey bore the name of Albania. Nicolls could boast that "on the new purchases from the Indians three towns were beginning;" and, under grants from the Dutch and from the governor of New York, the coast from the old settlement of Bergen to Sandy Hook, along Newark Bay, at Middletown, at Shrewsbury, was enlivened by humble plantations, that were soon to constitute a semicircle of villages.

1664. Sept. 20. Oct. 28. Oct. 3. Dec. 2. 1665. April 8. Nov

In August, 1665, Philip Carteret appeared among the tenants of the scattered cabins, and was quietly received as the governor appointed for the colony by the proprietaries. In vain did Nicolls protest against the division of his province, and struggle to secure for his patron the territory which had been released in ignorance. The incipient people had no motive to second his complaints; the freedom of New Jersey assured its separate existence. Yet so feeble were the beginnings of the commonwealth, it was but a cluster of four houses, which, in honor of the kind-hearted Lady Carteret, was now called Elizabethtown, and rose into dignity as the capital of the province.

To New England, messengers were despatched to publish the tidings that Puritan liberties were warranted a

ter on the Raritan. Immediately an association 1666.

of church members from the New Haven colony sailed into the Passaic, and, at the request of the governor, holding a council with the Hackensack tribe, themselves extinguished the Indian title to Newark. "With one heart, they resolved to carry on their spiritual and town affairs according to godly government;" to be ruled under their old laws by officers chosen from among themselves; and when, in May, 1668, a colonial legislative assembly was for the first time convened at Elizabethtown, the influence of Puritans transferred the chief features of the New England codes to the statute-book of New Jersey.

1666. May 21.
1667.
1668. May 26.

The province increased in numbers and prosperity. The land was accessible and productive; the temperate climate delighted by its salubrity; there was little danger from the neighboring Indians, whose strength had been broken by long hostilities with the Dutch; the Five Nations guarded the approaches from the interior; and the vicinity of older settlements saved the emigrants from the distresses of a first adventure in the wilderness. Every thing was of good augury, till, in 1670, the quit-rents of a half-penny an acre were seriously spoken of. But, on the subject of real estate in the New World, the Puritans differed from the lawyers widely, asserting that the heathen, as a part of the lineal descendants of Noah, had a rightful claim to their lands. The Indian deeds, executed partly with the approbation of Nicolls, partly with the consent of Carteret himself, were therefore pleaded as superior to proprietary grants; the payment of quit-rents was refused; disputes were followed by confusion; and, in May, 1672, the disaffected colonists, obeying the impulse of independence rather than of gratitude, sent deputies to a constituent assembly at Elizabethtown. By that body Philip Carteret was displaced, and his office transferred to the young and frivolous James Carteret, a natural son of Sir George. The proprietary officers could make no resistance. William Pardon, who withheld the records, found safety only in flight. Following the advice of the council, after appointing John Berry

1670. Mar. 25.
1672. May 14.
June 15.
July 1.

as his deputy, Philip Carteret repaired to England, in search of new authority, while the colonists remained in the undisturbed possession of their farms.

The liberties of New Jersey did not extend beyond the Delaware; the settlements in New Netherland, on the opposite bank, consisting chiefly of groups of Dutch round Lewistown and Newcastle, and Swedes and Finns at Christiana Creek, at Chester, and near Philadelphia, were retained as a dependency of New York. The claim of Lord Baltimore was denied with pertinacity. In 1672, the people of Maryland, desiring to stretch the boundary of their province to the bay, invaded Lewistown with an armed force. The country was immediately reclaimed, as belonging by conquest to the Duke of York; and Delaware still escaped the imminent peril of being absorbed in Maryland. 1664 to 1672.

In respect to civil liberties, the territory shared the fortunes of New York; and for that province the establishment of English jurisdiction was not followed by the hoped for concessions. Connecticut, surrendering all claims to Long Island, obtained a favorable boundary on the main. The city of New York was incorporated; the municipal liberties of Albany were not impaired; but the province had no political franchises, and therefore no political unity. In the governor and his subservient council were vested the executive and the highest judicial powers; with the court of assizes, composed of justices of his own appointment, holding office at his will, he exercised supreme legislative power, promulgated a code of laws, and modified or repealed them at pleasure. No popular representation, no true English liberty, was sanctioned. Once, indeed, and only once, a convention was held at Hempstead, chiefly for the purpose of settling the respective limits of the towns on Long Island. The rate for public charges was there perhaps agreed upon; and the deputies were induced to sign an extravagantly loyal address to the Duke of York. But "factious republicans" abounded; the deputies were scorned by their constituents for their inconsiderate servility; and the governor, who never again allowed an 1664. Dec. 1. 1664 to 1667. 1665. March.

1666. assembly, was "reproached and vilified" for his arbitrary conduct. Even the Dutch patents for land were held to require renewal, and Nicolls gathered a harvest of fees from exacting new title-deeds.

1667. May. 1669. Under Lovelace, his successor, the same system was more fully developed. Even on the southern shore of the Delaware, the Swedes and Finns, the most enduring of all emigrants, were roused to resistance. "The method for keeping the people in order is severity, and laying such taxes as may give them liberty for no thought but how to discharge them." Such was the remedy

Oct. 18. proposed in the instructions from Lovelace to his southern subordinate, and carried into effect by an arbitrary tariff.

In New York, when the established powers of the towns favored the demand for freedom, eight villages soon

Oct. 9. united in remonstrating against the arbitrary government; they demanded the promised legislation by annual assemblies. But absolute government was the settled policy of the royal proprietary; and taxation for purposes of defence, by the decree of the governor, was the

1670. Oct. 8. next experiment. The towns of Southold, Southampton, and Easthampton, expressed themselves willing to contribute, if they might enjoy the privileges of the New England colonies. The people of Huntington refused altogether; for, said they, "we are deprived of the liberties of Englishmen." The people of Jamaica declared the decree of the governor a disfranchisement, contrary to the laws of the English nation. Flushing and Hempstead were equally resolute. The votes of the several towns were presented to the governor and council; they were

Dec. 21. censured as "scandalous, illegal, and seditious, alienating the peaceable from their duty and obedience," and, according to the established precedents of tyranny, were ordered to be publicly burnt before the town-house of New York.

It was easy to burn the votes which the yeomanry of Long Island had passed in their town-meetings. But, meantime, the forts were not put in order; the government of

the Duke of York was hated as despotic; and when, in the next war between England and the Netherlands, a small Dutch squadron, commanded by the gallant Evertsen of Zealand, approached Manhattan, the city surrendered within four hours; the people of New Jersey made no resistance; and the counties on the Delaware, recovering greater privileges than they had enjoyed, cheerfully followed the example. The quiet of the neighboring colonies was secured by a compromise for Long Island and a timely message from Massachusetts. The Mohawk chiefs congratulated their brethren on the recovery of their colony. "We have always," said they, "been as one flesh. If the French come down from Canada, we will join with the Dutch nation, and live and die with them;" and the words of love were confirmed by a belt of wampum. New York was once more a province of the Netherlands. 1673. July 30. 1673. 1674.

The moment at which Holland and Zealand retired for a time from American history, like the moment of their entrance, was a season of glory. The nation of merchants and manufacturers had just achieved its independence of Spain, and given to the Protestant world a brilliant example of a federal republic, when its mariners took possession of the Hudson. The country was now reconquered, at a time when the provinces, single-handed, were again struggling for existence against yet more powerful antagonists. France, supported by the bishops of Munster and Cologne, had succeeded in involving England in a conspiracy for the political destruction of England's commercial rival. Charles II. had begun hostilities as a pirate; and Louis XIV. did not disguise the purpose of conquest. With armies amounting to two hundred thousand men, to which the Netherlands could oppose no more than twenty thousand, the French monarch invaded the republic; and, within a month, it was exposed to the same desperate dangers which had been encountered a century before; while the English fleet, hovering off the coast, endeavored to land English troops in the heart of the wealthiest of the provinces. Ruin was imminent, and had come but for the public virtue. The annals of the human race record but few 1673.

instances where moral power has so successfully defied every disparity of force, and repelled desperate odds by invincible heroism. At sea, where greatly superior numbers were on the side of the allied fleets of France and England, the untiring courage of the Dutch would not consent to be defeated. On land, the dikes were broken up; the country drowned; the son of Grotius, suppressing anger at the ignominious proposals of the French, protracted the negotiations till the rising waters could form a wide and impassable moat round the cities. Was an invasion still feared from the east? At Groningen, the whole population, without regard to sex, children even, labored on the fortifications; and fear was not permitted even to a woman. Would William of Orange sustain the crisis with calm intrepidity? Arlington, one of the joint proprietaries of Virginia, advised him to seek advancement by yielding to England. "My country," calmly replied the young man, "trusts in me; I will not sacrifice it to my interests, but, if need be, die with it in the last ditch." The landing of British troops in Holland could be prevented only by three naval engagements. De Ruyter and the younger Tromp had been bitter enemies; the latter had been disgraced on the accusation of the former; political animosities had increased the feud. At the battle of Soulsbay, where the Dutch with fifty-two ships of the line engaged an enemy with eighty, De Ruyter was successful in his first manœuvres, while the extraordinary ardor of Tromp plunged headlong into dangers which he could not overcome; the frank and true-hearted De Ruyter checked himself in the career of victory, and turned to the relief of his rival. "Oh, there comes grandfather to the rescue," shouted Tromp, in an ecstasy; "I never will desert him so long as I breathe." The issue of the day was uncertain. In the second battle, the advantage was with the Dutch. About three weeks after the conquest of New Netherland, the last and most terrible conflict took place near the Helder. The enthusiasm of the Dutch mariners dared almost infinite deeds of valor; the noise of the artillery boomed along the low coast of

1673. June 7.

June 14.

Aug. 21.

Holland; the churches on the shore were thronged with suppliants, begging victory for the right cause and their country. The contest raged, and was exhausted, and was again renewed with unexampled fury. But victory was with De Ruyter and the younger Tromp, the guardians of their country. The British fleet retreated, and was pursued; the coasts of Holland were protected.

For more than a century, no other naval combat was fought between Netherlands and England. The English parliament, condemning the war, refused supplies; Prussia and Austria were alarmed; Spain openly threatened, and Charles II. consented to treaties. All conquests were to be restored; and Holland, which had been 1674. the first to claim the enfranchisement of the oceans, against its present interests, established by compact the rights of neutral flags. In a work dedicated to all the princes and nations of Christendom, and addressed to the common intelligence of the civilized world, the admirable Grotius, contending that right and wrong are not the evanescent expressions of fluctuating opinions, but are endowed with an immortality of their own, had established the freedom of the seas on an imperishable foundation. Ideas once generated live for ever. With the recognition of maritime liberty, Holland disappears from our history; when, after the lapse of more than a century, this principle comes in jeopardy, Holland, the mother of four of our states, will rise up as our ally, bequeathing to the new federal republic the defence of commercial freedom which she had vindicated against Spain, and for which we shall see her prosperity fall a victim to England.

On the final transfer of New Netherland to England, Oct. 31. after a military occupation of fifteen months by the Dutch, the brother of Charles II. resumed the possession of New York, and Carteret appeared once more as proprietary of the eastern moiety of New Jersey; but the banks of the Delaware were reserved for men who had been taught by the uneducated son of a poor Leicestershire weaver to seek the principle of God in their own hearts, and to build the city of humanity by obeying the nobler instincts of human nature.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE nobler instincts of humanity are the same in every age and in every breast. The exalted hopes that have dignified former generations of men will be renewed as long as the human heart shall throb. The visions of Plato are but revived in the dreams of Sir Thomas More. A spiritual unity binds together all members of the human family; and every heart contains an incorruptible seed, capable of springing up and producing all that man can know of God and duty and the soul. An inward voice, uncreated by schools, independent of refinement, opens to the unlettered hind, not less than to the polished scholar, a sure pathway to immortal truth.

This is the faith of the people called QUAKERS. A moral principle is tested by the attempt to reduce it to practice.

The history of European civilization is the history of the gradual enfranchisement of classes of society. The feudal sovereign was limited by the power of the military chieftains, whose valor achieved his conquests. The vast and increasing importance of commercial transactions gave new value to the municipal privileges, of which the Roman empire had bequeathed the precedents; while the intricate questions that were perpetually arising for adjudication crowded the ignorant military magistrate from the bench, and reserved the wearisome toil of deliberation for the learning of his clerk. The emancipation of the country people followed. In every European code, the ages of feudal influence, of mercantile ambition, of the enfranchisement of the yeomanry, appear distinctly in succession.

It is the peculiar glory of England, that her history is marked by an original, constant, and increasing political

activity of the people. In the fourteenth century, the peasantry, conducted by tilers and carters and ploughmen, demanded of their young king a deliverance from the bondage and burdens of feudal oppression; in the fifteenth century, the last traces of villeinage were wiped away; in the sixteenth, the noblest ideas of human destiny, awakening in the common mind, became the central points round which plebeian sects were gathered; in the seventeenth, the yeomanry and owners of small freeholds began to feel an instinct for dominion, and their ambition would not rest till it had attempted a democratic revolution. The best soldiers of the Long Parliament were country people; the men that turned the battle on Marston Moor were farmers and farmers' sons, fighting, as they believed, for their own cause. The progress from the rout of Wat Tyler to the victories of Naseby and Worcester and Dunbar was made in less than three centuries. So rapid was the diffusion of ideas of freedom, so palpable was the advancement of popular intelligence, energy, and happiness, that to whole classes of enthusiasts the day of perfect enfranchisement seemed to have dawned; legislation, ceasing to be partial, was to be reformed and renewed on general principles, and the reign of justice and reason was about to begin. In the language of that age, Christ's kingdom on earth, his second coming, was at hand. Under the excitement of hope, created by the rapid progress of liberty, which, to the common mind, was an inexplicable mystery, the blissful centuries of the millennium promised to open upon a favored world.

Political liberties had been followed by the emancipation of knowledge. The powers of nature were freely examined; the merchants always tolerated or favored the pursuits of science. Galileo would have been safe at Venice, and honored at Amsterdam or London. The method of free inquiry, applied to chemistry, had invented gunpowder, and changed the manners of the feudal aristocracy; applied to geography, had discovered a hemisphere, and, circumnavigating the globe, made the theatre of commerce wide as the world; applied to the mechanical process of multiplying

books, had brought the New Testament, in the vulgar tongue, within the reach of every class; applied to the rights of persons and property, had, for the English, built up a system of common law, and given securities to liberty in the interpretation of contracts. The inductive method, in its freedom, was about to investigate the laws of the outward world, and reveal the wonders of divine Providence as displayed in the visible universe.

1637. On the continent of Europe, Descartes had already applied the method of observation and free inquiry to the study of morals and the mind; in England, Bacon hardly proceeded beyond the province of natural philosophy. He compared the subtile visions, in which the contemplative soul indulges, to the spider's web, and sneered at them as frivolous and empty; but the spider's web is essential to the spider's well-being, and, for his neglect of the inner voice, Bacon paid the terrible penalty of a life disgraced by flattery, selfishness, and mean compliance. Freedom, as applied to morals, was cherished in England among the people, and therefore had its development in religion. If the hierarchy abandoned the cause of the people, that cause always found advocates in the inferior clergy; and Wycliffe did not fear to deny dominion to vice and to claim it for justice. At the Reformation, the inferior clergy, rising against Rome and against domestic tyranny, had a common faith and common political cause with the people. A body of the yeomanry, becoming Independents, planted Plymouth colony. The inferior gentry espoused Calvinism, and fled to Massachusetts. The popular movement of intellectual liberty is measured by advances towards the liberty of prophesying and the liberty of conscience.

The moment was arrived for the plebeian mind to make its boldest effort at escape from hereditary prejudices; when the freedom of Bacon, the enthusiasm of Wycliffe, and the politics of Wat Tyler, were to gain the highest unity in a sect; when a popular, and therefore, in that age, a religious party, building upon a divine principle, should demand freedom of mind, purity of morals, and universal enfranchisement.

The sect had its birth in a period of intense public activity, when the heart of England was swelling with passions, and the public mind turbulent with factious leaders; when zeal for reform was invading the church, subverting the throne, and repealing the privileges of feudalism; when Presbyterians in every village were quarrelling with Anabaptists and Independents, and all with the Roman Catholics and the English church.

The sect could arise only among the common people, who had every thing to gain by its success, and the least to hazard by its failure. The privileged classes had no motive to develop a principle before which their privileges would crumble. "Poor mechanics," said William Penn, "are wont to be God's great ambassadors to mankind." "He hath raised up a few despicable and illiterate men," wrote the accomplished Barclay, "to dispense the more full glad tidings reserved for our age." It was the comfort of the Quakers, that they received the truth from a simple sort of people, unmixed with the learning of schools; and, almost for the first time in the history of the world, a plebeian sect proceeded to the complete enfranchisement of mind, teaching the English yeomanry the same method of free inquiry which Socrates had explained to the young men of Athens.

The simplicity of truth was restored by humble instruments, and its first messenger was of low degree. George Fox, the son of "righteous Christopher," a Leicestershire weaver, by his mother descended from the stock of the martyrs, distinguished even in boyhood by frank inflexibility and deep religious feeling, became in early life an apprentice to a Nottingham shoemaker, who was also a landholder, and, like David, and Tamerlane, and Sixtus V., was set by his employer to watch sheep. The occupation was grateful to his mind, for its freedom, innocency, and solitude; and the years of earliest youth passed away in prayer and reading the Bible, frequent fasts, and the reveries of 1644.
contemplative devotion. His boyish spirit yearned after excellence; and he was haunted by a vague desire of an unknown, illimitable good. In the most stormy period of the English democratic revolution, just as the Independents

were beginning to make head successfully against the Presbyterians, when the impending ruin of royalty and the hierarchy made republicanism the doctrine of a party, and inspiration the faith of fanatics, the mind of Fox, as it revolved the question of human destiny, was agitated even to despair. The melancholy natural to youth heightened his anguish; abandoning his flocks and his shoemaker's bench, he nourished his inexplicable grief by retired meditations, and, often walking solitary in the chase, sought for a vision of God.

He questioned his life; but his blameless life was ignorant of remorse. He went to many "priests" for comfort, but found no comfort from them. His wretchedness urged him to visit London; and there the religious feuds convinced him that the great professors were dark. He returned to the country, where some advised him to marry, others to join Cromwell's army; but his excited mind continued its conflicts; and, as it has happened to young men from love, his restless spirit drove him into the fields, where he walked many nights long by himself, in misery too great to be declared. Yet at times a ray of heavenly joy beamed upon his soul, and he reposed, as it were, serenely on Abraham's bosom.

1646. He had been bred in the church of England. One day, the thought rose in his mind that a man might be bred at Oxford or Cambridge, and yet be unable to explain the great problem of existence. Again he reflected that God lives not in temples of brick and stone, but in the hearts of the living; and from the parish priest and the parish church he turned to the dissenters. But among them he found the most experienced unable to reach his condition.

1647. Neither could the pursuit of wealth detain his mind from its struggle for fixed truth. His desires were those which wealth could not satisfy. A king's diet, palace, and attendance, had been to him as nothing. Rejecting "the changeable ways of religious" sects, the "brittle notions" and airy theories of philosophy, he longed for "unchangeable truth," a firm foundation of morals in the

soul. His inquiring mind was gently led along to principles of endless and eternal love, till light dawned within him; and, though the world was rocked by tempests of opinion, his secret and as yet unconscious belief was stayed by the anchor of hope.

The strong mind of George Fox had already risen above the prejudices of sects. The greatest danger remained. Liberty may be pushed to dissoluteness, and freedom is the fork in the road where the by-way leads to infidelity.
One morning, as Fox sat silently by the fire, a cloud 1648.
came over his mind; a baser instinct seemed to say:
"All things come by nature;" and the elements and the stars oppressed his imagination with a vision of pantheism. But, as he continued musing, a true voice arose within him, and said: "There is a living God." At once the clouds of skepticism rolled away; mind triumphed over matter, and the depths of conscience were irradiated and cheered by light from heaven. His soul enjoyed the sweetness of repose, and he came up in spirit from the agony of doubt into the paradise of contemplation.

Having listened to the revelation which had been made to his soul, he thirsted for a reform in every branch of learning. The physician should quit the strife of words, and solve the appearances of nature by an intimate study of the higher laws of being. The priests, rejecting authority and giving up the trade in knowledge, should seek oracles of truth in the purity of conscience. The lawyers, abandoning their chicanery, should tell their clients plainly that he who wrongs his neighbor does a wrong to himself. The heavenly-minded man was become a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making.

Thus did the mind of George Fox arrive at the conclusion that truth is to be sought by listening to the voice of God in the soul. Not the learning of the universities, not the Roman see, not the English church, not dissenters, not the whole outward world, can lead to a fixed rule of morality. The law in the heart must be received without prejudice, cherished without mixture, and obeyed without fear.

Such was the spontaneous wisdom by which he was guided. It was the clear light of reason, dawning as through a cloud. Confident that his name was written in the Lamb's book of life, he was borne, by an irrepressible impulse, to go forth into the briery and brambly world, and publish the glorious principles which had rescued him from despair and infidelity, and given him a clear perception of the immutable distinctions between right and wrong. At the very crisis when the house of commons was abolishing monarchy and the peerage, about two years and a half from the day when Cromwell went on his knees to kiss the hand of the young boy who was Duke of York, the Lord, who sent George Fox into the world, forbade him to put off his hat to any, high or low; and he was required to *thee* and *thou* all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, to great or small. The sound of the church bell in Nottingham, the home of his boyhood, struck to his heart; like Milton and Roger Williams, his soul abhorred the hireling ministry of diviners for money; and, on the morning of a first-day, he was moved to go to the great steeple-house and cry against the idol. "When I came there," says Fox, "the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest, like a great lump of earth, stood in the pulpit above. He took for his text these words of Peter: 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy;' and told the people this was the Scriptures. Now, the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold; but was made to cry out: 'Oh, no! it is not the Scriptures, it is the Spirit.'"

1648. 1649.

The principle contained a moral revolution. If it flattered self-love and fed enthusiasm, it also established absolute freedom of mind, trod every idolatry under foot, and entered the strongest protest against the forms of a hierarchy. It was the principle for which Socrates died and Plato suffered; and, now that Fox went forth to proclaim it among the people, he was everywhere resisted with angry vehemence, and priests and professors, magistrates and people, swelled like the raging waves of the sea. At the Lancaster sessi[illegible] iests appeared against him at once. To the

ambitious Presbyterians, it seemed as if hell were broke loose; and Fox, imprisoned and threatened with the gallows, still rebuked their bitterness as "exceeding rude and devilish," resisting and overcoming pride with unbending stubbornness. Possessed of great ideas which he could not trace to their origin, a mystery to himself, like Cromwell and so many others who have exercised vast influence on society, he believed himself the special ward of a favoring Providence, and his doctrine the spontaneous expression of irresistible, intuitive truth. Nothing could daunt his enthusiasm. Cast into jail among felons, he claimed of the public tribunals a release only to continue his exertions; and, as he rode about the country, the seed of God sparkled about him like innumerable sparks of fire. If cruelly beaten, or set in the stocks, or ridiculed as mad, he none the less proclaimed the oracles of the voice within him, and rapidly gained adherents among the country people. If driven from the church, he spoke in the open air; forced from the shelter of the humble alehouse, he slept without fear under a haystack, or watched among the furze. His fame increased; crowds gathered, like flocks of pigeons, to hear him. His frame in prayer is described as the most awful, living, and reverent ever felt or seen; and his vigorous understanding, disciplined by clear convictions to natural dialectics, made him powerful in the public discussions to which he defied the world. A true witness, writing from knowledge and not report, declares that, by night and by day, by sea and by land, in every emergency of the nearest and most exercising nature, he was always in his place, and always a match for every service and occasion. By degrees "the hypocrites" feared to dispute with him; and the simplicity of his principle found such ready entrance among the people that the priests trembled and scud as he drew near; "so that it was a dreadful thing to them, when it was told them: 'The man in leathern breeches is come.'"

The converts to his doctrine were chiefly among the yeomanry; and Quakers were compared to the butterflies that live in fells. It is the boast of Barclay that the sim-

plicity of truth was restored by weak instruments, and Penn exults that the message came without suspicion of human wisdom. It was wonderful to witness the energy and the unity of mind and character which the strong perception of speculative truth imparted to illiterate mechanics; they delivered the oracles of conscience with fearless freedom and natural eloquence; and, with happy and unconscious sagacity, spontaneously developed the system of moral truth, which, as they believed, exists as an incorruptible seed in every soul.

Every human being was embraced within the sphere of their benevolence. George Fox did not fail, by letter, to catechise Innocent XI. Ploughmen and milkmaids, becoming itinerant preachers, sounded the alarm throughout the world, and appealed to the consciences of Puritans and Cavaliers, of the Pope and the Grand Turk, of the negro and the savage. The plans of the Quakers designed no less than the establishment of a universal religion; their apostles made their way to Rome and Jerusalem, to New England and Egypt; and some were even moved to go towards China and Japan, and in search of the unknown realms of Prester John.

The rise of the people called Quakers is one of the memorable events in the history of man. It marks the moment when intellectual freedom was claimed unconditionally by the people as an inalienable birthright. To the masses in that age all reflection on politics and morals presented itself under a theological form. The Quaker doctrine is philosophy, summoned from the cloister, the college, and the saloon, and planted among the most despised of the people.

As poetry is older than critics, so philosophy is older than metaphysicians. The mysterious question of the purpose of our being is always before us and within us; and the child, as it begins to prattle, makes inquiries which the pride of learning cannot solve. The method of the solution adopted by the Quakers was the natural consequence of the origin of their sect. The mind of George Fox had the highest systematic sagacity; and his doctrine, developed

and rendered illustrious by Barclay and Penn, was distinguished by its simplicity and unity. The Quaker has but one word, THE INNER LIGHT, the voice of God in the soul. That light is a reality, and therefore in its freedom the highest revelation of truth; it is kindred with the Spirit of God, and therefore merits dominion as the guide to virtue; it shines in every man's breast, and therefore joins the whole human race in the unity of equal rights. Intellectual freedom, the supremacy of mind, universal enfranchisement, — these three points include the whole of Quakerism, as far as it belongs to civil history.

Quakerism rests on the reality of the Inner Light; and its method of inquiry is absolute freedom applied to consciousness. The revelation of truth is immediate. It springs neither from tradition nor from the senses, but directly from the mind. No man comes to the knowledge of God but by the Spirit. "Each person," says Penn, "knows God from an infallible demonstration in himself, and not on the slender grounds of men's lo here interpretations, or lo there." "The instinct of a Deity is so natural to man that he can no more be without it, and be, than he can be without the most essential part of himself." As the eye opens, light enters; and the mind, as it looks in upon itself, receives moral truth by intuition. Others have sought wisdom by consulting the outward world, and, confounding consciousness with reflection, have trusted solely to the senses for the materials of thought; the Quaker, placing no dependence on the world of the senses, calls the soul home from its wanderings through the mazes of tradition and the wonders of the visible universe, bidding the vagrant sit down by its own fires to read the divine inscription on the heart. "Some seek truth in books, some in learned men, but what they seek for is in themselves." Man is an epitome of the world, and, to be learned in it, we have only to read ourselves well."

Thus the method of the Quaker coincided with that of Descartes, who founded his system on consciousness, and made the human mind the point of departure in philosophy. But Descartes plunged immediately into the confusion of

hypothesis, drifting to sea to be wrecked among the barren waves of ontological speculation; and even Leibnitz, confident in his genius and learning, lost his way among the monads of creation and the pre-established harmonies in this best of all possible worlds; the illiterate Quaker adhered strictly to his method, and never ventured to sea except with the certain guidance of the cynosure in the heart. He was consistent, for he set no value on learning acquired in any other way. Tradition cannot enjoin a ceremony, still less establish a doctrine; historical faith is as the old heavens that are to be wrapped up like a scroll.

The constant standard of truth and goodness, says William Penn, is God in the conscience; and liberty of conscience is therefore the most sacred right, and the only avenue to religion. To restrain it is an invasion of the divine prerogative. It robs man of the use of the instinct of a Deity. To take away the great charter of freedom of conscience is to prevent the progress of society; or rather, as the beneficent course of Providence cannot be checked, it is in men of the present generation but knotting a whip-cord to lash their own posterity. The selfishness of bigotry is the same in every age; the persecutors of to-day do not differ from those who inflamed the people of Athens to demand the death of Socrates; and the Quaker champions of freedom of mind would never shrink from its exercise, through fear of prisons or martyrdom.

But the Quaker asked for conscience more than security against penal legislation. He proclaimed an insurrection against every form of authority over conscience; he resisted every attempt at the slavish subjection of the understanding. He had no reverence for the decrees of a university, a convocation, or a synod; no fear of maledictions from the Vatican. Nor was this all. The Quaker denied the value of all learning, except that which the mind appropriates by its own intelligence. The lessons of tradition were no better than the prating of a parrot, and letter learning may be hurtful as well as helpful. When the mind is not free, the devil can accompany the zealot to his prayers and the doctor to his study. The soul is a living fountain of im-

mortal truth; but a college is in itself no better than a cistern, in which water may stagnate, and truth to him who is learned and not wise, who knows words and not things, is of no more worth than a beautiful piece of sculpture to a Vandal. Let then the pedant plume himself in the belief that erudition is wisdom; the waters of life, welling up from the soul, gush forth in spontaneous freedom; and the illiterate mechanic need not fear to rebuke the proudest rabbis of the university.

The Quaker equally claimed the emancipation of conscience from the terrors of superstition. He did not waken devotion by appeals to fear. He could not grow pale from dread of apparitions, or, like Grotius, establish his faith by the testimony of ghosts; and, in an age when the English courts punished witchcraft with death, he rejected the delusion as having no warrant in the free experience of the soul. To him no spirit was created evil; the world began with innocency; and, as God blessed the works of his hands, their natures and harmony magnified their Creator. God made no devil; for all that he made was good, without a jar in the whole frame. Discord proceeds from a perversion of powers, whose purpose was benevolent; and the spirit becomes evil only by a departure from truth.

The Quaker was equally warned against the delusions of self-love. His enemies, in derision, sneered at his idol as a delirious will-o'-the-wisp, that claimed a heavenly descent for the offspring of earthly passions; and Fox and Barclay and Penn earnestly denounced "the idolatry which hugs its own conceptions," mistaking the whimseys of a feverish brain for the calm revelations of truth. But "How shall I know," asks Penn, "that a man does not obtrude his own sense upon us as the infallible Spirit?" And he answers, "By the same Spirit." The Spirit witnesseth to our spirit. The Quaker repudiates the errors which the bigotry of sects, or the zeal of selfishness, or the delusion of the senses, has engrafted upon the unchanging principles of morals; and accepting intelligence wherever it exists, from the collision of parties and the strife in the world of opinions, he gathers together the universal truths which of necessity constitute

the common creed of mankind. There is a natural sagacity of sympathy, which separates what belongs to the individual from that which commends itself to universal reason. Quakerism "is a most rational system." Judgment is to be made not from the rash and partial mind, but from the eternal light that never errs. The divine revelation is universal, and compels assent. The jarring reasonings of individuals have filled the world with controversies and debates; the true light pleads its excellency in every breast. Neither may the divine revelation be confounded with individual conscience; for the conscience of the individual follows judgment, and may be warped by self-love and debauched by lust. The Turk has no remorse for sensual indulgence, for he has defiled his judgment with a false opinion. The papist, if he eat flesh in Lent, is reproved by the inward monitor; for that monitor is blinded by a false belief. The true light is therefore not the reason of the individual, nor the conscience of the individual; it is the light of universal reason; the voice of universal conscience, "manifesting its own verity, in that it is confirmed and established by the experience of all men." Moreover, it has the characteristic of necessity. "It constrains even its adversaries to plead for it." "It never contradicts sound reason," and is the noblest and most certain rule; for "the divine revelation is so evident and clear of itself that by its own evidence and clearness it irresistibly forces the well-disposed understanding to assent."

But would the Inner Light bend to the authority of written inspiration? The Bible was the religion of Protestants; had the Quaker a better guide? The Quaker believed in the unity of truth; there can be no contradiction between right reason and previous revelation, between just tradition and an enlightened conscience. But the Spirit is the criterion. The Spirit is the guide which leads into all truth. The Quaker reads the Scriptures with delight, but not with idolatry. It is his own soul which bears the valid witness that they are true. The letter is not the Spirit; the Bible is not religion, but a record of religion. "The Scriptures,"—such are Barclay's words—

"are a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself."

Far from rejecting Christianity, the Quaker insisted that he alone maintained its primitive simplicity. The skeptic for ever vibrated between opinions; the Quaker was fixed even to dogmatism. The infidel rejected religion; the Quaker cherished it as his life. The scoffer pushed freedom to dissoluteness; the Quaker circumscribed freedom by obedience to truth. George Fox and Voltaire both protested against priestcraft; Voltaire in behalf of the senses, Fox in behalf of the soul. To the Quakers Christianity is freedom. And they loved to remember that the patriarchs were graziers, that the prophets were mechanics and shepherds, that John Baptist, the greatest of envoys, was clad in a rough garment of camel's hair. To them there was joy in the thought that the brightest image of divinity on earth had been born in a manger, had been reared under the roof of a carpenter, had been content for himself and his guests with no greater luxury than barley loaves and fishes, and that the messengers of his choice had been rustics like themselves. Nor were they embarrassed by knotty points of theology. Their creed did not vary with the subtilties of verbal criticism; they revered the eternity of the Inner Light without regard to the arguments of grammarians on the use of the Greek article. Did philosophers and divines involve themselves in the mazes of liberty and fixed decrees, of foreknowledge and fate, the monitor in the Quaker's breast was to him the sufficient guarantee of freedom. Did men defend or reject the Trinity by learned dissertations and minute criticisms on various readings, he avoided the use of the word, and despised the jargon of disputants; but the idea of God with us, the incarnation of the Spirit, the union of Deity with humanity, was to the Quaker the dearest and the most sublime symbol of man's enfranchisement.

As a consequence of this faith, every avenue to truth was to be kept open. "Christ came not to extinguish, but to improve the heathen knowledge." "The difference between the philosophers of Greece and the Christian Quaker is rather in manifestation than in nature." He cries Stand, to

every thought that knocks for entrance; but welcomes it as a friend, if it gives the watchword. Exulting in the wonderful bond which admitted him to a communion with all the sons of light, of every nation and age, he rejected with scorn the school of Epicurus; he had no sympathy with the follies of the skeptics, and esteemed even the mind of Aristotle too much bent upon the outward world. But Aristotle himself, in so far as he grounds philosophy on virtue and self-denial, and every contemplative sage, orators and philosophers, statesmen and divines, were gathered as a cloud of witnesses to the same unchanging truth. "The Inner Light," said Penn, "is the domestic God of Pythagoras." The voice in the breast of George Fox, as he kept sheep on the hills of Nottingham, was the spirit which had been the good genius and guide of Socrates. Above all, the Christian Quaker delighted in "the divinely contemplative Plato," the "famous doctor of gentile theology," and recognised the identity of the Inner Light with the divine principle which dwelt with Plotinus. Quakerism is as old as humanity.

The Inner Light is to the Quaker not only the revelation of truth, but the guide of life and the oracle of duty. He demands the uniform predominance of the world of thought over the world of sensation. The blameless enthusiast, well aware of the narrow powers and natural infirmities of man, yet aims at perfection from sin; and, tolerating no compromise, demands the harmonious development of man's higher powers with the entire subjection of the base to the nobler instincts. The motives to conduct and its rule are, like truth, to be sought in the soul.

Thus the doctrine of disinterested virtue — the doctrine for which Guyon was persecuted and Fénelon disgraced, the doctrine which tyrants condemn as rebellion, and priests as heresy — was cherished by the Quaker as the foundation of morality. Self-denial he enforced with ascetic severity, yet never with ascetic superstition. He might array himself fantastically to express a truth by an apparent symbol, but he never wore sackcloth as an anchorite. "Thoughts of death and hell to keep out sin were to him no better than fig-leaves." He would obey the imperative dictate of truth,

even though the fires of hell were quenched. Virtue is happiness; heaven is with her always.

The Quakers knew no superstitious vows of celibacy; they favored no nunneries, monasteries, "or religious bedlams;" but they demanded purity of life as essential to the welfare of society, and founded the institution of marriage on permanent affection, not on transient passion. Their matches, they were wont to say, are registered in heaven. Has a recent school of philosophy discovered in wars and pestilence, in vices and poverty, salutary checks on population? The Quaker, confident of the supremacy of mind, feared no evil, though plagues and war should cease, and vice and poverty be banished by intelligent culture. Despotism favors the liberty of the senses; and popular freedom rests on sanctity of morals. To the Quaker, licentiousness is the greatest bane of good order and good government.

The Quaker revered principles, not men, truth, not power, and therefore could not become the tool of ambition. "They are a people," said Cromwell, "whom I cannot win with gifts, honors, offices, or places." Still less was the Quaker a slave to avarice. Seeking wisdom, and not the philosopher's stone, to him the love of money for money's sake was the basest of passions, and the rage of indefinite accumulation was "oppression to the poor, compelling those who have little to drudge like slaves." "That the sweat and tedious labor of the husbandmen, early and late, cold and hot, wet and dry, should be converted into the pleasure, ease, and pastime of a small number of men, that the cart, the plough, the thresh, should be in inordinate severity laid upon nineteen parts of the land to feed the appetites of the twentieth, is far from the appointment of the great Governor of the world." It is best the people be neither rich nor poor; for riches bring luxury, and luxury tyranny.

The supremacy of mind, forbidding the exercise of tyranny as a means of government, attempted a reformation of society, but only by means addressed to conscience. The system contained a reform in education; it demanded that children should be brought up, not in the pride of caste,

still less by methods of violence; but as men, by methods suited to the intelligence of humanity. Life should never be taken for an offence against property, nor the person imprisoned for debt. And the same train of reasoning led to a protest against war. The Quaker believed in the power of justice to protect itself; for himself, he renounced the use of the sword; and, aware that the vices of society might entail danger on a nation not imbued with his principles, he did not absolutely deny to others the right of defence, but looked forward with hope to the period when the progress of civilization should realize the vision of a universal and enduring peace.

The supremacy of mind abrogated ceremonies; the Quaker regarded "the substance of things," and broke up forms as the nests of superstition. Every Protestant refused the rosary and the censer; the Quaker rejects common prayer, and his adoration of God is the free language of his soul. He remembers the sufferings of divine philanthropy, but uses neither wafer nor cup. He trains up his children to fear God, but never sprinkles them with baptismal water. He ceases from labor on the first day of the week, for the ease of creation, and not from reverence for a holiday. The Quaker is a pilgrim on earth, and life is the ship that bears him to the haven; he mourns in his mind for the departure of friends by respecting their advice, taking care of their children, and loving those that they loved; and this seems better than outward emblems of sorrowing. His words are always freighted with innocence and truth; God, the searcher of hearts, is the witness to his sincerity; but kissing a book or lifting a hand is a superstitious vanity, and the sense of duty cannot be increased by an imprecation.

The Quaker distrusts the fine arts, they are so easily perverted to the purposes of superstition and the delight of the senses. Yet, when they are allied with virtue, and express the nobler sentiments, they are very sweet and refreshing. The comedy where, of old, Aristophanes excited the Athenians to hate Socrates, and where the profligate gallants of the court of Charles II. assembled to hear

the drollery of Nell Gwyn heap ridicule on the Quakers, was condemned without mercy. But the innocent diversions of society, the delights of rural life, the pursuits of science, the study of history, would not interfere with aspirations after God. For apparel, the Quaker dresses soberly, according to his condition and education; far from prescribing an unchanging fashion, he holds it "no vanity to use what the country naturally produces," and reproves nothing but that extravagance which "all sober men of all sorts readily grant to be evil."

Like vanities of dress, the artifices of rhetoric were despised. Truth, it was said, is beautiful enough in plain clothes; and Penn, who was able to write exceedingly well, often forgot that style is the gossamer on which the seeds of truth float through the world.

Careless of style, the Quakers employ for the propagation of truth no weapons but those of mind. They distributed tracts; but they would not sustain their doctrine by a hireling ministry. "A man thou hast corrupted to thy interests will never be faithful to them;" and an established church seemed "a cage for unclean birds." When a great high-priest, who was a doctor, had finished preaching from the words, "Ho every one that thirsteth, come buy without money," George Fox "was moved of the Lord to say to him, 'Come down, thou deceiver! Dost thou bid people come to the waters of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them?' The Spirit is a free teacher."

Still less would the Quaker employ the methods of persecution. He was a zealous Protestant, but in the season of highest excitement he pleaded for absolute liberty of worship, and sought to enfranchise the Roman Catholic himself. To persecute, he esteemed a confession of a bad cause; for the design that is of God has confidence in itself, and knows that any other will vanish. "Your cruelties are a confirmation that truth is not on your side," was the remonstrance of a woman of Aberdeen to the magistrates who had imprisoned her husband.

In like manner, the Quaker never employed force to

effect a social revolution or reform, but, refusing obedience to wrong, deprived tyranny of its instruments. The Quaker's loyalty, said the Earl of Arrol at Aberdeen, is a qualified loyalty; it smells of rebellion: to which Alexander Skein, brother to a subsequent governor of West
1676. New Jersey, calmly answered: "I understand not loyalty that is not qualified with the fear of God rather than of man." The Quaker never would pay tithes; never yielded to any human law which traversed his conscience. He did more: he resisted tyranny with all the moral energy of enthusiasm, bearing witness against blind obedience not less than against will worship. Believing in the supremacy of mind over matter, he sought no control over the government except by intelligence; and therefore he needed to hold the right of free discussion inviolably sacred. He never consented to the slightest compromise of this freedom. Wherever there was evil and oppression, he claimed the right to be present with a remonstrance. He delivered his opinions freely before Cromwell and Charles II., in face of the gallows in New England, in the streets of London, before the English commons. The heaviest penalties that bigotry could devise never induced him to swerve a hair's-breadth from his purpose of speaking freely and publicly. This was his method of resisting tyranny. Algernon Sydney, who took money from Louis XIV., like Brutus, would have plunged a dagger into the breast of a tyrant; the Quaker, without a bribe, resisted tyranny by appeals to the monitor in the tyrant's breast, and he labored incessantly to advance reform by enlightening the public conscience. Any other method of revolution he believed an impossibility. Government — such was his belief — will always be as the people are; and a people imbued with the love of liberty create the irresistible necessity of a free government. He sought no revolution but that which followed as the consequence of the public intelligence. Such revolutions were inevitable. "Though men consider it not, the Lord rules and overrules in the kingdoms of men." Any other revolution would be transient. The Quakers submitted to the restoration of

Charles II., as the best arrangement for the crisis, confident that time and truth would lead to a happier issue. "The best frame, in ill hands, can do nothing that is great and good. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion imparted to them; they depend on men rather than men on government. Let men be good, the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it." Even with absolute power, an Antonine or an Alfred could not make bricks without straw, nor the sword do more than substitute one tyranny for another.

The moral power of ideas is constantly effecting improvement in society. No Quaker book has a trace of skepticism on man's capacity for progress. Such is the force of an honest profession of truth, the humblest person, if single-minded and firm, "can shake all the country for ten miles round." The integrity of the Inner Light is an invincible power. It is a power which never changes; such was the message of Fox to the pope, the kings, and nobles of all sorts; it fathoms the world, and throws down that which is contrary to it. It quenches fire; it daunts wild beasts; it turns aside the edge of the sword; it outfaces instruments of cruelty; it converts executioners. It was remembered with exultation that the enfranchisements of Christianity were the result of faith, and not of the sword; and that truth in its simplicity, radiating from the foot of the cross, has filled a world of sensualists with astonishment, overthrown their altars, discredited their oracles, infused itself into the soul of the multitude, invaded the court, risen superior to armies, and led magistrates and priests, statesmen and generals, in its train, as the trophies of its strength exerted in its freedom.

Thus the Quaker was cheered by a firm belief in the progress of society. Even Aristotle, so many centuries ago, recognised the upward tendency in human affairs; a Jewish contemporary of Barclay declared that progress to be a tendency towards popular power; George Fox perceived that the Lord's hand was against kings; and one day, on the hills of Yorkshire, he had a vision that he was but beginning the glorious work of God in the earth; that

his followers would in time become as numerous as motes in the sunbeams; and that the party of humanity would gather the whole human race in one sheepfold. Neither art, wisdom, nor violence, said Barclay, conscious of the vitality of truth, shall quench the little spark that hath appeared. The atheist — such was the common opinion of the Quakers — the atheist alone denies progress, and says in his heart: All things continue as they were in the beginning.

If, from the rules of private morality, we turn to political institutions, here also the principle of the Quaker is the Inner Light. He acquiesces in any established government which shall build its laws upon the declarations of "universal reason." But government is a part of his religion; and the religion that declares "every man enlightened by the divine light" establishes government on universal and equal enfranchisement.

"Not one of mankind," says Penn, "is exempted from this illumination." "God discovers himself to every man." He is in every breast, in the ignorant drudge as well as in Locke or Leibnitz. Every moral truth exists in every man's and woman's heart, as an incorruptible seed; the ground may be barren, but the seed is certainly there. Every man is a little sovereign to himself. Freedom is as old as reason itself, which is given to all, constant and eternal, the same to all nations. The Quaker is no materialist; truth and conscience are not in the laws of countries; they are not one thing at Rome, and another at Athens; they cannot be abrogated by senate or people. Freedom and the right of property were in the world before Protestantism; they came not with Luther; they do not vanish with Calvin; they are the common privilege of mankind.

The Bible enfranchises those only to whom it is carried; Christianity, those only to whom it is made known; the creed of a sect, those only within its narrow pale. The Quaker, resting his system on the Inner Light, redeems the race. Of those who believe in the necessity of faith in an ou eligion, some have cherished the mild super-

stition that, in the hour of dissolution, an angel is sent from heaven "to manifest the doctrine of Christ's passion;" the Quaker believes that the heavenly messenger is always present in the breast of every man, ready to counsel the willing listener.

Man is equal to his fellow-man. No class can, "by long apprenticeship" or a prelate's breath, by wearing black or shaving the crown, obtain a monopoly of moral truth. There is no distinction of clergy and laity.

The Inner Light sheds its blessings on the whole human race; it knows no distinction of sex. It redeems woman by the dignity of her moral nature, and claims for her the equal culture and free exercise of her endowments. As the human race ascends the steep acclivity of improvement, the Quaker cherishes woman as the equal companion of the journey.

Nor does he know an abiding distinction of king and subject. The universality of the Inner Light "brings crowns to the dust, and lays them low and level with the earth." "The Lord will be king; there will be no crowns but to such as obey his will." With God a thousand years are indeed as one day; yet judgment on tyrants will come at last, and may come ere long.

Every man has God in the conscience; therefore the Quaker knows no distinction of castes. He bows to God, and not to his fellow-servant. "All men are alike by creation," says Barclay; and it is slavish fear which reverences others as gods. "I am a man," says every Quaker, and refuses homage. The most favored of his race, even though endowed with the gifts and glories of an angel, he would regard but as his fellow-servant and his brother. The feudal nobility still nourished its pride. "Nothing," says Penn, "nothing of man's folly has less show of reason to palliate it." "What a pother has this noble blood made in the world!" "But men of blood have no marks of honor stampt upon them by nature." The Quaker scorned to take off his hat to any of them; he held himself the peer of the proudest peer in Christendom. With the eastern despotism of Diocletian, Europe had learned the hyperboles

of eastern adulation; but "My Lord Peter and My Lord Paul are not to be found in the Bible; My Lord Solon or Lord Scipio is not to be read in Greek or Latin stories." And the Quaker returned to the simplicity of Gracchus and Demosthenes, though "Thee and Thou proved a sore cut to proud flesh." This was not done for want of courtesy, which "no religion destroys;" but he knew that the hat was the symbol of enfranchisement, worn before the king by the peers of the realm, in token of equality; and the symbol, as adopted by the Quaker, was a constant proclamation that all men are equal.

Thus the doctrine of George Fox was not only a plebeian form of philosophy, but also the prophecy of political changes. The spirit that made to him the revelation was the invisible spirit of the age, rendered wise by tradition, and excited to insurrection by the enthusiasm of liberty and religion. Everywhere in Europe, therefore, the Quakers were exposed to persecution. Their seriousness was called melancholy fanaticism; their boldness, self-will; their frugality, covetousness; their freedom, infidelity; their conscience, rebellion. In England, the general laws against dissenters, the statute against papists, and special statutes against themselves, put them at the mercy of every malignant informer. They were hated by the church and the Presbyterians, by the peers and the king. The codes of that day describe them as "an abominable sect;" "their principles as inconsistent with any kind of government." During the Long Parliament, in the time of the protectorate, at the restoration, in England, in New England, in the Dutch colony of New Netherland, everywhere, and for wearisome years, they were exposed to perpetual dangers and griefs; they were whipped, crowded into jails among felons, kept in dungeons foul and gloomy beyond imagination, fined, exiled, sold into colonial bondage. They bore the brunt of the persecution of the dissenters. Imprisoned in winter without fire, they perished from frost. Some were victims to the barbarous cruelty of the jailer. Twice George Fox narrowly escaped death. The despised people braved every danger to continue their assemblies. Haled

out by violence, they returned. When their meeting-houses were torn down, they gathered openly on the ruins. They could not be dissolved by armed men; and when their opposers took shovels to throw rubbish on them, they stood close together, "willing to have been buried alive, witnessing for the Lord." They were exceeding great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases treated worse than the worst of the race. They were as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all day long.

Is it strange that they looked beyond the Atlantic for a refuge? When New Netherland was recovered from the united provinces, Berkeley and Carteret entered again into possession of their province. For Berkeley, already a very old man, the visions of colonial fortune had not been realized; there was nothing before him but contests for quit-rents with settlers resolved on governing themselves; and in March, 1674, a few months after the return of George Fox from his pilgrimage to all our colonies from Carolina to Rhode Island, the haughty peer, for a thousand pounds, sold the moiety of New Jersey to Quakers, to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns. A dispute between Byllinge and Fenwick was allayed by the benevolent decision of William Penn; and, in 1675, Fenwick, with a large company and several families, set sail in the "Griffith" for the asylum of Friends. Ascending the Delaware, he landed on a pleasant, fertile spot; and, as the outward world easily takes the hues of men's minds, he called the place Salem, for it seemed the dwelling-place of peace.

1674. Mar. 18. 1675.

Byllinge was embarrassed in his fortunes; Gawen Laurie, William Penn, and Nicholas Lucas became his assigns as trustees for his creditors, and shares in the undivided moiety of New Jersey were offered for sale. As an affair of property, it was like our land companies of to-day; except that in those days speculators bought acres by the hundred thousand. But the Quakers wished more; they desired to possess a territory where they could institute a government; and Carteret readily agreed to a division, for his

1676. Aug. 26. partners left him the best of the bargain. And now that the men who had gone about to turn the world upside down were possessed of a province, what system of politics would they adopt? The light that lighteth every man shone brightly in the pilgrims of Plymouth, the Calvinists of Hooker and Haynes, and in the freemen of Virginia, when the transient abolition of monarchy compelled even royalists to look from the throne to a surer guide in the heart; the Quakers, following the same exalted instincts, could but renew the fundamental legislation of the men of the "Mayflower," of Hartford, and of the Old Dominion. "The CONCESSIONS are such as Friends approve of;" this is the message of the Quaker proprietaries in England to the few who had emigrated: "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent; for we put THE POWER IN THE PEOPLE." And on the third day of March, 1677, the fundamental laws of West New Jersey were perfected and published. They are written with almost as much method as our present constitutions, and recognise the principle of democratic equality as unconditionally and universally as the Quaker society itself.

1677. Mar. 3.

No man, nor number of men, hath power over conscience. No person shall at any time, in any ways, or on any pretence, be called in question, or in the least punished or hurt for opinion in religion. The general assembly shall be chosen, not by the confused way of cries and voices, but by the balloting box. Every man is capable to choose or be chosen. The electors shall give their respective deputies instructions at large, which these, in their turn, by indentures under hand and seal, shall bind themselves to obey. The disobedient deputy may be questioned before the assembly by any one of his electors. Each member is to be allowed one shilling a day, to be paid by his immediate constituents, "that he may be known as the servant of the people." The executive power rested with ten commissioners, to be appointed by the assembly; justices and

constables were chosen directly by the people; the judges, appointed by the general assembly, retained office but two years at the most, and sat in the courts but as assistants to the jury. In the twelve men, and in them only, judgment resides; in them and in the general assembly rests discretion as to punishments. "All and every person in the province shall, by the help of the Lord and these fundamentals, be free from oppression and slavery." No man can be imprisoned for debt. Courts were to be managed without the necessity of an attorney or counsellor. The native was protected against encroachments; the helpless orphan educated by the state.

Immediately the English Quakers, with the good wishes of Charles II., flocked to West New Jersey; and commissioners, possessing a temporary authority, were sent to administer affairs till a popular government could be instituted. When the vessel, freighted with the men of peace, arrived in America, Andros, the governor of New York, claimed jurisdiction over their territory. The claim, which, on the feudal system, was perhaps a just one, was compromised as a present question, and referred for decision to England. Meantime, lands were purchased of the Indians; the planters numbered nearly four hundred souls; and, already at Burlington, under a tent covered with sail-cloth, the Quakers began to hold religious meetings. The Indian kings also gathered in council under the 1678. shades of the Burlington forests, and declared their joy at the prospect of permanent peace. "You are our brothers," said the sachems, "and we will live like brothers with you. We will have a broad path for you and us to walk in. If an Englishman falls asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass him by, and say, He is an Englishman; he is asleep; let him alone. The path shall be plain; there shall not be in it a stump to hurt the feet."

Every thing augured success to the colony, but that, at Newcastle, the agent of the Duke of York, who still possessed Delaware, exacted customs of the ships ascending to New Jersey. It may have been honestly believed that his jurisdiction included the whole river; when urgent remon-

strances were made, the duke referred the question to a disinterested commission, before which the Quakers reasoned thus: —

1678 to 1680. "An express grant of the powers of government induced us to buy the moiety of New Jersey. If we could not assure people of an easy, free, and safe government, liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms, a mere wilderness would be no encouragement. It were madness to leave a free country to plant a wilderness, and give another person an absolute title to tax us at will.

"The customs imposed by the government of New York are not a burden only, but a wrong. By what right are we thus used? The king of England cannot take his subjects' goods without their consent. This is a home-born right, declared to be law by divers statutes.

"To give up the right of making laws is to change the government and resign ourselves to the will of another. The land belongs to the natives; of the duke we buy nothing but the right of an undisturbed colonizing, with the expectation of some increase of the freedoms enjoyed in our native country. We have not lost English liberty by leaving England.

"The tax is a surprise on the planter: it is paying for the same thing twice over. Custom, levied upon planting, is unprecedented. Besides, there is no end of this power. By this precedent, we are assessed without law, and excluded from our English right of common assent to taxes. We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not for the soil only, but for our personal estates. Such conduct has destroyed government, but never raised one to true greatness.

"Lastly, to exact such unterminated tax from English planters, and to continue it after so many repeated complaints, will be the greatest evidence of a design to introduce, if the crown should ever devolve upon the duke, an unlimited government in England."

This argument of the Quakers was triumphant. Sir William Jones decided that, as the grant from the Duke of

York had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the tax was illegal. The Duke of York promptly acquiesced in the decision, and in a new indenture relinquished every claim to the territory and the government. 1680. Aug. 6.

After such trials, vicissitudes, and success, the light of peace dawned upon West New Jersey; and in November, 1681, Jennings, acting as governor for the proprietaries, convened the first legislative assembly of the representatives of men who said *thee* and *thou* to all the world, and wore their hats in presence of beggar or king. Their first measures established their rights by an act of fundamental legislation, and, in the spirit of "the Concessions," they framed their government on the basis of humanity. Neither faith, nor wealth, nor race was respected. They met in the wilderness as men, and founded society on equal rights. What shall we relate of a community thus organized? That they multiplied, and were happy? that they levied for the expenses of their commonwealth two hundred pounds, to be paid in corn, or skins, or money? that they voted the governor a salary of twenty pounds? that they prohibited the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians? that they forbade imprisonment for debt? The formation of this little government of a few hundred souls, that soon increased to thousands, is one of the most beautiful incidents in the history of the age. West New Jersey had been a fit home for Fénelon. The people rejoiced under the reign of God, confident that he would beautify the meek with salvation. A loving correspondence began with Friends in England, and from the fathers of the sect frequent messages were received. "Friends that are gone to make plantations in America, keep the plantations in your hearts, that your own vines and lilies be not hurt. You that are governors and judges, you should be eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, and fathers to the poor; that you may gain the blessing of those who are ready to perish, and cause the widow's heart to sing for gladness. If you rejoice because your hand hath gotten much; if you say to fine gold, Thou art my confidence, — you will have denied the 1681. 1682.

God that is above. The Lord is ruler among nations; he will crown his people with dominion."

In the midst of this innocent tranquillity, Byllinge, the original grantee of Berkeley, claimed as proprietary the right of nominating the deputy governor. The usurpation was resisted. Byllinge grew importunate; and the Quakers, setting a new precedent, amended their constitutions according to the prescribed method, and then elected a governor. This method of reform was the advice of WILLIAM PENN.

1682. For in the mean time William Penn had become deeply interested in the progress of civilization on the Delaware. In company with eleven others, he had purchased East New Jersey of the heirs of Carteret. But of the eastern moiety of New Jersey, peopled chiefly by Puritans, the history is intimately connected with that of New York. The line that divides East and West New Jersey is the line where the influence of the humane society of Friends is merged in that of Puritanism.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PENNSYLVANIA.

It was for the grant of a territory on the opposite bank of the Delaware that William Penn, in June, 1680, became a suitor. His father, distinguished in English history by the conquest of Jamaica, and by his conduct, discretion, and courage, in the signal battle against the Dutch in 1665, had bequeathed to him a claim on the government for sixteen thousand pounds. Massachusetts had bought Maine for a little more than one thousand pounds; then, and long afterwards, colonial property was lightly esteemed; and to the prodigal Charles II., always embarrassed for money, the grant of a province seemed the easiest mode of cancelling the debt. William Penn had powerful friends in North, Halifax, and Sunderland; and a pledge given to his father on his death-bed obtained for him the assured favor of the Duke of York. 1680. June.

Sustained by such friends, and pursuing his object with enthusiasm, William Penn triumphed over "the great opposition" which he encountered, and obtained a charter for the territory, which received from Charles II. the name of Pennsylvania, and which was to include three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware. The Duke of York desired to retain the three lower counties, that is, the state of Delaware, as an appendage to New York; Pennsylvania was therefore, in that direction, limited by a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from Newcastle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude. This impossible boundary received the assent of the agents of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore.

The charter, as originally drawn up by William Penn

himself, conceded powers of government analogous to those of the charter for Maryland. That nothing might be at variance with English law, it was revised by the attorney-general, and amended by Lord North, who inserted clauses to guard the sovereignty of the king and the commercial supremacy of parliament. The acts of the future colonial legislature were to be submitted to the king and council, who had power to annul them if contrary to English law. The power of levying customs was expressly reserved to parliament. The bishop of London, quite unnecessarily, claimed security for the English church. The people of the country were to be safe against taxation, except by the provincial assembly or the English parliament. In other respects, the usual franchises of a feudal proprietary were conceded.

1681. Jan.

1681. Mar. 5. At length, writes William Penn, "After many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England. God will bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care of the government, that it be well laid at first."

Pennsylvania included the principal settlements of the Swedes; and patents for land had been made to Dutch and English by the Dutch West India company, and afterwards by the Duke of York. The royal proclamation soon announced to all the inhabitants of the province that William Penn, their absolute proprietary, was invested with all powers and pre-eminences necessary for the government. The proprietary also issued his proclamation to his vassals and subjects. It was in the following words: —

Apr. 2.

"MY FRIENDS, — I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to lett you know, that it hath pleased God in his Providence to cast you within my Lott and Care. It is a business, that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty and an honest minde to doe it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your chainge and the king's choice; for

you are now fixt, at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own makeing, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industreous People. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnisht me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with. I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am your true Friend,

"WM. PENN.

"LONDON, 8th of the month called April, 1681."

Such were the pledges of the Quaker sovereign on assuming the government; it is the duty of history to state that, during his long reign, these pledges were redeemed. He never refused the free men of Pennsylvania a reasonable desire.

With this letter to the inhabitants, young Markham immediately sailed as agent of the proprietary. 1681. May. He was to govern in harmony with law, and the people were requested to continue the established system of revenue till Penn himself could reach America. During the summer, the conditions for the sale of lands July 11. were reciprocally ratified by Penn and a company of adventurers. The enterprise of planting a province had been vast for a man of large fortunes; Penn's whole estate had yielded, when unencumbered, a revenue of fifteen hundred pounds; but, in his zeal to rescue his suffering brethren from persecution, he had, by heavy expenses in courts of law and at court, impaired his resources, which he might hope to retrieve from the sale of domains. Would he sacrifice his duty as a man to his emoluments as a sovereign? In August, a company of traders offered six thousand pounds and an annual revenue for a monopoly of the Indian traffic between the Delaware and the Susquehannah. To a father of a family, in straitened circumstances, the temptation was great; but Penn was bound, by his religion, to equal laws,

and he rebuked the cupidity of monopoly. "I will not abuse the love of God,"—such was his decision,—"nor act unworthy of his Providence, by defiling what came to me clean. No; let the Lord guide me by his wisdom, to honor his name and serve his truth and people, that an example and a standard may be set up to the nations;" and he adds to a Friend: "There may be room there, though not here, for the Holy Experiment."

1681. Sept. 30. With a company of emigrants, full instructions were forwarded respecting lands and planting a city. Penn disliked the crowded towns of the Old World; he desired the city might be so planted with gardens round each house as to form "a greene country town."

Oct. 18. And almost at the same time he addressed a letter to the natives of the American forest, declaring himself and them responsible to one and the same God, having the same law written in their hearts, and alike bound to love and help and do good to one another.

Meantime, the mind of Penn was deeply agitated by thoughts on the government which he should establish. To him government was a part of religion itself, an emanation of divine power, capable of kindness, goodness, and charity; having an opportunity of benevolent care for men of the highest attainments, even more than the office of correcting evil-doers; and, without imposing one uniform model on all the world, without denying that time, place, and emergencies may bring with them a necessity or an excuse for monarchical or even aristocratical institutions, he believed "any government to be free to the people, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to the laws." That Penn was superior to avarice, was clear from his lavish expenditures to relieve the imprisoned; that he had risen above ambition, appeared from his preference of the despised Quakers to the career of high advancement in the court of Charles II. But he loved to do good; and could passionate philanthropy resign absolute power, apparently so favorable to the exercise of vast benevolence? Here, and here only, Penn's spirit was severely tried; but he resisted the temptation. "I purpose,"—such was his prompt decision,

1682 May 5.

— "for the matters of liberty I purpose, that which is extraordinary — to leave myself and successors no power of doeing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." "It is the great end of government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." Taking counsel, therefore, from all sides, listening to the theories of Algernon Sydney, whose Roman pride was ever faithful to the good old republican cause, and deriving still better guidance from the suavity and humanity of his Quaker brethren, Penn published a frame of government, not as an established constitution, but as a system to be referred to the freemen in Pennsylvania.

About the same time, a free society of traders was organized. "It is a very unusual society," — such was their advertisement, — "for it is an absolute free one, and in a free country; every one may be concerned that will, and yet have the same liberty of private traffique, as though there were no society at all." 1682. May 29.

To perfect his territory, Penn desired to possess the bay, the river, and the shore of the Delaware to the ocean. The territories or three lower counties, now forming the state of Delaware, were in possession of the Duke of York, and, from the conquest of New Netherland, had been esteemed an appendage to his province. His claim, arising from conquest and possession, had the informal assent of the king and the privy council, and had extended even to the upper Swedish settlements. It was not difficult to obtain from the duke a release of his claim on Pennsylvania; and, after much negotiation, the lower province was granted by two deeds of feoffment. From the forty-third degree of latitude to the Atlantic, the western and southern banks of Delaware River and Bay were under the dominion of William Penn. Aug. 24.

Every arrangement for a voyage to his province being finished, Penn, in a beautiful letter, took leave of his family. His wife, who was the love of his youth, he reminded of his impoverishment in consequence of his public spirit, and

recommended economy: "Live low and sparingly till my debts be paid." Yet for his children he adds: "Let their learning be liberal; spare no cost, for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved." Agriculture he proposed as their employment. "Let my children be husbandmen and housewives." Friends in England watched his departure with anxious hope; on him rested the expectations of their society, and their farewell at parting was given with "the innocence and tenderness of the child that has no guile."

After a long passage, rendered gloomy by frequent death among the passengers, many of whom had in England been his immediate neighbors, on the twenty-seventh day of October, 1682, William Penn landed at Newcastle.

1682. Oct. 27.

The son and grandson of naval officers, his thoughts had from boyhood been directed to the ocean; the conquest of Jamaica by his father early familiarized his imagination with the New World, and in Oxford, at the age of seventeen, he indulged in visions of happiness, of which America was the scene. Bred in the school of Independency, he had, while hardly twelve years old, learned to listen to the voice of God in his soul; and at Oxford, where his excellent genius received the benefits of learning, the words of a Quaker preacher so touched his heart that he was fined and afterwards expelled for non-conformity. His father, bent on subduing his enthusiasm, beat him and turned him into the streets, to choose between poverty with a pure conscience, or fortune with obedience. But how could the hot anger of a petulant sailor continue against an only son? It was in the days of the glory of Descartes that, to complete his education, William Penn received a father's permission to visit the continent.

1661.

From the excitements and the instruction of travel, for which the passion is sometimes stronger than love or ambition, the young exile turned aside to the college at Saumur, where, under the guidance of the gifted and benevolent Amyrault, his mind was trained in the severities of Calvinism, as tempered by the spirit of universal love.

1662. 1663.

In the next year, Penn, having crossed the Alps, 1664.
was just entering Piedmont, when the appointment of his father to the command of a British squadron, in the naval war with Holland, compelled his return to the care of the estates of the family. The discipline of society and travel had given him grace of manners, enhanced by severe but unpretending purity of morals; and in London the travelled student of Lincoln's Inn, if diligent in gaining a knowledge of English law, was yet es- 1664. 1665.
teemed a most modish fine gentleman. In France, the science of the Huguenots had nourished reflection; in London, every sentiment of sympathy was excited by the horrors which he witnessed during the devastations of the plague.

Having thus perfected his understanding by the 1665.
learning of Oxford, the religion and philosophy of the French Huguenots and France, and the study of the laws of England, in the bloom of youth, being of engaging manners, and so skilled in the use of the sword that he easily disarmed an antagonist, of great natural vivacity and gay good humor, the career of wealth and preferment opened before him through the influence of his father and the ready favor of his sovereign. But his mind was already imbued with "a deep sense of the vanity of the world, and the irreligiousness of its religions."

In 1666, on a journey in Ireland, William Penn 1666.
heard his old friend Thomas Loe speak of the faith that overcomes the world; the undying fires of enthusiasm at once blazed up within him, and he renounced every hope for the path of integrity. It is a path into which, says Penn, "God, in his everlasting kindness, guided my feet in the flower of my youth, when about two-and-twenty years of age." And in the autumn of that year he was in jail for the crime of listening to the voice of conscience. "Religion," such was his remonstrance to the viceroy of Ireland, "is my crime and my innocence; it makes me a prisoner to malice, but my own freeman."

After his enlargement, returning to England, he 1666. 1667.
encountered bitter mockings and scornings, the in-

vectives of the priests, the strangeness of all his old companions; it was noised about, in the fashionable world, as an excellent jest, that "William Penn was a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing;" and his father, in
1667. anger, turned him penniless out of doors.

The outcast, saved from extreme indigence by a
1668. mother's fondness, became an author, and announced to princes, priests, and people, that he was one of the despised, afflicted, and forsaken Quakers; and, repairing to court with his hat on, he sought to engage the Duke of Buckingham in favor of liberty of conscience, claimed from those in authority better quarters for dissenters than stocks and whips and dungeons and banishments, and was urging the cause of freedom with importunity, when he himself, in the heyday of youth, was consigned to a long and close imprisonment in the Tower. His offence was heresy: the bishop of London menaced him with imprisonment
1668. 1669. for life unless he would recant. "My prison shall be my grave," answered Penn. The kind-hearted Charles II. sent the humane and candid Stillingfleet to calm the young enthusiast. "The Tower," such was Penn's message to the king, "is to me the worst argument in the world." In vain did Stillingfleet urge the motive of royal favor and preferment; the inflexible young man demanded freedom of Arlington, "as the natural privilege of an Englishman." Club-law, he argued with the minister, may make hypocrites; it never can make converts. Conscience needs no mark of public allowance. It is not like a bale of goods that is to be forfeited unless it has the stamp of the custom-house. After losing his freedom for about nine months, his prison door was opened by the intercession of his father's friend, the Duke of York; for his constancy had commanded the respect and recovered the favor of his father.

The Quakers, exposed to judicial tyranny, were led, by the sentiment of humanity, to find a barrier against their oppressors by narrowing the application of the common law, and restricting the right of judgment to the jury. Scarcely had Penn been at liberty a year, when, after

the intense intolerance of "the conventicle act," he was arraigned for having spoken at a Quaker meeting. "Not all the powers on earth shall divert us from meeting to adore our God who made us." Thus did the young man of five-and-twenty defy the English legislature; and he demanded on what law the indictment was founded. "On the common law," answered the recorder. "Where is that law?" demanded Penn. "The law which is not in being, far from being common, is no law at all." Amidst angry exclamations and menaces, he proceeded to plead earnestly for the fundamental laws of England, and, as he was hurried out of court, still reminded the jury that "they were his judges." Dissatisfied with the first verdict returned, the recorder heaped upon the jury every opprobrious epithet. "We will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it." "You are Englishmen," said Penn, who had been again brought to the bar; "mind your privilege, give not away your right." "It never will be well with us," said the recorder, "till something like the Spanish inquisition be in England." At last, the jury, who had received no refreshments for two days and two nights, on the third day, gave their verdict, "Not guilty." The recorder fined them forty marks apiece for their independence, and, amercing Penn for contempt of court, sent him back to prison. The trial was an era in judicial history. The fines were soon afterwards discharged by his father, who was now approaching his end. "Son William," said the dying admiral, "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching and living, you will make an end of the priests."

1670. Sept. 3.

Sept. 5.

Inheriting a large fortune, he continued to defend publicly, from the press, the principles of intellectual liberty and moral equality; he remonstrated in unmeasured terms against the bigotry and intolerance, "the hellish darkness and debauchery," of the university of Oxford; he exposed the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, and in the same breath pleaded for a toleration of their worship; and, never fearing openly to address a Quaker meeting, he was soon on the road to Newgate, to suffer for

1670. 1671.

his honesty by a six months' imprisonment. "You are an ingenious gentleman," said the magistrate at the trial; "you have a plentiful estate; why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people?" "I prefer," said Penn, "the honestly simple to the ingeniously wicked." The magistrate rejoined by charging Penn with previous immoralities. The young man, with passionate vehemence, vindicated the spotlessness of his life. "I speak this," he adds, "to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who, from a child, begot a hatred in me towards them." "Thy words shall be thy burden; I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet."

From Newgate, Penn addressed parliament and the nation in the noblest plea for liberty of conscience; a liberty which he defended by arguments drawn from experience, from religion, and from reason. If the efforts of the Quakers cannot obtain "the olive branch of toleration, we bless the providence of God, resolving by patience to outweary persecution, and by our constant sufferings to obtain a victory more glorious than our adversaries can achieve by their cruelties."

1671 to 1678. On his release from imprisonment, a calmer season followed. Penn travelled in Holland and Germany; then returning to England, he married a woman of extraordinary beauty and sweetness of temper, whose noble spirit "chose him before many suitors," and honored him with "a deep and upright love." As persecution in England was suspended, he enjoyed for two years the delights of rural life and the animating pursuit of letters; till the storm was renewed, and the imprisonment of George Fox, on his return from America, demanded intercession. What need of narrating the severities, which, like a slow poison, brought the prisoner to the borders of the grave? Why enumerate the atrocities of petty tyrants, invested with village magistracies, the ferocious passions of irresponsible jailers? The statute-book of England contains the clearest impress of the bigotry which a national church could foster and a parliament avow; and Penn, in considering England's

present interest, far from resting his appeal on the sentiment of mercy, merited the highest honors of a statesman by the profound sagacity and unbiassed judgment with which he unfolded the question of the rights of conscience in its connection with the peace and happiness of the state.

It was this love of freedom of conscience which gave interest to his exertions for New Jersey. The summer and autumn after the first considerable Quaker emigration to the eastern bank of the Delaware, George Fox and William Penn and Robert Barclay, with others, embarked for Holland, to evangelize the continent; and Barclay and Penn went to and fro in Germany, from the Weser to the Mayne, the Rhine, and the Neckar, distributing tracts, discoursing with men of every sect and every rank, preaching in palaces and among the peasants, rebuking every attempt to inthrall the mind, and sending reproofs to kings and magistrates, to the princes and lawyers of all Christendom. The soul of William Penn was transported into fervors of devotion; and, in the ecstasies of enthusiasm, he explained "the universal principle" at Herford, in the court of the princess palatine, and to the few Quaker converts among the peasantry of Kirchheim. To the peasantry of the highlands near Worms, the visit of William Penn was 1678. an event never to be forgotten.

The opportunity of observing the aristocratic institutions of Holland and the free commercial cities of Germany was valuable to a statesman. On his return to England, the new sufferings of the Quakers excited a direct appeal to the English parliament. The special law against papists was turned against the Quakers; Penn explained the difference between his society and the papists; and yet, at a season when Protestant bigotry was become a frenzy, he appeared before a committee of the house of commons to plead for universal liberty of conscience. "We must give the liberty we ask:" such was the sublime language of the Quakers; "we cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves; for we would have none to suffer for dissent on any hand."

1679. Defeated in his hopes by the dissolution of the parliament, Penn took an active part in the ensuing elections. He urged the electors throughout England to know their own strength and authority; to hold their representatives to be properly and truly their servants, to maintain their liberties, their share in legislation, and their share in the application of the laws. "Your well-being," these were his words, "depends upon your preservation of your right in the government. You are free; God and nature and the constitution have made you trustees for posterity. Choose men who will, by all just and legal ways, firmly keep and zealously promote your power." And as Algernon Sydney now "embarked with those that did seek, love, and choose the best things," William Penn engaged in the election, and obtained for him a majority which was defeated only by a false return.

1680. But every hope of reform from parliament vanished. Bigotry and tyranny prevailed more than ever; and Penn, despairing of relief in Europe, bent the energy of his mind to the establishment of a free
1682. Oct. 27. government in the New World. For that "heavenly end" he was prepared by the severe discipline of life, and the love, without dissimulation, which formed the basis of his character. The sentiment of cheerful humanity was irrepressibly strong in his bosom; as with John Eliot and Roger Williams, benevolence gushed prodigally from his ever overflowing heart; and when, in his late old age, his intellect was impaired and his reason prostrated by apoplexy, his sweetness of disposition rose serenely over the clouds of disease. Possessing an extraordinary greatness of mind, vast conceptions, remarkable for their universality and precision, and "surpassing in speculative endowments;" conversant with men, and books, and governments, with various languages, and the forms of political combinations, as they existed in England and France, in Holland and the principalities and free cities of Germany, he yet sought the source of wisdom in his own soul. Humane by nature and by suffering; familiar with the royal family; intimate with Sunderland and Sydney; acquainted

with Russell, Halifax, Shaftesbury, and Buckingham; as a member of the Royal Society, the peer of Newton and the great scholars of his age, — he valued the promptings of a free mind above the awards of the learned, and reverenced the single-minded sincerity of the Nottingham shepherd more than the authority of colleges and the wisdom of philosophers. And now, being in the meridian of life, but a year older than was Locke when, twelve years before, he had framed a constitution for Carolina, the Quaker legislator was come to the New World to lay the foundations of states. Would he imitate the vaunted system of the great philosopher? Locke, like William Penn, was tolerant; both loved freedom; both cherished truth in sincerity. But Locke kindled the torch of liberty at the fires of tradition; Penn, at the living light in the soul. Locke sought truth through the senses and the outward world; Penn looked inward to the divine revelations in every mind. Locke compared the soul to a sheet of white paper, just as Hobbes had compared it to a slate, on which time and chance might scrawl their experience; to Penn, the soul was an organ which of itself instinctively breathes divine harmonies, like those musical instruments which are so curiously and perfectly framed that, when once set in motion, they of themselves give forth all the melodies designed by the artist that made them. To Locke, "Conscience is nothing else than our own opinion of our own actions;" to Penn, it is the image of God, and his oracle in the soul. Locke, who was never a father, esteemed "the duty of parents to preserve their children not to be understood without reward and punishment;" Penn loved his children, with not a thought for the consequences. Locke, who was never married, declares marriage an affair of the senses; Penn reverenced woman as the object of fervent, inward affection, made not for lust, but for love. In studying the understanding, Locke begins with the sources of knowledge; Penn, with an inventory of our intellectual treasures. Locke deduces government from Noah and Adam, rests it upon contract, and announces its end to be the security of property; Penn, far from going back to Adam, or even to

Noah, declares that "there must be a people before a government," and, deducing the right to institute government from man's moral nature, seeks its fundamental rules in the immutable dictates "of universal reason," its end in freedom and happiness. The system of Locke lends itself to contending factions of the most opposite interests and purposes; the doctrine of Fox and Penn, being but the common creed of humanity, forbids division, and insures the highest moral unity. To Locke, happiness is pleasure; things are good and evil only in reference to pleasure and pain; and to "inquire after the highest good is as absurd as to dispute whether the best relish be in apples, plums, or nuts;" Penn esteemed happiness to lie in the subjection of the baser instincts to the instinct of Deity in the breast, good and evil to be eternally and always as unlike as truth and falsehood, and the inquiry after the highest good to involve the purpose of existence. Locke says plainly that, but for rewards and punishments beyond the grave, "it is *certainly right* to eat and drink, and enjoy what we delight in;" Penn, like Plato and Fénelon, maintained the doctrine so terrible to despots that God is to be loved for his own sake, and virtue to be practised for its intrinsic loveliness. Locke derives the idea of infinity from the senses, describes it as purely negative, and attributes it to nothing but space, duration, and number; Penn derived the idea from the soul, and ascribed it to truth and virtue and God. Locke declares immortality a matter with which reason has nothing to do, and that revealed truth must be sustained by outward signs and visible acts of power; Penn saw truth by its own light, and summoned the soul to bear witness to its own glory. Locke believed "not so many men in wrong opinions as is commonly supposed, because the greatest part have no opinions at all, and do not know what they contend for;" Penn likewise vindicated the many, but it was because truth is the common inheritance of the race. Locke, in his love of tolerance, inveighed against the methods of persecution as "popish practices;" Penn censured no sect, but condemned bigotry of all sorts as inhuman. Locke, as an American lawgiver, dreaded a too numerous democracy,

and reserved all power to wealth and the feudal proprietaries; Penn believed that God is in every conscience, his light in every soul; and therefore he built — such are his own words — "a free colony for all mankind." This is the praise of William Penn, that, in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions, which had seen Hugh Peter and Henry Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe; in an age when Sydney nourished the pride of patriotism rather than the sentiment of philanthropy, when Russell stood for the liberties of his order, and not for new enfranchisements, when Harrington and Shaftesbury and Locke thought government should rest on property, — Penn did not despair of humanity, and, though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government. Conscious that there was no room for its exercise in England, the pure enthusiast, like Calvin and Descartes, a voluntary exile, was come to the banks of the Delaware to institute "THE HOLY EXPERIMENT."

1682. Oct. 27, 28.

The news spread rapidly that the Quaker king was at Newcastle; and, on the day after his landing, in presence of a crowd of Swedes and Dutch and English, who had gathered round the court-house, his deeds of feoffment were produced; the Duke of York's agent surrendered the territory by the solemn delivery of earth and water, and Penn, invested with supreme and undefined power in Delaware, addressed the assembled multitude on government, recommended sobriety and peace, and pledged himself to grant liberty of conscience and civil freedom.

From Newcastle, Penn ascended the Delaware to Chester, where he was hospitably received by the honest, kind-hearted emigrants who had preceded him from the north of England; the village of herdsmen and farmers, with their plain manners, gentle dispositions, and tranquil passions, seemed a harbinger of a golden age.

From Chester, tradition describes the journey of Penn to have been continued with a few friends in an open boat, in the earliest days of November, to the beautiful bank, fringed

with pine-trees, on which the city of Philadelphia was soon to rise.

1682. Nov. Dec. 1682. 1683. In the following weeks, Penn visited West and East New Jersey, New York, the metropolis of his neighbor proprietary, the Duke of York, and, after meeting Friends on Long Island, he returned to the banks of the Delaware.

To this period belongs his first grand treaty with the Indians. Beneath a large elm-tree at Shakamaxon, on the northern edge of Philadelphia, William Penn, surrounded by a few friends, in the habiliments of peace, met the numerous delegation of the Lenni-Lenape tribes. The great treaty was not for the purchase of lands, but, confirming what Penn had written and Markham covenanted, its sublime purpose was the recognition of the equal rights of humanity. Under the shelter of the forest, now leafless by the frosts of autumn, Penn proclaimed to the men of the Algonkin race, from both banks of the Delaware, from the borders of the Schuylkill, and, it may have been, even from the Susquehannah, the same simple message of peace and love which George Fox had professed before Cromwell and Mary Fisher had borne to the Grand Turk. The English and the Indian should respect the same moral law, should be alike secure in their pursuits and their possessions, and adjust every difference by a peaceful tribunal, composed of an equal number of men from each race.

1682. Nov. Dec. "We meet," such were the words of William Penn, "on the broad pathway of good faith and good-will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children; for parents sometimes chide their children too severely: nor brothers only; for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain; for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood."

The children of the forest were touched by the sacred doctrine, and renounced their guile and their revenge. They received the presents of Penn in sincerity; and with

hearty friendship they gave the belt of wampum. "We will live," said they, "in love with William Penn and his children, as long as the moon and the sun shall endure."

This agreement of peace and friendship was made under the open sky, by the side of the Delaware, with the sun and the river and the forest for witnesses. It was not confirmed by an oath; it was not ratified by signatures and seals; no record of the conference can be found; and its terms and conditions had no abiding inscription but on the heart. There they were written like the law of God. The simple sons of the wilderness, returning to their wigwams, kept the history of the covenant by strings of wampum, and, long afterwards, in their cabins, would count over the shells on a clean piece of bark, and recall to their own memory, and repeat to their children or to the stranger, the words of William Penn. New England had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination; the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonkins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres, which extended as far as Richmond. Penn came without 1682.
arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was shed in his time by an Indian.

Was there not progress from Melendez to Roger Williams? from Cortez and Pizarro to William Penn? The Quakers, ignorant of the homage which their virtues would receive from Voltaire and Raynal, men so unlike themselves, exulted in the consciousness of their humanity. We have done better, said they truly, "than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi. We may make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush for their shameful victories. To the poor, dark souls round about us we teach their RIGHTS AS MEN."

In the following year, Penn often met the Indians 1683.
in council and at their festivals. He visited them in their cabins, shared the hospitable banquet of hominy and roasted acorns, and laughed and frolicked and practised athletic games with the confiding red men. He spoke with them of religion, and found that the tawny skin did not ex-

clude the instinct of a Deity. "The poor savage people believed in God and the soul without the aid of metaphysics."

Peace existed with the natives; the contentment of the emigrants was made perfect by the happy inauguration of the government. A general convention had been permitted by Penn: the people preferred to appear by their representatives; and in three days the work of preparatory legislation at Chester was finished. The charter from the king did not include the territories; these were now enfranchised by the joint act of the inhabitants and the proprietary, and united with Pennsylvania on the basis of equal rights. The freedom of all being thus confirmed, the Inward Voice, which was the celestial visitant to the Quakers, dictated a code. God was declared the only Lord of conscience; the first day of the week was reserved as a day of leisure, for the ease of the creation. The rule of equality was introduced into families by abrogating the privileges of primogeniture. The word of an honest man was evidence without an oath. The mad spirit of speculation was checked by a system of strict accountability, applied to factors and agents. Every resident who paid scot and lot to the governor possessed the right of suffrage; and, without regard to sect, every Christian was eligible to office. No tax or custom could be levied but by law. The Quaker is a spiritualist; the pleasures of the senses, masks, revels, and stage-plays, not less than bull-baits and cock-fights, were prohibited. Murder was the only crime punishable by death. Marriage was esteemed a civil contract; adultery, a felony. The false accuser was liable to double damages. Every prison for convicts was made a workhouse. There were neither poor rates nor tithes. The Swedes and Finns and Dutch were invested with the liberties of Englishmen. Well might Lawrence Cook exclaim in their behalf: "It is the best day we have ever seen." The work of legislation being finished, the proprietary urged upon the house his religious counsel, and the assembly was adjourned.

1682. Dec. 4-7.

The government having been organized, William Penn,

accompanied by members of his council, hastened to West River, to interchange courtesies with Lord Baltimore, and fix the limits of their respective provinces. The adjustment was difficult. Lord Baltimore claimed by his charter the whole country as far as the fortieth degree. Penn replied, just as the Dutch and the agents of the Duke of York had always urged, that the charter for Maryland included only lands that were still unoccupied; that the banks of the Delaware had been purchased, appropriated, and colonized, before that charter was written. For more than fifty years, the country had been in the hands of the Dutch and their successors; and, during that period, the claim of Lord Baltimore had always been resisted. The answer of Penn was true, and conformed to English law as applied to the colonies. In 1623, the Dutch had built Fort Nassau, in New Jersey; and the soil of Delaware was purchased by Godyn, and colonized by De Vries, before the promise of King Charles to Sir George Calvert. But what line should be esteemed the limit of New Netherland? This remained a subject for compromise. A discussion of three days led to no result: tired of useless debates, Penn crossed the Chesapeake to visit Friends at Choptank; and returned to his own province, prepared to renew negotiation or to submit to arbitration in England. 1682. Dec. 11.

The enthusiasm of William Penn sustained him in unceasing exertions. Purchasing the ground of the Swedes, in a situation "not surpassed" — such are his words — "by one among all the many places he had seen in the world," on a neck of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware, appointed for a town by the convenience of the rivers, the firmness of the land, the pure springs and salubrious air, he laid out Philadelphia, the city of refuge, the mansion of freedom. Pleasant visions of innocence and happiness floated before the imagination of his Quaker brethren. "Here," said they, "we may worship God according to the dictates of the Divine Principle, free from the mouldy errors of tradition; here we may thrive, in peace and retirement, in the lap of unadulterated nature; here we improve an innocent course of life on a virgin Elysian 1683. Jan. and Feb.

shore." But vast as were the hopes of the humble Friends, who now marked the boundaries of streets on the chestnut or ash and walnut trees of the original forest, they were surpassed by the reality. Pennsylvania bound the northern and the southern colonies in bonds stronger than paper chains; Philadelphia was the birthplace of American independence and the pledge of union.

1683. Mar. 12. In March, the infant city, in which there could have been few mansions but hollow trees, was already the scene of legislation. From each of the six counties into which Penn's dominions were divided, nine representatives, Swedes, Dutch, and English, were elected for the purpose of establishing a charter of liberties. They desired it might be the acknowledged growth of the New World, and bear date in Philadelphia. "To the people of this place," said Penn, "I am not like a selfish man; through my travail and pains the province came; it is now in Friends' hands. Our faith is for one another, that God will be our counsellor for ever." And, when the general assembly came together, he referred to the frame of government proposed in England, saying: "You may amend, alter, or add; I am ready to settle such foundations as may be for your happiness."

The constitution which was established created a legislative council and a more numerous assembly; the former to be elected for three years, one third being renewed March. annually; the assembly to be annually chosen. Rotation in office was enjoined. The theory of the constitution gave to the governor and council the initiation of all laws; these were to be promulgated to the people; and the office of the assembly was designed to be no more than to report the decision of the people in their primary meetings. Thus no law could be enacted but with the direct assent of the whole community. Such was the system of the charter of liberties. But it received modifications from the legislature by which it was established. The assembly set the precedent of engaging in debate, and of proposing subjects for bills by way of conference with the governor and council. In return, by unanimous vote, a negative voice was allowed the governor on all the doings of the council, and such a power

was virtually a right to negative any law. It would have been more simple to have left the assembly full power to originate bills, and to the governor an unconditional negative. This was virtually the method established in 1683; it was distinctly recognised in the fundamental law in 1696. Besides, the charter from Charles II. held the proprietary responsible for colonial legislation; and no act of provincial legislation could be perfected till it had passed the great seal of the province. That a negative voice was thus reserved to William Penn was, I believe, the opinion of the colonists of that day; such was certainly the intention of the royal charter. In other respects, the frame of government gave all power to the people; the judges were to be nominated by the provincial council, and, in case of good behavior, could not be removed by the proprietary during the term for which they were commissioned. But, for the hereditary office of proprietary, Pennsylvania would have been a representative democracy. In Maryland, the council was named by Lord Baltimore; in Pennsylvania, by the people. In Maryland, the power of appointing magistrates, and all, even the subordinate executive officers, rested solely with the proprietary; in Pennsylvania, William Penn could not appoint a justice or a constable; every executive officer, except the highest, was elected by the people or their representatives; and the governor could perform no public act but with the consent of the council. Lord Baltimore had a revenue derived from the export of tobacco, the staple of Maryland; and his colony was burdened with taxes: a similar revenue was offered to William Penn, and declined.

In the name of all the freemen of the province, the charter was received by the assembly with gratitude, as one "of more than expected liberty." "I desired," says Penn, "to show men as free and as happy as they can be." In the decline of life, the language of his heart was still the same. "If, in the relation between us," he writes in his old age, "the people want of me any thing that would make them happier, I should readily grant it." 1710.

When Peter, the great Russian reformer, attended in England a meeting of Quakers, the semi-barbarous philanthropist could not but exclaim: "How happy must be a community instituted on their principles!" "Beautiful!" said Frederic of Prussia, when, a hundred years later, he read the account of the government of Pennsylvania; "it is perfect, if it can endure." To the charter which Locke invented for Carolina, the palatines voted an immutable immortality; and it never gained more than a short, partial existence: to the people of his province Penn left it free to subvert or alter the frame of government; and its essential principles remain to this day without change.

Such was the birth of popular power in Pennsylvania and Delaware. It remained to dislodge superstition from its hiding-places in the mind. The Scandinavian emigrants came from their native forests with imaginations clouded by the gloomy terrors of an invisible world of fiends; and a turbulent woman was brought to trial as a witch. 1684. Feb. 27. Penn presided, and the Quakers on the jury outnumbered the Swedes. The grounds of the accusation were canvassed; the witnesses calmly examined; and the jury, having listened to the charge from the governor, returned this verdict: "The prisoner is guilty of the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty as she stands indicted." The friends of the liberated prisoner were required to give bonds that she should keep the peace; and in Penn's domain, from that day to this, neither demon nor hag ever rode through the air on goat or broomstick; and the worst arts of conjuration went no further than to foretell fortunes, mutter spells over quack medicines, or discover by the divining-rod the hidden treasures of buccaneers.

1683 to 1688. Meantime, the news spread abroad that William Penn, the Quaker, had opened "an asylum to the good and the oppressed of every nation;" and humanity went through Europe, gathering the children of misfortune. From England and Wales, from Scotland and Ireland and the Low Countries, emigrants crowded to the land of promise. On the banks of the Rhine, it was whispered

that the plans of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstiern were consummated; new companies were formed under better auspices than those of the Swedes; and, from the highlands above Worms, the humble people, who had melted at the eloquence of Penn, renounced their German homes for the protection of the Quaker king. There had been nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which his simple virtues and institutions inspired. In August, 1683, "Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages;" the conies were yet undisturbed in their hereditary burrows; the deer fearlessly bounded past blazed trees, unconscious of foreboded streets; the stranger that wandered from the river bank was lost in the thickets of the interminable forest; and, two years afterwards, the place contained about six hundred houses, and the schoolmaster and the printing-press had begun their work. In three years from its foundation, Philadelphia gained more than New York had done in half a century. This was the happiest season in the public life of William Penn. "I must, without vanity, say," such was his honest self-gratulation, "I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us." 1684. Mar. 9.

The government had been organized, peace with the natives confirmed, the fundamental law established, the courts of justice instituted; the mission of William Penn was accomplished; and now, like Solon, the most humane of ancient legislators, he prepared to leave the commonwealth, of which he had founded the well-being. Intrusting the great seal to his friend Lloyd, and the executive power to a committee of the council, Penn sailed for England, leaving freedom to its own development. The province already contained eight thousand souls. His departure was favorable to the colony and to his own tranquillity. He had established a democracy, and was himself a feudal sovereign. The two elements in the government were incompatible; and for ninety years the civil history of Pennsylvania is but the account of the jarring Aug. 12.

of these opposing interests, to which there could be no happy issue but in popular independence. But rude collisions were not yet begun; and the benevolence of William Penn breathed to his people a farewell, unclouded by apprehension. "My love and my life are to you and with you, and no water can quench it, nor distance bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me and dear to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord, and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty, all the land over." "You are come to a quiet land, and liberty and authority are in your hands. Rule for him under whom the princes of this world will one day esteem it their honor to govern in their places." "And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, my soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, and that thy children may be blessed." "Dear friends, my love salutes you all." And, after

1684. Oct. 3. he reached England, he assured eager inquirers that "things went on sweetly with Friends in Pennsylvania; that they increased finely in outward things and in wisdom."

The question respecting the boundaries between the domains of Lord Baltimore and of William Penn

Dec. 9. was promptly resumed before the committee of trade and plantations; and, after many hearings, it was decided that the tract of Delaware did not constitute

1685. Oct. 17. a part of Maryland. The proper boundaries of the territory remained to be settled; and the present

Nov. 7. limits of Delaware were established by a compromise. There is no reason to suppose any undue bias on the minds of the committee; had a wrong been suspected, the decision would have been reversed at the Revolution of 1688.

This decision formed the basis of an agreement between the respective heirs of the two proprietaries in 1732. Three years afterwards, the subject became a question in chancery; in 1750, the present boundaries were decreed by Lord Hardwicke; ten years later, they were, by agreement, more

accurately defined; and, in 1761, commissioners began to designate the limit of Maryland on the side of Pennsylvania and Delaware. In 1763, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two mathematicians or surveyors, were engaged to mark the lines. In 1764, they entered upon their task, with good instruments and a corps of axemen; by the middle of June, 1765, they had traced the parallel of latitude to the Susquehannah; a year later, they climbed the Little Alleghany; in 1767, they carried forward their work, under an escort from the Six Nations, to an Indian war-path, two hundred and forty-four miles from the Delaware River. Other hands, at a later day, continued Mason and Dixon's line to the west, as the southern boundary of Pennsylvania.

But the care of colonial property did not absorb the enthusiasm of Penn; and, now that his father's friend had succeeded to the throne, he employed his fortune, his influence, and his fame to secure that "IMPARTIAL" liberty of conscience which, for nearly twenty years, he had advocated before the magistrates of Ireland, and English juries, in the Tower, in Newgate, before the commons of England, in public discussions with Baxter and the Presbyterians, before Quaker meetings, at Chester and Philadelphia, and through the press to the world. It was his old post, the office to which he was faithful from youth to age. Fifteen thousand families had been ruined for dissent since the restoration; five thousand persons had died victims to imprisonment. The monarch was persuaded to exercise his prerogative of mercy; and, at Penn's intercession, not less than twelve hundred Friends 1686. were liberated from the horrible dungeons and prisons where many of them had languished hopelessly for years. Penn delighted in doing good. His house was thronged by swarms of clients, envoys from Massachusetts among the number; and sometimes there were two hundred at once, claiming his disinterested good offices with the king. For Locke, then a voluntary exile, he obtained a promise of immunity, which the blameless philosopher, in the just pride of innocence, refused. And at the very time when the Roman

Catholic Fénelon, in France, was pleading for Protestants against the intolerance of Louis XIV., the Protestant Penn, in England, was laboring for the equal rights of the Roman Catholics. Claiming for the executive of the country the prerogative of employing every person, "according to his ability, and not according to his opinion," he labored to effect a repeal of every disfranchisement for opinion. Ever ready to deepen the vestiges of British freedom, and vindicate the right of "the free Saxon people to be governed by laws of which they themselves were the makers," his whole soul was bent on effecting this end by means of parliament during the reign of James II., well knowing that the Prince of Orange was pledged to a less liberal policy. The political tracts of "the arch Quaker" in behalf of liberty of conscience connect the immutable principles of human nature and human rights with the character and origin of English freedom, and exhaust the question as a subject for English legislation. He resisted the violent transfer of Magdalen College to the Catholics, and desired that the universities might not be shut against them and other dissenters. No man in England was more opposed to Roman Catholic dominion; but, like an honest lover of truth, and well aware that he and George Fox could win more converts than James II. and the pope with all their patronage, he desired, in the controversy with the Roman church, nothing but equality. He knew that popery was in England the party of the past, from causes that lay in the heart of society, incapable of restoration; and therefore he ridiculed the popish panic as a scarecrow fit only to frighten children. Such was the strong antipathy of England to the Roman see, he foretold the sure success of the English church, if it should plough with that heifer, but equally predicted the still later result, that the Catholics, in their turn becoming champions of civil freedom, would unite with its other advocates, and impair and subvert the English hierarchy. Penn never gave counsel at variance with popular rights. He resisted the commitment of the bishops to the Tower, and, on the day of the birth of the Prince of Wales, pressed the king exceedingly to open their prison-doors. His private

correspondence proves that he esteemed parliament the only power through which his end could be gained; and, in the true spirit of liberty, he sought to infuse his principles into the public mind, that so they might find their place in the statute-book through the convictions of his countrymen. England to-day confesses his sagacity, and is doing honor to his genius. He came too soon for success, and he was aware of it. After more than a century, the laws which he reproved began gradually to be repealed; and the principle which he developed is slowly but firmly asserting its power over the legislation of Great Britain.

The political connections of William Penn have involved him in the obloquy which followed the overthrow of the Stuarts; and the friends to the tests, comprising nearly all the members of both the political parties, into which England was soon divided, have generally been unfriendly to his good name. But their malice has been without permanent effect. There are not wanting those who believe the many to be the most competent judge of the beautiful; every Quaker believes them the best arbiter of the just and the true. It is certain that they, and they only, are the dispensers of glory. Their final award is given freely, and cannot be shaken. Every charge of hypocrisy, of selfishness, of vanity, of dissimulation, of credulous confidence; every form of reproach, from virulent abuse to cold apology; every ill-meant word from tory and Jesuit to blasphemer and infidel, — has been used against Penn; but the candor of his character has always triumphed over calumny. His name was safely cherished as a household word in the cottages of Wales and Ireland and among the peasantry of Germany; and not a tenant of a wigwam from the sea to the Susquehannah doubted his integrity. His fame is now wide as the world; he is one of the few who have gained abiding glory.

Was he prospered? Before engaging in his American enterprise, he had impaired his patrimony to relieve the suffering Quakers; his zeal for his provinces hurried him into colonial expenses beyond the returns, and left him without a revenue; and he, who had so often been imprisoned for

religion, in his old age went to jail for debt. But yet William Penn was happy. "He could say it before the Lord, he had the comfort of having approved himself a faithful steward to his understanding and ability."

Meanwhile, the Quaker legislators in the woods of Pennsylvania were serving their novitiate in popular legislation. To complain, to impeach, to institute committees of inquiry, to send for persons and papers, to quarrel with the executive, — all was attempted, and all without permanent harm. But the character of parties was already evident; and that of the people tended towards diminishing the little remaining authority of their feudal sovereign. Penn had reserved large tracts of territory as his private property; he alone could purchase the soil from the natives; and he reserved quit-rents on the lands which he sold. Pennsylvania, for nearly a century, sought to impair the exclusive right to pre-emption, and to compel an appropriation of the income from quit-rents, in part at least, to the public service. Jealousy of a feudal chief was early displayed. 1686. Jan. 9. The maker of the first Pennsylvania almanac was censured for publishing Penn as a lord. The assembly 1685. originated bills without scruple; they attempted a new organization of the judiciary; they alarmed the merchants by their lenity towards debtors; they 1686. Mar. 15. would vote no taxes; they claimed the right of inspecting the records, and displacing the officers of the courts; they expelled a member who reminded them of their contravening the provisions of their charter. The executive power was imperfectly administered; for the council was too numerous a body for its regular exer- 1687. Feb. 1. cise. A commission of five was substituted; and 1688. finally, when it was resolved to appoint a deputy governor, the choice of the proprietary was not wisely made. In a word, folly and passion, not less than justice and wisdom, had become enfranchised on the Delaware, and were desperately bent on the exercise of their privileges. Free scope was opened to every whim that enthusiasts might propose as oracles from the skies, to every selfish desire that could lurk under the Quaker garb.

But prosperity rose over the clouds of discontent, and the passions of the young apprentices at legislation died away at the adjournments.

Peace also was uninterrupted. Once, indeed, it was rumored that on the Brandywine five hundred Indians were assembled to concert a massacre. Immediately Caleb Pusey, with five Friends, hastened unarmed to the scene of anticipated danger. The sachem repelled the report with indignation; and the griefs of the tribe were canvassed and assuaged. "The great God, who made all mankind, extends his love to Indians and English. The rain and the dews fall alike on the ground of both; the sun shines on us equally; and we ought to love one another." Such was the diplomacy of the Quaker envoy. The king of the Delawares answered: "What you say is true. Go home, and harvest the corn God has given you. We intend you no harm."

The white man agreed with the red man to love one another. William Penn employed blacks without scruple. The free society of traders, which he chartered and encouraged, in its first public agreement relating to them, did but substitute, after fourteen years' service, the severe condition of adscripts to the soil, for that of slaves. At a later day, he endeavored to secure to the African mental and moral culture, the rights and happiness of domestic life. His efforts were not successful, and he himself died a slaveholder. In his last will, he directed his slaves to be emancipated; but his direction was not regarded by his heirs. On the subject of negro slavery, the German mind was least inthralled by prejudice, because Germany had never yet participated in the slave-trade. The Swedish and German colony of Gustavus Adolphus was designed to rest on free labor. If the general meeting of the Quakers for a season forebore a positive judgment, already, in 1688, "the poor hearts" from Kirchheim, "the little handful" of German Friends from the highlands above the Rhine, came to the resolution that it was not lawful for Christians to buy or to keep negro slaves. 1688.

This decision of the German emigrants on negro slavery

was taken during the lifetime of George Fox, who recognised no distinction of race. "Let your light shine among the Indians, the blacks, and the whites," was his message to Quakers on the Delaware. His heart was with the settlements of which he had been the pioneer; and, a few weeks before his death, he exhorted Friends in America to be the light of the world, the salt to preserve earth from corruption. Covetousness, he adds, is idolatry; and he bids them beware of that "idol for which so many lose morality and humanity."

1691. Jan. 13. On his death-bed, the venerable apostle of equality was lifted above the fear of dying, and, esteeming the change hardly deserving of mention, his thoughts turned to the New World. Pennsylvania and Delaware and West New Jersey, and in some measure Rhode Island and North Carolina, were Quaker states; as his spirit, awakening from its converse with shadows, escaped from the exile of fallen humanity, nearly his last words were: "Mind poor Friends in America." His works praise him. Neither time nor place can dissolve fellowship with his spirit. To his name William Penn left this short epitaph: "Many sons have done virtuously in this day; but, dear GEORGE, thou excellest them all."

An opposite system was developed in the dominions of the Duke of York.

CHAPTER XXV.

JAMES II. CONSOLIDATES THE NORTHERN COLONIES.

The country which, after the reconquest of New Netherland, was again conveyed to the Duke of York, included the New England frontier from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, extended continuously to Connecticut River, and was bounded on the south by Maryland. We have now to trace an attempt to consolidate the whole coast north of the Delaware. 1674. June 29.

The charter from the king sanctioned whatever ordinances the Duke of York or his assigns might establish; and in regard to justice, revenue, and legislation, Edmund Andros, the governor, was left responsible only to his own conscience and his employer. He was instructed to display all the humanity and gentleness that could consist with arbitrary power; and to use punishments not from wilful cruelty, but as an instrument of terror. On the last day of October, he received the surrender of the colony from the representatives of the Dutch, and renewed the absolute authority of the proprietary. The inhabitants of the eastern part of Long Island resolved, in town-meetings, to adhere to Connecticut. The charter certainly did not countenance their decision; and, unwilling to be declared rebels, they submitted to New York.

In the following summer, Andros, with armed sloops, proceeded to Connecticut to vindicate his jurisdiction as far as the river. On the first alarm, William Leet, the aged deputy governor, one of the first seven pillars of the church of Guilford, educated in England as a lawyer, a rigid republican, hospitable even to regicides, convened the assembly. A proclamation was unanimously voted, and forwarded by express to Bull, the 1675. July 9. July 10.

captain of the company on whose firmness the inde-
1675. July 11. pendence of the little colony rested. It arrived just as Andros, hoisting the king's flag, demanded the surrender of Saybrook Fort. Immediately the English colors were raised within the fortress. Despairing of victory, Andros attempted persuasion. Having been allowed to land with his personal retinue, he assumed authority, and in the king's name ordered the duke's patent, with his own commission, to be read. In the king's name, he was commanded to desist; and Andros was overawed by the fishermen and farmers who formed the colonial troops. Their proclamation he spoke of as a slander, and an ill requital for his intended kindness. The Saybrook militia, escorting him to his boat, saw him sail for Long Island; and Connecticut, resenting the aggression, made a declaration of its wrongs, sealed it with its seal, and transmitted it to the neighboring plantations.

1676. In New York itself Andros was hardly more welcome than at Saybrook; for the obedient servant of the Duke of York discouraged every mention of assemblies, and levied customs without the consent of the people. But, since the Puritans of Long Island claimed a representative government as an inalienable English birthright, and the whole population opposed the ruling system as a tyranny, the governor, who was personally free from vicious dispositions, advised his master to concede legislative franchises.

The dull James II., then Duke of York, of a fair complexion and an athletic frame, was patient in details, yet singularly blind to universal principles, plodding with sluggish diligence, but unable to conform conduct to a general rule. Within narrow limits he reasoned correctly; but his vision did not extend far. Without sympathy for the crowd, he had no discernment of character, and was the easy victim of duplicity and intrigue. His loyalty was but devotion to the prerogative which he hoped to inherit. Brave in the face of expected dangers, an unforeseen emergency found him pusillanimously helpless. He kept his word sacredly, unless it involved complicated relations, which he could scarcely comprehend. Spiritual religion is

an enfranchising power, expanding and elevating the soul; a service of forms was analogous to the understanding of James; to attend mass, to build chapels, to risk the kingdom for a rosary, — this was within his grasp; he had no clear perception of religious truth. Freedom of conscience was, in that age, an idea yet standing on the threshold of the world, waiting to be ushered in; and none but exalted minds — Roger Williams and Penn, Vane, Fox, and Bunyan — went forth to welcome it; no glimpse of it 1677. reached James, whose selfish policy, unable to gain immediate dominion for his persecuted priests and his confessor, begged at least for toleration. Debauching a woman on promise of marriage, he next allowed her to be traduced as having yielded to frequent prostitution, and then married her; he was conscientious, but his moral sense was as slow as his understanding. He was not bloodthirsty; but to a narrow mind fear seems the most powerful instrument of government, and he propped his throne with the block and the gallows. A libertine without love, a devotee without spirituality, an advocate of toleration without a sense of the natural right to freedom of conscience, — in him the muscular force prevailed over the intellectual. He floated between the sensuality of indulgence and the sensuality of superstition, hazarding heaven for an ugly mistress, and, to the great delight of abbots and nuns, winning it back again by pricking his flesh with sharp points of iron, and eating no meat on Saturdays. Of the two brothers, the Duke of Buckingham said well, that Charles would not and James could not see. James put his whole character into Jan. 1. his reply to Andros, which is as follows: —

"I cannot but suspect assemblies would be of dangerous consequence; nothing being more known than the aptness of such bodies to assume to themselves many privileges, which prove destructive to, or very often disturb, the peace of government, when they are allowed. Neither do I see any use for them. Things that need redress may be sure of finding it at the quarter sessions, or by the legal and ordinary ways, or, lastly, by appeals to myself. However, I shall be ready to consider of any proposal you shall send."

In November, some months after the province of Sagadahock — that is, Maine beyond the Kennebec — had been protected by a fort and a considerable garrison, Andros
1677. Nov. hastened to England; but he could not give eyes to
1678. the duke; and, on his return, he was ordered to continue the duties, which, at the surrender, had been
1679. established for three years. In the next year, the revenue was a little increased. Meantime, the Dutch Calvinists had been inflamed by an attempt to thwart the discipline of the Dutch Reformed Church. Yet it should be added that the taxes were hardly three per cent on imports, and really insufficient to meet the expenses of the colony; and that the claim to exercise prerogative in
1678. the church was abandoned. As in the days of Lovelace, the province was "a terrestrial Canaan. The inhabitants were blessed in their basket and their store. They were free from pride; and a wagon gave as good content as in Europe a coach, their home-made cloth as the finest lawns. The doors of the low-roofed houses, which luxury never entered, stood wide open to charity and to the stranger." The Island of New York may, in 1678, have contained not far from three thousand inhabitants; in the whole colony, there could not have been far from twenty thousand. Ministers were scarce but welcome, and religions many; the poor were relieved, and beggars unknown. A thousand pounds were opulence; the possessor of half that sum was rich. The exports were land productions — wheat, lumber, tobacco — and peltry from the Indians. In the community, composed essentially of farmers, great equality of condition prevailed; there were but "few merchants," "few servants, and very few slaves."

Prompted by an exalted instinct, the people demanded power to govern themselves. Discontent created a
1681. popular convention; and if the two Platts, Titus, Wood, and Wicks of Huntington, arbitrarily summoned to New York, were still more arbitrarily thrown into prison, the purpose of the yeomanry remained unshaken.

The government of New York was quietly maintained over the settlements south and west of the Delaware, till

they were granted to Penn; over the Jerseys Andros claimed a paramount authority. We have seen the Quakers refer the contest for decision to an English commission.

In East New Jersey, Philip Carteret had, as the deputy of Sir George, resumed the government, and, gaining popularity by postponing the payment of quit-rents, confirmed liberty of conscience with representative government. A direct trade with England, unencumbered by customs, was encouraged. The commerce of New York was endangered by the competition; and, disregarding a second patent from the Duke of York, Andros claimed that the ships of New Jersey should pay tribute at Manhattan. After long altercations and the arrest of Carteret, terminated only by the honest verdict of a New York jury, Andros again entered New Jersey, to intimidate its assembly by the royal patent to the duke. The people of New Jersey could not, as in the happier Connecticut, plead an earlier grant from the king. But when were Puritans at a loss for arguments in favor of freedom? "We are the representatives of the freeholders of this province:" such was the answer of the assembly; "his majesty's patent, though under the great seal, we dare not grant to be our rule or joint safety; for the great charter of England, alias Magna Charta, is the only rule, privilege, and joint safety of every free-born Englishman."

1675.

1678. Oct. 10.

1680. June 2.

The firmness of the legislature preserved the independence of New Jersey; the decision of Sir William Jones protected its people against arbitrary taxation; its prosperity sprung from the miseries of Scotland. The trustees of Sir George Carteret, tired of the burden of colonial property, exposed their province to sale; and the unappropriated domain, with jurisdiction over the five thousand already planted on the soil, was purchased by an association of twelve Quakers, under the auspices of William Penn. A brief account of the province was immediately published; and settlers were allured by a reasonable eulogy on its healthful climate and safe harbors, its fisheries and abundant game, its forests and fertile soil, and

1682. Feb. 1 & 2.

the large liberties established for the encouragement
1682. of adventurers. In November, 1682, possession was taken by Thomas Rudyard, as temporary deputy governor; the happy country was already tenanted by "a sober, professing people." Meantime, the twelve proprietors selected each a partner; and, in March, 1683, to the twenty-four, among whom was the timorous, cruel, iniquitous Perth, afterwards chancellor of Scotland, and the amiable, learned, and ingenious Barclay, who became nominally the governor of the territory, a new and latest
1683. Mar. 14. patent of East New Jersey was granted by the Duke of York. From Scotland the largest emigration was expected; and, in 1685, just before embarking for America with his own family and about two hundred passengers, George Scot of Pitlochie addressed to his countrymen an argument in favor of removing to a country where there was room for a man to flourish without wronging his
1685. neighbor. "It is judged the interest of the government" — thus he wrote, apparently with the sanction of men in power — "to suppress Presbyterian principles altogether; the whole force of the law of this kingdom is levelled at the effectual bearing them down. The rigorous putting these laws in execution hath in a great part ruined many of those who, notwithstanding thereof, find themselves in conscience obliged to retain these principles. A retreat, where, by law, a toleration is allowed, doth at present offer itself in America, and is nowhere else to be found in his majesty's dominions."

This is the era at which East New Jersey, till now chiefly colonized from New England, became the asylum of Scottish Presbyterians. Who has not heard of the ruthless crimes by which the Stuarts attempted to supplant the church of Scotland, and extirpate the faith of a whole people? To whom has the tale not been told of the defeat of
1679. Graham of Claverhouse on Loudon Hill, and the subsequent rout of the insurgent fanatics at Bothwell Bridge? Of the Cameronians, hunted like beasts of prey, and exasperated by sufferings and despair? refusing, in face of the gallows, to say, "God save the king;" and charged

even by their wives to die for the good old cause of the covenant? "I am but twenty," said an innocent girl at her execution; "and they can accuse me of nothing but my judgment." The boot and the thumbikins could not extort confessions. The condemnation of Argyle displayed the prime nobility as "the vilest of mankind;" and wide-spread cruelty exhausted itself in devising punishments. Just after the grant of East New Jersey, a proclamation, unparalleled since the days when Alva drove the Netherlands into independence, proscribed all who had ever communed with rebels, and put twenty thousand lives at the mercy of informers. "It were better," said Lauderdale, "the country bore windle straws and sand larks than boor rebels to the king." After the insurrection of Monmouth, the sanguinary excesses of despotic revenge were revived, gibbets erected in villages to intimidate the people, and soldiers intrusted with the execution of the laws. Scarce a Presbyterian family in Scotland but was involved in proscriptions or penalties; the jails overflowed, and their tenants were sold as slaves to the plantations.

1680. 1681. 1682. 1683. 1684.

Maddened by the succession of military murders; driven from their homes to caves, from caves to morasses and mountains; bringing death to the inmates of a house that should shelter them, death to the benefactor that should throw them food, death to the friend that listened to their complaint, death to the wife or the father that still dared to solace a husband or a son; ferreted out by spies; hunted with packs of dogs, — the fanatics turned upon their pursuers, and threatened to retaliate on the men who should continue to imbrue their hands in blood. The council retorted by ordering a massacre. He that would not take the oath should be executed, though unarmed; and the recusants were shot on the roads, or as they labored in the fields, or as they stood in prayer. To fly was a confession of guilt; to excite suspicion was sentence of death; to own the covenant was treason. The houses of the victims were set on fire; their families shipped for the colonies. "It never will be well with Scotland, till the country south of

the Forth is reduced to a hunting-field." The remark is ascribed to James. "I doubt not, sir, but to be able to propose a way how to gratifie all such as your majestie shall be pleased to thinke deserving of it, without touching your exchequer," wrote Jeffries to James II., just as he had passed sentence of transportation on hundreds of Monmouth's English followers. James II. sent the hint to the north, and in Scotland the business was equally well
1685. understood. The indemnity proclaimed on the accession of James II. was an act of delusive clemency. Every day wretched fugitives were tried by a jury of soldiers, and executed in clusters on the highways; women, fastened to stakes beneath the sea-mark, were drowned by the rising tide; the dungeons were crowded with men perishing for want of water and air. The humanity of the government was barbarous; of the shoals transported to America, women were often burnt in the cheek, men marked by lopping off their ears.

Is it strange that Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education, and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, hurried to East New Jersey in
1682. 1687. such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a character which a century and a half has not effaced? In 1686, after the judicial murder of the Duke of Argyle, his brother, Lord Neill Campbell, who had purchased the proprietary right of Sir George Mackenzie, and in the previous year had sent over a large number of settlers, came himself to act for a few months as chief magistrate. When Campbell withdrew, the executive power, weakened by transfers, was intrusted by him to Andrew Hamilton. The territory, easy of access, flanked on the west by outposts of Quakers, was the abode of peace and abundance, of deep religious faith and honest industry. Peaches and vines grew wild on the river sides; the woods were crimsoned with strawberries; and "brave oysters" abounded along the shore. Brooks and rivulets, with "curious clear water," were as plenty as in the dear native Scotland; the houses of the towns, unlike the pent villages of the old world, were scattered upon the several lots and farms; the high-

ways were so broad, that flocks of sheep could nibble by the roadside; troops of horses multiplied in the woods. In a few years, a law of the commonwealth, giving force to the common principle of the New England and the Scottish Calvinists, established a system of free schools. It was "a gallant, plentiful" country, where the humblest laborer might soon turn farmer for himself. In all its borders, said Gawen Laurie, the faithful Quaker merchant, who had been Rudyard's successor, "there is not a poor body, or one that wants."

The mixed character of New Jersey springs from the different sources of its people. Puritans, Covenanters, and Quakers met on her soil; and their faith, institutions, and preferences, having life in the common mind, survive the Stuarts.

Every thing breathed hope, but for the arbitrary cupidity of James II., and the navigation acts. Dyer, the collector, eager to levy a tax on the commerce of the colony, complained of their infringement; in April, 1686, a writ of quo warranto against the proprietaries menaced New Jersey with being made "more dependent." It was of no avail to appeal to the justice of King James, who revered the prerogative with idolatry; and in 1688, to stay the process for forfeiture, the proprietaries, stipulating only for their right of property in the soil, surrendered their claim to the jurisdiction. The province was annexed to New York.

In New York, the attempt to levy customs without a colonial assembly had been defeated by the grand jury, and trade became free, just as Andros was returning to England. All parties joined in entreating for the people a share in legislation. The Duke of York temporized. The provincial revenue had expired; the ablest lawyers in England questioned his right to renew it; the province opposed its collection with a spirit that required compliance, and in January, 1683, the newly appointed governor, Thomas Dongan, nephew of Tyrconnell, a Roman Catholic, was instructed to call a general assembly of all the freeholders, by the persons whom they should choose to represent them. Accordingly, on the seventeenth

1682. March.

1683.

of the following October, about seventy years after Manhattan was first occupied, about thirty years after the demand of the popular convention by the Dutch, the people of New York met in assembly, and by their first act claimed the rights of Englishmen. "Supreme legislative power," such was their further declaration "shall for ever be and reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly. Every freeholder and freeman shall vote for representation without restraint. No freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers; and all trials shall be by a jury of twelve men. No tax shall be assessed, on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly. No seaman or soldier shall be quartered on the inhabitants against their will. No martial law shall exist. No person, professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall at any time be any ways disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion." Thus did New York, by its self-enacted "charter of franchises and privileges," take its place by the side of Virginia and Massachusetts, surpassing them both in religious toleration. The proprietary accepted the revenue granted by the legislature for a limited period, permitted another session to be held, and promised to make no alterations in the form or matter of the bill containing the franchises and privileges of
1685. the colony, except for its advantage; but in 1685, in less than a month after James II. had ascended the throne, he prepared to overturn the institutions which he had conceded. A direct tax was decreed by an ordinance; the titles to real estate were questioned, that larger fees and quit-rents might be extorted; and, of the farmers of Easthampton who protested against the tyranny, six were arraigned before the council.

While the liberties of New York were sequestered by a monarch who desired to imitate the despotism of France, its frontiers had no protection against encroachments from Canada, except in the valor of the Iroquois. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, the Five Nations, dwelling near the river and the lakes that retain their names, formed a confederacy of equal tribes. The union of three of the nations precedes tradition; the Oneidas

and Senecas were younger associates. Each nation was a sovereign republic, divided again into clans, between which a slight subordination was scarcely perceptible. The clansmen dwelt in fixed places of abode, surrounded by fields of beans and of maize; each castle, like a New England town or a Saxon hundred, constituted a little democracy. There was no slavery, no favored caste. All men were equal. The union was confirmed by an unwritten compact; the congress of the sachems, at Onondaga, like the Witenagemots of the Anglo-Saxons, transacted all common business. Authority resided in opinion; law in oral tradition. Honor and esteem enforced obedience; shame and contempt punished offenders. The leading warrior was elected by the general confidence in his virtue and conduct; merit alone could obtain preferment to office; and power was as permanent as the esteem of the tribe. No profit was attached to eminent station, to tempt the sordid. As their brave men went forth to war, instead of martial instruments, they were cheered by the clear voice of their leader. On the smooth surface of a tree from which the outer bark had been peeled, they painted their deeds of valor by the simplest symbols. These were their trophies and their annals; these and their war-songs preserved the memory of their heroes. They proudly deemed themselves supreme among mankind; men excelling all others; and hereditary arrogance inspired their young men with dauntless courage. When Hudson, John Smith, and Champlain were in America together, the Mohawks had extended their strolls from the St. Lawrence to Virginia; half Long Island paid them tribute; and a Mohawk sachem was reverenced on Massachusetts Bay. The geographical position of their fixed abodes, including within their immediate sway the headlands not of the Hudson only, but of the rivers that flow to the Gulfs of Mexico and St. Lawrence, the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, opened widest regions to their canoes, and invited them to make their war-paths along the channels where New York and Pennsylvania are now perfecting the avenues of commerce. Becoming possessed of firearms by intercourse with the Dutch, they renewed their

1649. merciless, hereditary warfare with the Hurons; and,
1653 to 1655. in the following years, the Eries, on the south shore of the lake of which the name commemorates their
1656 to 1672. existence, were defeated and extirpated. The Alleghany was next descended; and the tribes near Pittsburg, probably of the Huron race, leaving no monument but a name to the Guyandot River of Western Virginia, were subjugated and destroyed. In the east and in the west, fron the Kennebec to the Mississippi, the Abenakis as well as the Miamis and the remoter Illinois, could raise no barrier against the invasions of the Iroquois but by alliances with the French.

But the Five Nations had defied a prouder enemy. At the commencement of the administration of Dongan,
1676. the European population of New France, which, in 1679, amounted to eight thousand five hundred and fifteen souls, may have been a little more than ten thousand; the number of men capable of bearing arms was perhaps three thousand, about the number of warriors of the Five Nations. But the Iroquois were freemen; New France suffered from despotism and monopoly. The Iroquois recruited their tribes by adopting captives of foreign nations; New France was sealed against the foreigner and the heretic. For nearly fourscore years, hostilities had prevailed, with few interruptions. Thrice did Champlain invade the country of the Mohawks, till he was
1609 to 1615. driven with wounds and disgrace from their wilderness fastnesses. The Five Nations, in return, at the
1622. 1623. period of the massacre in Virginia, attempted the destruction of New France. Though repulsed, they continued to defy the province and its allies, and,
1637. under the eyes of its governor, openly intercepted canoes destined for Quebec. The French authority
1640. was not confirmed by founding a feeble outpost at
1642. Montreal; and Fort Richelieu, at the mouth of the
1645. Sorel, scarce protected its immediate environs. Negotiations for peace led to no permanent result; and even the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, the most faithful, disinterested, and persevering of their order, could



ly restrain the sanguinary vengeance of the
The Iroquois warriors scoured every wilderness
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who roamed over the regions between
, Erie, and Ontario. Depopulating the 1649.
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war-paths of the Five Nations, down the Sus-

quehannah, and near the highlands of Virginia, the proud Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga warriors had left bloody traces of their presence. The impending struggle with New France quickened the desire of renewing peace
1684. July 13. with the English; and the deputies from the Mohawks and the three offending tribes, soon joined by the Senecas, met the governors of New York and Virginia at Albany.

To the complaints and the pacific proposals of Lord Howard of Effingham, Cadianne, the Mohawk orator,
July 14. replied: "Sachem of Virginia, and you, Corlaer, sachem of New York, give ear, for we will not conceal the evil that has been done." The orator then rebuked the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, for their want of faith, and gave them a belt of wampum, to quicken their memory. Then, turning to Effingham, he continued: "Great sachem of Virginia, these three beaver-skins are a token of our gladness that your heart is softened; these two, of our joy that the axe is to be buried. We are glad that you will bury in the pit what is past. Let the earth be trod hard over it; let a strong stream run under the pit, to wash the evil away out of our sight and remembrance, so that it never may be digged up. You are wise to keep the covenant chain bright as silver, and now to renew it and make it stronger. These nations are chain-breakers; we Mohawks,"—as he spoke he gave two beavers and a raccoon,—"we Mohawks have kept the chain entire. The covenant must be preserved; the fire of love of Virginia and Maryland, and of the Five Nations, burns in this place: this house of peace must be kept clean. We plant a tree whose top shall touch the sun, whose branches shall be seen afar. We will shelter ourselves under it, and live in unmolested peace."

At the conclusion of the treaty, each of the three offending nations gave a hatchet to be buried. "We bury none for ourselves," said the Mohawks, "for we have never broken the ancient chain." The axes were buried, and the offending tribes in noisy rapture chanted the song of peace.

"Brother Corlaer," said a chief for the Onondagas and Cayugas, "your sachem is a great sachem; and we are a small people. When the English came first to Manhattan, to Virginia, and to Maryland, they were a small people, and we were great. Because we found you a good people, we treated you kindly, and gave you land. Now, therefore, that you are great and we small, we hope you will protect us from the French. They are angry with us because we carry beaver to our brethren." 1684. Aug. 2.

The envoys of the Senecas soon arrived, and expressed their delight that the tomahawk was already buried, and all evil put away from the hearts of the English sachems. On the same day, a messenger from De la Barre appeared at Albany. But his complaints were unheeded. "We have not wandered from our paths," said the Senecas. "But when Onondio, the sachem of Canada, threatens us with war, shall we run away? Shall we sit still in our houses? Our beaver-hunters are brave men, and the beaver-hunt must be free." The sachems returned to nail the arms of the Duke of York over their castles; a protection, as they thought, against the French, an acknowledgment, as the English deemed, of British sovereignty. Aug. 5.

Meantime, the rash and confident De la Barre, with six hundred French soldiers, four hundred Indian allies, four hundred carriers, and three hundred men for a garrison, advanced to the fort which stood near the outlet of the present Rideau Canal. But the exhalations of August on the marshy borders of Ontario disabled his army; and, after crossing the lake, and disembarking his wasted troops in the land of the Onondagas, he was compelled to solicit peace from the tribes whom he had designed to exterminate. The Mohawks, at the request of the English, refused to negotiate; but the other nations, jealous of English supremacy, desired to secure independence by balancing the French against the English. An Onondaga chief called Heaven to witness his resentment at English interference. "Onondio," he proudly exclaimed to the envoy of New York, "Onondio has for ten years been our father; Corlaer has long been our brother. But it is because we have

willed it so. Neither the one nor the other is our master. He who made the world gave us the land in which we dwell. We are free. You call us subjects; we say we are brethren; we must take care of ourselves. I will go to my father, for he has come to my gate, and desires to speak with me words of reason. We will embrace peace instead of war; the axe shall be thrown into a deep water."

The deputies of the tribes repaired to the presence of De la Barre to exult in his humiliation. "It is well for you," said the eloquent Haaskouaun, rising from the calumet, "that you have left under ground the hatchet which has so often been dyed in the blood of the French. Our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our braves had not kept them back. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for the arms we have taken from the French; and our old men are not afraid of war. We may guide the English to our lakes. We are born free. We depend neither on Onondio nor Corlaer." Dismayed by the energy of the Seneca chief, the governor of Canada accepted a disgraceful treaty, leaving his allies at the mercy of their enemies.

Meantime, fresh troops arrived from France; and De la Barre was superseded by Denonville, an officer whom Charlevoix extols as possessing, in a sovereign degree, every quality of a perfectly honorable man. His example, it is said, made virtue and religion more respectable; his
1685. tried valor and active zeal were enhanced by prudence and sagacity. But blind obedience paralyzes conscience and enslaves reason; and quiet pervaded neither the Five Nations nor the English provinces.

For the defence of New France, a fort was to be established at Niagara. The design, which would have
1686. May. controlled the fur-trade of the upper lakes, was resisted by Dongan; for, it was said, the country south of the lakes, the whole domain of the Iroquois, is subject to England. Thus began the long contest
May 22. for territory in the west. The limits between the English and French never were settled; but, for the present, the Five Nations of themselves were a sufficient

bulwark against encroachments from Canada, and in the summer of 1686 a party of English traders penetrated even to Michilimackinac.

The gentle spirit which swayed William Penn at Shakamaxon did not find its way into the voluptuous councils of Versailles. "The welfare of my service," such were the instructions of Louis XIV. to the governor of New France, "requires that the number of the Iroquois should be diminished as much as possible. They are strong and robust, and can be made useful as galley-slaves. Do what you can to take a large number of them prisoners of war, and ship them for France." By open hostilities, no 1687. captives could be made; and Lamberville, the missionary among the Onondagas, was unconsciously employed to decoy the Iroquois chiefs into the fort on Ontario. Invited to negotiate a treaty, they assemble without distrust, are surprised, put in irons, hurried to Quebec, and thence to Europe, and the warrior hunters of the Five Nations, who used to roam from Hudson's Bay to Carolina, were chained to the oar in the galleys of Marseilles.

Meantime, the old men of the Onondagas summoned Lamberville to their presence. "We have much reason," said an aged chief, "to treat thee as an enemy; but we know thee too well. Thou hast betrayed us; but treason was not in thy heart. Fly, therefore, for, when our young braves shall have sung their war-song, they will listen to no voice but the swelling voice of their anger." And trusty guides conducted the missionary through by-paths into a place of security. The noble forbearance was due to the counsel of Garonkonthié.

An incursion into the country of the Senecas followed. The savages retired into remoter forests; of the domain which was overrun without resistance, possession was taken by the French, and a fort erected at the point where the Niagara pours its waters into Lake Ontario. France seemed to have gained firm possession of Western New York. But, as the French army withdrew, the wilderness remained to its old inhabitants. The Senecas in their turn made a descent upon their still feebler enemy; and the Onondagas

threatened war. "Onondio has stolen our sachems; he has broken," said they, "the covenant of peace;" and Dongan, at the solicitation of the French, offered himself as mediator, but only on condition that the kidnapped chiefs should be ransomed, the fort in the Iroquois country razed, and the spoils of the Senecas restored.

1688. The negotiations fail; and Haaskouaun advances with five hundred warriors to dictate the terms of peace. "I have always loved the French," said the proud chieftain to the foes whom he scorned. "Our warriors proposed to come and burn your forts, your houses, your granges, and your corn; to weaken you by famine, and then to overwhelm you. I am come to tell Onondio he can escape this misery, if within four days he will yield to the terms which Corlaer has proposed."

Twelve hundred Iroquois were already on Lake St. Francis; in two days they could reach Montreal. The haughty condescension of the Seneca chief was accepted, the ransom of the Iroquois chiefs conceded, and the whole country south of the chain of lakes rescued from the dominion of Canada. In the course of events, New York owes its present northern boundary to the valor of the Five Nations. But for them Canada would have embraced the basin of the St. Lawrence.

1686. Nov. During these events, James II. had, in a treaty with Louis XIV., made it a condition of amity between the colonies of the two states that neither should assist the Indian tribes with whom the other might be at war. Thus did the king of England ignorantly abandon his allies. Yet, with all his faults, James II. had a strong sentiment of English nationality; and, in consolidating the northern colonies, he hoped to engage the energies of New England in defence of the whole English frontier.

1685. The alarm of Massachusetts at the loss of its charter had been increased by the news that Kirke, afterwards infamous for military massacres in the west of England, was destined for its governor. It was a relief to find that Joseph Dudley, a degenerate son of the colony, was intrusted for a season with the highest powers of magistracy

over the country from Narragansett to Nova Scotia. The general court, in session at his arrival, and unprepared for open resistance, dissolved their assembly, and returned in sadness to their homes. The charter government was publicly displaced by the arbitrary commission, popular representation abolished, and the press subjected to the censorship of Randolph.

1686. May 15. May 25. Nov. 29.

At last, Sir Edmund Andros, glittering in scarlet and lace, landed at Boston, as governor of all New England. How unlike Penn at Newcastle! He was authorized to remove and appoint members of his council, and, with their consent, to make laws, lay taxes, and control the militia of the country. He was instructed to tolerate no printing-press, to encourage Episcopacy, and to sustain authority by force. From New York came West as secretary. In the council, there were four subservient members, of whom but one was a New England man. The other members formed a fruitless but united opposition. "His excellency," said Randolph, "has to do with a perverse people."

Dec. 20.

A series of measures followed, the most vexatious and tyrannical to which men of English descent were ever exposed. "The wicked walked on every side; and the vilest men were exalted." As agents of James II., they established an arbitrary government; as men in office, they coveted large emoluments.

The schools of learning, formerly so well taken care of, were allowed to go to decay. The religious institutions were impaired by abolishing the methods of their support. "It is pleasant," said the foreign agents of tyranny, "to behold poor coblers and pitiful mechanics, who have neither home nor land, strutting and making noe mean figure at their elections, and some of the richest merchants and wealthiest of the people stand by as insignificant cyphers;" and therefore a town-meeting was allowed only for the choice of town officers. The vote by ballot was rejected. To a committee from Lynn, Andros said plainly: "There is no such thing as a town in the whole country." To assemble in town-meeting for deliberation was an act of sedition or a riot.

1688. Mar. 16.

1687. Personal liberty and the customs of the country were disregarded. None might leave the colony without a special permit. Probate fees were increased almost twenty-fold. "West," says Randolph, — for dishonest men betray one another, — "extorts what fees he pleases, to the great oppression of the people, and renders the present government grievous." To the scrupulous Puritans, the idolatrous custom of laying the hand on the Bible, in taking an oath, operated as a widely disfranchising test.

The Episcopal service had never yet been performed within Massachusetts Bay, except by the chaplain of the hated commission of 1665. Its day of liberty was

1686. Dec. come. Andros demanded one of the meeting-houses for the church. The wrongs of a century crowded on the memories of the Puritans, as they answered: "We cannot with a good conscience consent." Goodman Needham declared he would not ring the bell; but at the

1687. Mar. 25. appointed hour the bell rung; and the love of liberty did not expire, even though, in a Boston meeting-house, the Common Prayer was read in a surplice.

1688. June 23. By and by, the people were desired to contribute towards erecting a church. "The bishops," answered Sewall, "would have thought strange to have been asked to contribute towards setting up New England churches."

At the instance and with the special concurrence of James II., a tax of a penny in the pound and a poll-tax of

1687. Mar. 3. twenty pence, with a subsequent increase of duties, were laid by Andros and his council. The towns generally refused payment. Wilbore, of Taunton, was imprisoned for writing a protest. To the people of

Aug. 23. Ipswich, then the second town in the colony, in town-meeting, John Wise, the minister who used to assert, "Democracy is Christ's government in church and state," advised resistance. "We have," said he, "a good God and a good king; we shall do well to stand to our privileges." "You have no privilege," answered one of the council, after the arraignment of Wise and the selectmen, "you have no privilege left you but not to be sold as slaves."

"Do you believe," demanded Andros, "Joe and Tom may tell the king what money he may have?" The writ of habeas corpus was withheld. The prisoners pleaded Magna Charta. "Do not think," replied one of the judges, "the laws of England follow you to the ends of the earth." And in his charge to the packed jury, Dudley spoke plainly: "Worthy gentlemen, we expect a good verdict from you." The verdict followed; and after imprisonment came heavy fines and partial disfranchisements.

Oppression threatened the country with ruin; and the oppressors, quoting an opinion current among the mercantile monopolists of England, answered without disguise: "It is not for his majesty's interest you should thrive."

The taxes, in amount not grievous, were for public purposes. But the lean wolves of tyranny were themselves hungry for spoils. In 1680, Randolph had hinted that "the Bostoneers have no right to government or land, but are usurpers." It was the intention of King James that "their several properties, according to their ancient records," should be granted them; the fee for the grants was the excuse for extortion. "All the inhabitants," wrote Randolph, exultingly, "must take new grants of their lands, which will bring in vast profits." Indeed there was not money enough in the country to have paid the exorbitant fees which were demanded. 1687. 1688.

The colonists pleaded their charter; but grants under the charter were declared void by its forfeiture. Lynde, of Charlestown, produced an Indian deed. It was pronounced "worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw." Lands were held not by a feudal tenure, but under grants from the general court to towns, and from towns to individuals. The town of Lynn produced its records; they were slighted "as not worth a rush." Others pleaded possession and use of the land. "You take possession," it was answered, "for the king." "The men of Massachusetts did much quote Lord Coke;" but, defeated in argument by Andros, who was a good lawyer, John Higginson, minister of Salem, went back from the common law of England to the book of Genesis, and, remembering that God gave the earth to the

sons of Adam to be subdued and replenished, declared that the people of New England held their lands "by the grand charter from God." And Andros, incensed, bade him approve himself "a subject or a rebel." The lands reserved for the poor, generally all common lands, were appropriated by favorites; writs of intrusion were multiplied; and fees, amounting, in some cases, to one fourth the value of an estate, were exacted for granting a patent to its owner.

A selected jury offered no relief. "Our condition," 1688. Oct. 22. said Danforth, "is little inferior to absolute slavery;" and the people of Lynn afterwards gave thanks to God for their escape from the worst of bondage. "The governor invaded liberty and property after such a manner," said the temperate Increase Mather, "as no man could say any thing was his own."

By the additional powers and instructions of June, 1686, Andros was authorized to demand the Rhode Island charter, and to receive that of Connecticut, if tendered to him. Against the charter of Rhode Island a writ of quo warranto had been issued. The judgment against Massachusetts left no hope of protection from courts submissive to the royal will; and the Quakers, acting under instructions from 1686. May 5. the towns, resolved not "to stand suit," but to appeal to the conscience of the king for the "privileges and liberties granted by Charles II., of blessed memory." Flowers were strown on the tomb of Nero; the colony of Rhode Island had cause to bless the memory of Charles II. Soon after the arrival of Andros, he demanded the surrender of the charter. Walter Clarke, the governor, insisted on waiting for "a fitter season." Repairing to Rhode 1687. Jan. 12. Island, Andros, in January, 1687, dissolved its government and broke its seal; five of its citizens were appointed members of his council, and a commission, irresponsible to the people, was substituted for the suspended system of freedom. That the magistrates levied moderate taxes, payable in wool or other produce, is evident from the records. It was pretended that the people of Rhode Island were satisfied, and did not so much as petition for their charter again.

In the autumn of the same year, Andros, attended by some of his council, and by an armed guard, set forth to assume the government of Connecticut. How unlike the march of Hooker and his peaceful flock! Dongan had in vain solicited the people of Connecticut to submit to his jurisdiction; yet they desired, least of all, to hazard the continuance of liberty on the decision of the dependent English courts. On the third writ of quo warranto, the colony, in a petition to the king, asserted its chartered rights, yet desired, in any event, rather to share the fortunes of Massachusetts than to be annexed to New York. Andros found the assembly in session, and demanded the surrender of its charter. The brave governor Treat pleaded earnestly for the cherished patent, which had been purchased by sacrifices and martyrdoms, and was endeared by halcyon days. The shades of evening descended during the prolonged discussion; an anxious crowd had gathered to witness the debate. Tradition loves to relate that the charter lay on the table; that of a sudden the lights were extinguished, and, when they were rekindled, the charter had disappeared. It is certain that "in this very troublesome season, when the constitution of Connecticut was struck at, Captain Joseph Wadsworth, of Hartford, rendered fruitful and good service in securing the duplicate charter of the colony, and safely keeping and preserving the same" for nearly eight-and-twenty years. The precious parchment may for a time have lain concealed in the hollow of an oak. Meantime Andros assumed the government, selected councillors, and, demanding the records of Connecticut, to the annals of its freedom set the word FINIS. One of his few laws prohibited town-meetings except for the election of officers. The colonists submitted; yet their consciences were afterwards "troubled at their hasty surrender."

1687. Oct. 26.

Oct. 31.

If Connecticut lost its liberties, the eastern frontier was depopulated. An expedition against the French establishments, which have left a name to Castine, roused the passions of the neighboring Indians; and Andros, after a short deference to the example of Penn, made a vain pursuit

1688. of a retreating enemy, who had for their powerful allies the savage forests and the inclement winter.

July. Not long after the first excursion to the east, the whole seaboard from Maryland to the St. Croix was united in one extensive despotism. The entire dominion, of which Boston, the largest English town in the New World, was the capital, was abandoned to Andros, its governor-general, and to Randolph, its secretary, with his needy associates. But the impoverished country disappointed avarice. The eastern part of Maine had already been pillaged by agents, who had been — it is Randolph's own statement — "as arbitrary as the Grand Turk;" and in New York, also, there was, as Randolph expressed it, "little good to be done," for its people "had been squeezed dry by Dongan." But, on the arrival of the new

July 30. commission, Andros hastened to the south to supersede his hated rival, and assume the government of New York and New Jersey.

1687. 1688. The spirit which led forth the colonies of New England kept their liberties alive; in the general gloom, the ministers preached sedition and planned resistance. Once at least, to the great anger of the governor, they put by thanksgiving; and at private fasts they besought the Lord to repent himself for his servants, whose power was gone. The enlightened Moody refused to despair, confident that God would yet "be exalted among the heathen."

1688. Apr. 29. On the Lord's Day, which was to have been the day of thanksgiving for the queen's pregnancy, the church was much grieved at the weakness of Allen, who, from the literal version of the improved Bay Psalm Book, gave out, —

J. strength The king shall joyful be,
vation, How vehemently shall hee!
; to him That which his heart desired.
before prayer he read, among many
casion of the governor's gratitude,
age, interceded largely for the king,
ot his course one jot," and, as the
ded the people with the text, "Ye
d unto blood, warring against sin."

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

DESPERATE measures were postponed, that one of the ministers might make an appeal to the king; and Increase Mather, escaping the vigilance of Randolph, embarked on the dangerous mission for redress. But relief came from a revolution of which the influence was to pervade the world.

On the restoration of Charles II., the Puritan or republican element lost all hope of gaining dominion; and the history of England, during its next period, is but the history of the struggle for a compromise between the republican and the monarchical principle. The contest for freedom was continued, yet within limits so narrow as never to endanger the existence, or even question the right, of monarchy itself. The people had attempted a democratic revolution, and had failed; no longer struggling to control events, it was now willing to wait and watch the movements of the men of property of the country. 1660 to 1688.

The ministry of Clarendon, the first after the restoration, acknowledged the indefeasible sovereignty of the king, and sought in the prelates and high nobility the natural allies to the royal prerogative. Its policy, not destitute of honest nationality, nor wholly regardless of English liberties, yet renewed intolerance in religion; and, while it respected a balance of powers, claimed the preponderance in the state for the monarch. But twenty years of freedom had rendered the suppression of dissent from the church of England more than ever impossible. The country was dissatisfied; ceasing to desire a republic, it still demanded greater security for freedom. But, as no general election for parliament was held, a change of 1660 to 1667.

ministry could be effected only by a faction within the palace. The royal council sustained Clarendon; the rakes about court, railing at his moroseness, echoed the popular clamor against him. His overthrow "was certainly designed in Lady Castlemaine's chamber;" and, as he retired at noonday from the audience of dismission, she ran undressed from bed into her aviary, to enjoy the spectacle of the fallen minister, and "bless herself at the old man's going away." The gallants of Whitehall crowded to "talk to her in her bird-cage." "You," said they to her, as they glanced at the retiring chancellor, "you are the bird of passage."

1668 to 1671. The administration of the king's cabal followed. England had demanded a liberal ministry; it obtained a dissolute one: it had demanded a ministry not enslaved to prelacy; it obtained one indifferent to all religion, and careless of every thing but pleasure. Buckingham, the noble buffoon at its head, debauched other men's wives, fought duels, and kept about him a train of voluptuaries; but he was not, like Clarendon, a tory by system; far from building up the exclusive church of England, he ridiculed bishops as well as sermons; and when the Quakers went to him with their hats on, to discourse on the equal rights of every conscience, he told them that he was at heart in favor of their principle. English honor was wrecked; English finances became bankrupt; but the progress of the nation towards internal freedom was no longer opposed with steadfast consistency; and England was better satisfied than it had been with the wise and virtuous Clarendon.

As the tendency of the cabal became apparent, a new
on necessarily followed: the king was surrounded by
who still desired to uphold the prerogative, and stay
vement of the age; while Shaftesbury, always con-
istent in his purpose, "unwilling to hurt the king,
et desiring to keep him tame in a cage;" averse
o the bishops, because the bishops would place pre-
e above liberty; averse to democracy, because
racy would substitute freedom for privilege, — in

organizing a party, afterwards known as the whig party, suited himself to the spirit of the times. It was an age of progress towards liberty of conscience; Shaftesbury favored toleration: it was an age when the vast increase of commercial activity claimed for the moneyed interest an influence in the government; Shaftesbury always lent a willing ear to the merchants. Commerce and Protestant toleration were the elements of his power over the public mind. He did not so much divide dominion with the merchants and the Presbyterians as act as their patron; having himself for his main object to keep "the bucket" of the aristocracy from sinking. The declaration of in- 1672.
dulgence, an act of high prerogative, yet directed against the friends of prerogative, was his measure. Immediately freedom of conscience awakened in English industry unparalleled energies; and Shaftesbury, the skeptic chancellor, was eulogized as the savior of religion. Had the king been firm, the measure would probably have succeeded. He wavered; for he distrusted the dissenters: the Presbyterians wavered also; for how could they be satisfied with relief dependent on the royal pleasure? The seal of the declaration was broken in the king's presence; and Shaftesbury, confiding no longer in the favor of his fickle sovereign, courted a popular party by securing the passage of a test act against papists, and advocating with power a bill for the ease of Protestant dissenters. 1673.
Shaftesbury fell.

Under the lord treasurer, Danby, the old Cav- 1673 to 1679.
aliers recovered power. It was the day for statues to Charles I. and new cathedrals. To win strength for his party from the favor of Protestant opinion, Danby avowed his willingness to aid in crushing popery, and he gave his influence to the popish plot. But Shaftesbury was already sure of the merchants and dissenters. "Let the treasurer," exclaimed the fallen chancellor, "cry as loud as he pleases; I will cry a note louder, and soon take his place at the head of the plot;" and, indifferent to perjuries and judicial murders, he was successful. In the subservient house of commons, there were many corrupt members who would

never have been elected but in the first fit of loyalty at the restoration. Danby preferred the unfitness of a perpetual parliament to the hazard of a new election, and, by pensions and rewards, purchased the votes of the profligate. But knavery has a wisdom of its own; the profligate members had a fixed maxim, never to grant so much at once that they should cease to be wanted; and, discovering the intrigues of Danby for a permanent revenue from France, they were honorably true to nationality, and, true also to the base instinct of selfishness, they impeached the minister. To save the minister, this longest of English parliaments was dissolved.

1679. Jan. 24.

When, after nineteen years, the people of England were once more allowed to elect representatives, the great majority against the court compelled a reorganization of the ministry; and, by the force of public opinion and of parliament, Shaftesbury, whom, for his mobility and his diminutive stature, the king called Little Sincerity, compelled the reluctant monarch to appoint him lord president of the council. The event is an era in English history. Ministers had been impeached and driven from office by the commons. It is the distinction of Shaftesbury that he was the first statesman to attain the guidance of a ministry through parliament by means of an organized party, and against the wishes of the king. In the cabinet, the bill of exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession was demanded; a bill for that purpose was introduced into the house of commons; and it was observed that the young men cried up every measure against the duke; "like so many young spaniels, that run and bark at every lark that springs." "The axe," wrote Charles, "is laid to the root; and monarchy must go down too, or bow exceeding low before the almighty power of parliament;" and just after Shaftesbury, who, as chancellor, had opened the prison-doors of Bunyan, now, as president of the council, had procured the passage of the habeas corpus act, the commons were prorogued and dissolved. Shaftesbury was displaced, and henceforward the councils of the Stuarts inclined to absolutism.

Apr. 21.

May 27.

Immediately universal agitation roused the spirit of the nation. Under the influence of Shaftesbury's genius, on Queen Elizabeth's night, a vast procession, bearing devices and wax figures representing nuns and monks, bishops in copes and mitres, and also — it should be observed, for it proves how much the Presbyterians were courted — bishops in lawn, cardinals in red caps, and, last of all, the pope of Rome, side by side in a litter with the devil, moved through the streets of London, under the glare of thousands of flambeaux, and in the presence of two hundred thousand spectators; the disobedient Monmouth was welcomed with bonfires and peals of bells; a panic was created, as if every Protestant freeman were to be massacred, every wife and daughter to be violated; the kingdom was divided into districts among committees to procure petitions for a parliament, one of which had twenty thousand signatures and measured three hundred feet; and at last the most cherished Anglo-Saxon institution was made to do service, when Shaftesbury, proceeding to Westminster, represented to the grand jury the mighty dangers from popery, indicted the Duke of York as a recusant, and reported the Duchess of Portsmouth, the king's new mistress, as "a common neusance." The extreme agitation was successful; and in two successive parliaments, in each of which men who were at heart dissenters had the majority, the bill for excluding the Duke of York was passed by triumphant votes in the house of commons, and defeated only by the lords and the king.

1679. Oct. 5.

1680. June 16.

1680. Oct. and 1681. March.

But the public mind, firm, even to superstition, in its respect for hereditary succession, was not ripe for the measure of exclusion. After less than a week's session, Charles II. dissolved the last parliament of his reign, and appealed to the people against his enemies. To avoid the charge of despotism, he still hanged a papist whom he knew to be innocent; and his friends declared him to have no other purpose than to resist the arbitrary sway of "a republican prelacy," and the installation of the multitude in the chair of infallibility. The ferocious in-

1681. March 21 to 27.

tolerance which had sustained the popish plot lost its credit; men dreaded anarchy and civil war more than they feared the royal prerogative.

The king had already exercised the power of restricting the liberty of the press; through judges, who held places at his pleasure, he was supreme in the courts; omitting to convoke parliament, he made himself irresponsible to the people; pursuing a judicial warfare against city charters and the monopolies of boroughs, he reformed many real abuses, but at the same time subjected the corporations to his influence. Controlling the appointment of sheriffs, he controlled the nomination of juries; and thus, in the last three or four years of the reign of King Charles II., the government of England was administered as an absolute monarchy. An "association" against the Duke of York could not succeed among a calculating aristocracy, as the Scottish covenant had done among a faithful people; and, on its disclosure and defeat, the voluntary exile of Shaftesbury excited no plebeian regret. No deep popular indignation attended Russell to the scaffold; and on the day on which the purest martyr to aristocratic liberty laid his head on the block, the university of Oxford decreed absolute obedience to be the character of the church of England, while parts of the writings of Knox, Milton, and Baxter were pronounced "false, seditious, and impious, heretical and blasphemous, infamous to the Christian religion, and destructive of all government," and were therefore ordered to be burnt. Algernon Sydney followed to the scaffold.

1683. Dec. 7.

Thus liberty, which at the restoration excited loyalty, banished from among the people, made its way through rakes and the king's mistress into the royal councils. Driven from the palace, it appealed to parliament and the people, and won power through the frenzied antipathy to Roman Catholics. Exiled from parliament by their dissolution, from the people by the ebb of excitement, it concealed itself in an aristocratic association and a secret aristocratic council. Chased from its hiding-place by disclosures and executions, and having no hope from parlia-

ment, people, the press, the courts of justice, the king, it left the soil of England, and fled for refuge to the country of the Prince of Orange.

How entirely monarchy had triumphed in England appeared on the death of Charles II. His brother, whom the commons, in three successive parliaments, had desired to exclude, ascended the throne without opposition, continued taxes by his prerogative, easily suppressed the insurrection of Monmouth, convened a parliament, under the new system of charters so subservient that it bowed its back to royal chastisement; while the "Presbyterian rascals," the troublesome Calvinists, who, from the days of Edward VI., had kept English liberty alive, were consigned to the courts of law. "Richard," said Jeffries to Baxter, "Richard, thou art an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat. I know thou hast a mighty party, and a great many of the brotherhood are waiting in corners to see what will become of their mighty Don; but, by the grace of Almighty God, I'll crush you all;" and the docile jury found "the main incendiary" guilty of sedition. Faction had ebbed; "rogues" had grown out of fashion; there was nothing left for them but to "thrive in the plantations." The royalist Dryden wrote: 1685.

Truth is, the land with saints is so run o'er,
And every age produces such a store,
That now there's need of two New Englands more.

But the tide of liberty was still swelling, and soon wafted the "saints" to their partial deliverance.

To understand fully the revolution which followed, it must be borne in mind that the great mass of dissenters were struggling for liberty; but, checked by the memory of the disastrous issue of the previous revolution, they ranged themselves, with deliberate moderation, under the more liberal party of the aristocracy. Of Cromwell's army, the officers had been, "for the most part, the meanest sort of men, even brewers, cobblers, and other mechanics;" recruits for the camp of William of Orange were led by bishops and the high nobility. There was a vast popular

movement, but it was subordinate; the proclamation of the prince took notice of the people only as "followers" of the gentry. Yet the Revolution of 1688 is due to the dissenters quite as much as to the whig aristocracy; to Baxter hardly less than to Shaftesbury. It is the consummation of the collision which, in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward, began between the churchmen and the Puritans, between those who invoked religion on the side of passive obedience, and those who esteemed religion superior to man, and held resistance to tyranny a Christian duty. If the whig aristocracy looked to the stadholder of aristocratic Holland as the protector of their liberties, Baxter and the Presbyterians saw in William the Calvinist their tolerant avenger.

Of the two great aristocratic parties which led the politics of England, both respected the established British constitution. But the tory opposed reform, and leaned to the past; he defended his privileges against the encroachments of advancing civilization. The bishops, claiming for themselves a divine right by direct succession, were his natural allies; and to assert the indefeasible rights of the bishops, of the aristocracy, and of the king, against dissenters, republicans, and whigs, was his whole purpose.

The whigs were also a party of the aristocracy, bent on the preservation of their privileges against the encroachments of the monarch. In an age that demanded liberty, the whigs, scarce proposing new enfranchisements, gathered up every liberty, feudal or popular, known to English law, and sanctioned by the fictitious compact of prescription. In a period of progress in the enfranchisement of classes, they shared political influence with the merchants and bankers; in an age of religious sects, they embraced the more moderate and liberal of the church of England, and those of the dissenters whose dissent was the least glaring; in an age of speculative inquiry, they favored freedom of the press. How vast was the party is evident, since it cherished among its numbers men so opposite as Shaftesbury and Sydney, as Locke and Baxter.

These two parties embraced almost all the wealth and learning of England. But there was a third party of those

who were pledged to "seek and love and chuse the best things." They insisted that all penal statutes and tests should be abolished; that, for all classes of non-conformists, whether Roman Catholics or dissenters, for the plebeian sects, "the less noble and more clownish sort of people," "the unclean kind," room should equally be made in the English ark; that the church of England, satisfied with its estates, should give up jails, whips, halters, and gibbets, and cease to plough the deep furrows of persecution; that the concession of equal freedom would give strength to the state, security to the prince, content to the multitude, wealth to the country, and would fit England for its office of asserting European liberty against the ambition of France; that reason, natural right, and public interest demanded a glorious magna charta for intellectual freedom, even though the grant should be followed by "a dissolution of the great corporation of conscience." These were the views which were advocated by William Penn against what he calls "the prejudices of his times;" and which overwhelmed his name with obloquy as a friend to tyranny and a Jesuit priest in disguise.

But the easy issue of the contest grew out of a division in the monarchical party itself. James II. could not comprehend the value of freedom or the obligation of law. The writ of habeas corpus he esteemed inconsistent with monarchy, and "a great misfortune to the people." A standing army, and the terrors of corrupt tribunals, were his dependence; he delighted in military parades; swayed by his confessor, he dispensed with the laws, multiplied Catholic chapels, rejoiced in the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and sought to intrust civil and military power to the hands of Roman Catholics. 1685. 1686.

The bishops had unanimously voted against his exclusion; and, as the badge of the church of England was obedience, he for a season courted the alliance of "the fairest of the spotted kind." To win her favor for Roman Catholics, he was willing to persecute Protestant dissenters. This is the period of the influence of Rochester.

The church of England refused the alliance. The king

would now put no confidence in any zealous Protes-
1687. 1688. tant; he applauded the bigotry of Louis XIV., from whom he solicited money. "I hope," said he, "the king of France will aid me, and that we together shall do great things for religion;" and the established church became the object of his implacable hatred. "Her day of grace was past." The royal favor was withheld, that she might silently waste and dissolve like snows in spring. To diminish her numbers, and apparently from no other motive, he granted — what Sunderland might have done from indifference, and Penn from love of justice — equal franchises to every sect; to the powerful Calvinist and to the "puny" Quaker, to Anabaptists and Independents, and "all the wild increase" which unsatisfied inquiry could generate. The declaration of indulgence was esteemed a death-blow to the church, and a forerunner of the reconciliation of England to Rome. The franchises of Oxford were invaded, that Catholics might share in its endowments; the bishops were imprisoned, because they would not publish in their churches the declaration, of which the purpose was their defeat; and, that the system of tyranny might be perpetuated, Heaven, as the monarch believed, blessed his pious pilgrimage to St. Winifred's Well by the pregnancy of his wife and the birth of a son. The party of prerogative was trampled under foot; and, in their despair, they looked abroad for the liberty which they themselves had assisted to exile. The obedient church of England set the example of rebellion. Thus are the divine counsels perfected. "What think you now of predestination?" demanded William, as he landed in England. Tories took the
1688. lead in inviting the Prince of Orange to save the English church; the whigs joined to rescue the privileges of the nobility; the Presbyterians rushed eagerly into the only safe avenue to toleration; the people quietly acquiesced. King James was left alone in his palace. His terrified priests escaped to the continent; Sunderland was always false; his confidential friends betrayed him; his daughter Anne, pleading conscience, proved herself one of his worst enemies. "God help me," exclaimed the discon-

solate father, bursting into tears, "my very children have forsaken me;" and his grief was increased by losing a piece of the true wood of the cross, that had belonged to Edward the Confessor. Paralyzed by the imbecility of doubt, and destitute of counsellors, he fled beyond the sea. Aided by falsehoods, the Prince of Orange, without striking a blow, ascended the throne of his father-in-law; and Mary, by whose letters James was lulled into security, came over to occupy the throne, the palace, and the bed of her father, and sequester the inheritance of her brother.

The great news of the invasion of England and the declaration of the Prince of Orange reached Boston on the fourth day of April, 1689. The messenger 1689. was immediately imprisoned; but his message could not be suppressed; and "the preachers had already matured the evil design" of a revolution. For the events that followed were "not a violent passion of the rabble, but a long-contrived piece of wickedness."

"There is a general buzzing among the people, Apr. 16. great with expectation of their old charter or they know not what:" such was the ominous message of Andros to Brockholst, with orders that the soldiers should be ready for action.

About nine o'clock of the morning of the eighteenth, just as George, the commander of the "Rose" Apr. 18. frigate, stepped on shore, Green and the Boston ship-carpenters gathered about him and made him a prisoner. The town took the alarm. The royalist sheriff endeavored to quiet the multitude; and they at once arrested him. They next hastened to the major of the regiment, and demanded colors and drums. He resisted; they threatened. The crowd increased; companies form under Nelson, Foster, Waterhouse, their old officers; and already at ten they seized Bullivant, Foxcroft, and Ravenscraft. Boys ran along the streets with clubs; the drums beat; the governor, with his creatures, meeting opposition in council, withdrew to the fort to desire a conference with the ministers and two or three more. The conference was declined. All the companies soon rallied at the town-house. Just then, the last

governor of the colony, in office when the charter was abrogated, Simon Bradstreet, glorious with the dignity of fourscore years and seven, one of the early emigrants, a magistrate in 1630, whose experience connected the oldest generation with the new, drew near the town-house, and was received by a great shout from the freemen. The old magistrates were reinstated, as a council of safety; the town rose in arms, "with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people;" and a declaration read from the balcony defended the insurrection as a duty to God and the country. "We commit our enterprise," it was added, "to Him who hears the cry of the oppressed, and advise all our neighbors, for whom we have thus ventured ourselves, to joyn with us in prayers and all just actions for the defence of the land."

On Charlestown side, a thousand soldiers crowded together; and there would have been more of them if needed. The governor, vainly attempting to escape to the frigate, was, with his creatures, compelled to seek protection by submission; through the streets where he had first displayed his scarlet coat and arbitrary commission, he and his fellows were marched to the town-house, and thence to prison.

1689. Apr. 19.

On the next day, the country people came swarming across the Charlestown and Chelsea ferries, headed by Shepherd, a schoolmaster of Lynn. All the cry was against Andros and Randolph. The castle was taken; the frigate was mastered; the fortifications were occupied.

How should a new government be instituted? Town-meetings, before news had arrived of the proclamation of William and Mary, were held throughout the colony. Of fifty-four towns, forty certainly, probably more, voted to reassume the old charter. Representatives were chosen; and once more Massachusetts assembled in general court.

May 22.

It is but a short ride from Boston to Plymouth. Already on the twenty-second of April, Nathaniel Clark, the agent of Andros, was in jail; Hinckley resumed the government, and the children of the pilgrims

Apr. 22.

renewed the constitution which had been unanimously signed in the "Mayflower." But not one of the fathers of the old colony remained alive. John Alden, the last survivor of the signers, famed for his frugal habits, and an arm before which forests had bowed, had been gathered in death.

The royalists had pretended that "the Quaker grandees" of Rhode Island had imbibed nothing of Quakerism but its indifference to forms, and did not even desire a restoration of the charter. On May-day, their usual election day, the inhabitants and freemen poured into Newport; and the "democracie" published to the world their gratitude "to the good providence of God, which had wonderfully supported their predecessors and themselves through more than ordinary difficulties and hardships." "We take it to be our duty," thus they continue, "to lay hold of our former gracious privileges, in our charter contained." And, by a unanimous vote, the officers, whom Andros had displaced, were confirmed. But Walter Clarke wavered. For nine months there was no acknowledged chief magistrate. The assembly, accepting Clarke's disclaimer, elected Almy. Again excuse was made. Did no one dare to assume responsibility? All eyes turned to one of the old Antinomian exiles, the more than octogenarian, Henry Bull; and the fearless Quaker, true to the light within, employed the last glimmerings of life to restore the democratic charter of Rhode Island. Once more its free government is organized: its seal is renewed; the symbol, an anchor; the motto, HOPE.

1689. May 1.

1690. Feb. 26.

Massachusetts rose in arms, and perfected its revolution without concert; "the amazing news did soon fly like lightning;" and the people of Connecticut spurned the government, which Andros had appointed, and which they had always feared it was a sin to obey. The charter was resumed; an assembly was convened; and, in spite of the FINIS of Andros, new chapters were begun in the records of freedom. Suffolk county, on Long Island, rejoined Connecticut.

May 9.

New York shared the impulse, but with less unanimity. "The Dutch plot" was matured by Jacob Leisler, a man of

energy, but passionate and ill-educated, and not possessed of that happy natural sagacity which elicits a rule of action from its own instincts. But the common people among the Dutch, led by Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne, insisted on proclaiming the stadholder king of England.

In New Jersey there was no insurrection. The inhabitants were unwilling to invoke the interference of the proprietaries. There is no reason to doubt that, in the several towns, officers were chosen, as before, by the inhabitants themselves, to regulate all local affairs; while the
1689. provincial government, as established by James II fell with Andros. We have already seen that Maryland had perfected a revolution, in which Protestant intolerance, as well as popular liberty, had acted its part. The passions of the Mohawks, also, were kindled by the certain prospect of an ally; they chanted their loudest war-song, and prepared to descend on Montreal.

Thus did a popular insurrection, beginning at Boston, extend to the Chesapeake and to the wilderness. This New England revolution "made a great noise in the world." Its object was Protestant liberty; and William and Mary, the Protestant sovereigns, were proclaimed with rejoicings such as America had never before known in its intercourse with England.

Could it be that America was deceived in her confidence that she had but substituted the absolute sovereignty of parliament, which to her would prove the sovereignty of a commercial as well as a landed aristocracy, for the despotism of the Stuarts? Boston was the centre of the revolution which now spread to the Chesapeake; in less than a century, it will commence a revolution for humanity, and rouse a spirit of power to emancipate the world.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE RESULT THUS FAR.

THUS have we traced, almost exclusively from contemporary documents and records, the colonization of the twelve oldest states of our Union. At the period of the great European Revolution of 1688, they contained not very many beyond two hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom MASSACHUSETTS, with Plymouth and Maine, may have had forty-four thousand; NEW HAMPSHIRE and RHODE ISLAND, with Providence, each six thousand; CONNECTICUT, from seventeen to twenty thousand; that is, all New England, seventy-five thousand souls; NEW YORK, not less than twenty thousand; NEW JERSEY, half as many; PENNSYLVANIA and DELAWARE, perhaps twelve thousand; MARYLAND, twenty-five thousand; VIRGINIA, fifty thousand, or more; and the two CAROLINAS, which then included the soil of Georgia, probably not less than eight thousand souls.

The emigration of the fathers of these twelve commonwealths, with the planting of the principles on which they rested, though, like the introduction of Christianity into Rome, but little regarded by contemporary writers, was the most momentous event of the seventeenth century. The elements of our country, such as she exists to-day, were already there.

Of the institutions of the Old World, monarchy had no motive to emigrate, and was present only by its shadow; in the proprietary governments, by the shadow of a shadow. The feudal aristocracy had accomplished its mission in Europe; it could not gain new life among the equal conditions of the wilderness; in at least four of the twelve colonies, it did not originally exist at all, and, in the rest, had scarcely a monument except in the forms of holding

property. Priestcraft did not emigrate; by the steadfast attraction of interest, it was retained in the Old World; to the forests of America, religion came as a companion; the American mind never bowed to an idolatry of forms; and there was not a prelate in the whole English part of the continent. The municipal corporations of the European commercial world, the close intrenchments of burghers against the landed aristocracy, could not be transferred to our shores, where no baronial castles demanded the concerted opposition of guilds. Nothing came from Europe but a free people. The people, separating itself from all other elements of previous civilization; the people, self-confiding and industrious; the people, wise by all traditions that favored popular happiness, — the people alone broke away from European influence, and in the New World laid the foundations of our republic;

Plebeian, though ingenuous the stock
From which her graces and her honors sprung.

The people alone were present in power. Like Moses, as they said of themselves, they had escaped from Egyptian bondage to the wilderness, that God might there give them the pattern of the tabernacle. Like the favored evangelist, the exiles, in their western Patmos, listened to the angel that dictated the new gospel of freedom. Overwhelmed in Europe, popular liberty, like the fabled fountain of the sacred Arethusa, gushed forth profusely in remoter fields.

Of the nations of the European world, the chief emigration was from that Germanic race most famed for the love of personal independence. The immense majority of American families were not of "the high folk of Normandie," but were of "the low men," who were Saxons. This is true of New England; it is true of the south. The Virginians were Anglo-Saxons in the woods again, with the inherited culture and intelligence of the seventeenth century. "The major part of the house of burgesses now consisted of Virginians that never saw a town." The Anglo-Saxon mind, in its serenest nationality, neither distorted by fanaticism, nor subdued by superstition, nor wounded by persecution, nor excited by new ideas, but

fondly cherishing the active instinct for personal freedom, secure possession, and legislative power, such as belonged to it before the Reformation, and existed independent of the Reformation, had made its dwelling-place in the empire of Powhatan. With consistent firmness of character, the Virginians welcomed representative assemblies; displaced an unpopular governor; at the overthrow of monarchy, established the freest government; rebelled against the politics of the Stuarts; and, uneasy at the royalist principles which prevailed in its forming aristocracy, soon manifested the tendency of the age at the polls.

The colonists, including their philosophy in their religion, as the people up to that time had always done, were neither skeptics nor sensualists, but Christians. The school that bows to the senses as the sole interpreter of truth had little share in colonizing our America. The colonists from Maine to Carolina, the adventurous companions of Smith, the proscribed Puritans that freighted the fleet of Winthrop, the Quaker outlaws that fled from jails with a Newgate prisoner as their sovereign, — all had faith in God and in the soul. The system which had been revealed in Judea, — the system which combines and perfects the symbolic wisdom of the Orient and the reflective genius of Greece, — the system, conforming to reason, yet kindling enthusiasm; always hastening reform, yet always conservative; proclaiming absolute equality among men, yet not suddenly abolishing the unequal institutions of society; guaranteeing absolute freedom, yet invoking the inexorable restrictions of duty; in the highest degree theoretical, and yet in the highest degree practical; awakening the inner man to a consciousness of his destiny, and yet adapted with exact harmony to the outward world; at once divine and humane, — this system was professed in every part of our widely extended country, and cradled our freedom.

Our fathers were not only Christians; they were, even in Maryland by a vast majority, elsewhere almost unanimously, Protestants. Now the Protestant Reformation, considered in its largest influence on politics, was the awakening of the common people to freedom of mind.

During the decline of the Roman empire, the oppressed invoked the power of Christianity to resist the supremacy of brute force; and the merciful priest assumed the office of protector. The tribunes of Rome, appointed by the people, had been declared inviolable by the popular vote; the new tribunes of humanity, deriving their office from religion, and ordained by religion to a still more venerable sanctity, defended the poor man's house against lust by the sacrament of marriage; restrained arbitrary passion by a menace of the misery due to sin unrepented and unatoned; and taught respect for the race by sprinkling every new-born child with the water of life, confirming every youth, bearing the oil of consolation to every death-bed, and sharing freely with every human being the consecrated emblem of God present with man.

But from protectors priests grew to be usurpers. Expressing all moral truth by the mysteries of symbols, and reserving to themselves the administration of seven sacraments, they claimed a monopoly of thought, and exercised an absolute spiritual dominion. Human bondage was strongly riveted; for they had fastened on the affections, the understanding, and the reason. Ordaining their own successors, they ruled human destiny at birth, on entering active life, at marriage, when frailty breathed its confession, when faith aspired to communion with God, and at death.

The fortunes of the human race are embarked in a lifeboat, and cannot be wrecked. Mind refuses to rest; and active freedom is a necessary condition of intelligent existence. The instinctive love of truth could warm even the scholastic theologian; but the light which it kindled for him was oppressed by verbal erudition, and its flickering beams, scarce lighting the cell of the solitary, could not fill the colonnade of the cloister, far less reach the busy world.

Sensualism also was free to mock superstition. Scoffing infidelity put on the cardinal's hat, and made even the Vatican ring with ribaldry. But the indifference of dissoluteness has no creative power; it does but substitute the despotism of the senses for a spiritual despotism; it never brought enfranchisements to the multitude.

The feudal aristocracy resisted spiritual authority by the sword; but it was only to claim greater license for their own violence. Temporal sovereigns, jealous of a power which threatened to depose the unjust prince, were ready to set prelacy against prelacy, the national church against the Catholic Church; but it was only to assert the absolute liberty of despotism.

By slow degrees, the students of the humanities, as they were called, polished scholars, learned lessons of freedom from Grecian and Roman example; but they hid their patriotism in a dead language, and forfeited the claim to higher influence and enduring fame by suppressing truth, and yielding independence to the interests of priests and princes.

Human enfranchisement could not advance securely but through the people; for whom philosophy was included in religion, and religion veiled in symbols. There had ever been within the Catholic Church men who preferred truth to forms, justice to despotic force. "Dominion," said Wycliffe, "belongs to grace;" meaning, as I believe, that the feudal government, which rested on the sword, should yield to a government resting on moral principles. And he knew the right method to hasten the coming revolution. "Truth," he asserted with wisest benevolence, "truth shines more brightly the more widely it is diffused;" and, catching the plebeian language that lived on the lips of the multitude, he gave England the Bible in the vulgar tongue. A timely death could alone place him beyond persecution; his bones were disinterred and burnt, and his ashes thrown on the waters of the Avon. But his fame brightens as time advances; when America traces the lineage of her intellectual freedom, she acknowledges the benefactions of Wycliffe.

In the next century, a kindred spirit emerged in Bohemia, and tyranny, quickened by the nearer approach of danger, summoned John Huss to its tribunal, set on his head a huge paper mitre begrimed with hobgoblins, permitted the bishops to strip him and curse him, and consigned one of the gentlest and purest of our race to the flames. "Holy simplicity!" exclaimed he, as a peasant piled fagots on the

fire; still preserving faith in humanity (the Quakers afterwards treasured up the example), though its noblest instincts could be so perverted; and, perceiving the only mode through which reform could prevail, he gave as a last counsel to his multitude of followers: "Put not your trust in princes." Of the descendants of his Bohemian disciples, a few certainly came to us by way of Holland; his example was for all.

Years are as days in the providence of God and in the progress of the race. After long waiting, an Augustine monk at Wittenberg, who had seen the lewd corruptions of the Roman court and who loathed the deceptions of a coarse superstition, brooded in his cell over the sins of his age and the method of rescuing conscience from the dominion of forms, till he discovered a cure for these vices in the simple idea of justification by faith alone. With this principle, easily intelligible to the universal mind, and spreading, like an epidemic, widely and rapidly, — a principle strong enough to dislodge every superstition, to overturn every tyranny, to enfranchise, convert, and save the world, — he broke the wand of papal supremacy, scattered the lazars of the monasteries, and drove the penance of fasts, and the terrors of purgatory, masses for the dead, and indulgences for the living, into the paradise of fools. That his principle contained a democratic revolution, Luther saw clearly; he acknowledged that "the rulers and the lawyers needed a reformer;" but he "could not hope that they would soon get a wise one," and in a stormy age, leaving to futurity its office, accepted shelter from feudal sovereigns. "It is a heathenish doctrine," such was his compromise with princes, "that a wicked ruler may be deposed." "Do not pipe to the populace, for it anyhow delights in running mad." "God lets rogues rule for the people's sin." "A crazy populace is a desperate, cursed thing; a tyrant is the right clog to tie on that dog's neck." And yet, adds Luther, "I have no word of comfort for the usurers and scoundrels among the aristocracy, whose vices make the common people esteem the whole aristocracy to be out and out worthless." And he praised the printing-press, as the noblest gift of

human genius. He forbade priests and bishops to make laws how men shall believe; for, said he, "man's authority stretches neither to heaven nor to the soul." Nor did he leave Truth to droop in a cloister or wither in a palace, but carried her forth in her freedom to the multitude; and, when tyrants ordered the German peasantry to deliver up their Saxon New Testament, "No," cried Luther, "not a single leaf." He pointed out the path in which civilization should travel, though he could not go on to the end of the journey. In him, freedom of mind was like the morning sun, as it still struggles with the sickly dews and vanishing spectres of darkness.

In pursuing the history of our country, we shall hereafter meet in the Lutheran kingdom of Prussia, of which the dynasty had become Calvinistic, at one time an active ally, at another a neutral friend. The direct influence of Lutheranism on America was inconsiderable. New Sweden had the faith and the politics of the German reformer; no democratic ideas distracted its single-minded loyalty.

As the New World sheltered neither bishops nor princes, in respect to political opinion, the Anglican church in Virginia was but an enfranchisement from popery, favoring humanity and freedom. The inhabitants of Virginia were conformists after the pattern of Sandys and of Southampton, rather than of Whitgift and Laud. Of themselves they asked no questions about the surplice, and never wore the badge of non-resisting obedience.

The meaner and more ignoble the party, the more general and comprehensive are its principles; for none but principles of universal freedom can reach the meanest condition. The serf defends the widest philanthropy; for that alone can break his bondage. The plebeian sect of Anabaptists, "the scum of the Reformation," with greater consistency than Luther, applied the doctrine of the Reformation to the social relations of life, and threatened an end to kingcraft, spiritual dominion, tithes, and vassalage. The party was trodden under foot, with foul reproaches and most arrogant scorn; and its history is written in the blood of myriads of the German peasantry; but its principles, safe in their

immortality, escaped with Roger Williams to Providence; and his colony is the witness that, naturally, the paths of the Baptists were paths of freedom, pleasantness, and peace.

Luther finished his mission in the heart of Germany, under the safeguard of princes. In Geneva, a republic on the confines of France, Italy, and Germany, Calvin, appealing to the people for support, continued the career of enfranchisement by planting the institutions which nursed the minds of Rousseau and Necker.

The political character of Calvinism, which, with one consent and with instinctive judgment, the monarchs of that day, except that of Prussia, feared as republicanism, and which Charles II. declared a religion unfit for a gentleman, is expressed in a single word, — predestination. Did a proud aristocracy trace its lineage through generations of a high-born ancestry, the republican reformer, with a loftier pride, invaded the invisible world, and from the book of life brought down the record of the noblest enfranchisement, decreed from all eternity by the King of kings. His converts defied the opposing world as a world of reprobates, whom God had despised and rejected. To them the senses were a totally depraved foundation, on which neither truth nor goodness could rest. They went forth in confidence that men who were kindling with the same exalted instincts would listen to their voice, and be effectually "called into the brunt of the battle" by their side. And, standing serenely amidst the crumbling fabrics of centuries of superstitions, they had faith in one another; and the martyrdoms of Cambray, the fires of Smithfield, the surrender of benefices by two thousand non-conforming Presbyterians, attest their perseverance.

Such was the system which, for a century and a half, assumed the guardianship of liberty for the English world. "A wicked tyrant is better than a wicked war," said Luther, preaching non-resistance; and Cranmer echoed back: "God's people are called to render obedience to governors, although they be wicked or wrong-doers, and in no case to resist." English Calvinism reserved the right of resisting tyranny. To advance intellectual freedom, Calvinism denied, abso-

lutely denied, the sacrament of ordination; thus breaking up the great monopoly of priestcraft, scattering the ranks of superstition, and knowing no master, mediator, or teacher but the eternal reason. "Kindle the fire before my face," said Jerome meekly, as he resigned himself to his fate; to quench the fires of persecution for ever, Calvinism resisted with fire and blood, and, shouldering the musket, proved, as a foot-soldier, that, on the field of battle, the invention of gunpowder had levelled the plebeian and the knight. To restrain absolute monarchy in France, in Scotland, in England, it allied itself with the party of the past, the decaying feudal aristocracy, which it was sure to outlive; to protect itself against feudal aristocracy, it infused itself into the mercantile class and the inferior gentry; to secure a life in the public mind, in Geneva, in Scotland, wherever it gained dominion, it invoked intelligence for the people, and in every parish planted the common school.

In an age of commerce, to stamp its influence on the New World, it went on board the fleet of Winthrop, and was wafted to the Bay of Massachusetts. Is it denied that events follow principles, that mind rules the world? The institutions of Massachusetts were the exact counterpart of its religious system. Calvinism claimed heaven for the elect; Massachusetts gave franchises to the members of the visible church. Calvinism rejected the herd of reprobates; Massachusetts inexorably disfranchised churchmen, royalists, and all world's people. Calvinism overthrew priestcraft; in Massachusetts, none but the magistrate could marry; the brethren could ordain. Calvinism saw in goodness infinite joy, in evil infinite woe, and, recognising no other abiding distinctions, opposed secretly but surely hereditary monarchy, aristocracy, and bondage; Massachusetts owned no king but the King of heaven, no aristocracy but of the redeemed, no bondage but the hopeless, infinite, and eternal bondage of sin. Calvinism invoked intelligence against Satan, the great enemy of the human race; and the farmers and seamen of Massachusetts nourished its college with corn and strings of wampum, and in every village built the free school. Calvinism, in its zeal against Rome,

reverenced the Bible even to idolatry; and, in Massachusetts, the songs of Deborah and David were sung without change; hostile Algonkins, like the Canaanites, were exterminated or enslaved; and wretched innocents were hanged, because it was written, "The witch shall die."

"Do not stand still with Luther and Calvin," said the father of the pilgrims, confident in human advancement. From Luther to Calvin, there was progress; from Geneva to New England, there was more. Calvinism, — I speak of its political character, in an age when politics were controlled by religious sects; I pass no judgment on opinions which relate to an unseen world, — Calvinism, such as it existed, in opposition to prelacy and feudalism, could not continue in a world where there was no prelacy to combat, no aristocracy to overthrow. It therefore received developments which were imprinted on institutions. It migrated to the Connecticut; and there, forgetting its foes, it put off its armor of religious pride. "You go to receive your reward," was said to Hooker on his death-bed. "I go to receive mercy," was his reply. For predestination Connecticut substituted benevolence. It hanged no Quakers, it mutilated no heretics. Its early legislation is the breath of reason and charity; and Jonathan Edwards did but sum up the political history of his native commonwealth for a century, when, anticipating, and in his consistency excelling, Godwin and Bentham, he gave Calvinism its political euthanasia, by declaring virtue to consist in universal love.

In Boston, with Henry Vane and Anne Hutchinson, "Calvinism ran to seed;" and the seed was "incorruptible." Election implies faith, and faith freedom. Claiming the
[illegible] God as the companion of man, the Antinomians
absolute freedom of mind. For predestination
ituted consciousness. "If the ordinances be all
, Christ cannot be;" the forms of truth may
th itself is immortal. "God will be ordinances
e exiled doctrine, which established conscience
est court of appeal, fled to the island gift of
oh; and the records of Rhode Island are the
y on the true import of the creed.

Faith in predestination alone divided the Antinomians from the Quakers. Both reverenced and obeyed the voice of conscience in its freedom. The near resemblance was perceived so soon as the fame of George Fox reached America; and the principal followers of Anne Hutchinson, Coddington, Mary Dyar, Henry Bull, and a majority of the people, avowed themselves to be Quakers.

The principle of freedom of mind, first asserted for the common people, under a religious form, by Wycliffe, had been pursued by a series of plebeian sects, till it at last reached a perfect development, coinciding with the highest attainment of European philosophy.

By giving a welcome to every sect, America was safe against narrow bigotry. At the same time, the moral unity of the forming nation was not impaired. Of the various parties into which the Reformation divided the people, each, from the proudest to the most puny sect, rallied round a truth. But, as truth never contradicts itself, the collision of sects could but eliminate error; and the American mind, in the largest sense eclectic, struggled for universality, while it asserted freedom. How had the world been governed by despotism and bigotry; by superstition and the sword; by the ambition of conquest and the pride of privilege! And now the happy age gave birth to a people which was to own no authority as the highest but the free conviction of the public mind.

Thus had Europe given to America her sons and her culture. She was the mother of our men, and of the ideas which guided them to greatness. The relations of our country to humanity were already wider. The three races, the Caucasian, the Ethiopian, and the American, were in presence of one another on our soil. Would the red man disappear entirely from the forests, which for thousands of years had sheltered him safely? Would the black man, in the end, be benefited by the crimes of mercantile avarice? At the close of the middle age, the Caucasian race was in nearly exclusive possession of the elements of civilization, while the Ethiopian remained in insulated barbarism. No commerce connected it with Europe; no intercourse existed

by travel, by letters, or by war; it was too feeble to attempt an invasion of a Christian prince or an Arab dynasty. The slave-trade united the races by an indissoluble bond; the first ship that brought Africans to America was a sure pledge that, in due time, ships from the New World would carry the equal blessings of Christianity to the burning plains of Nigritia, that descendants of Africans would toil for the benefits of European civilization.

That America should benefit the African, was always the excuse for the slave-trade. Would America benefit Europe? The probable influence of the New World on the Old became a prize question at Paris; but not one of the writers divined the true answer. They looked for it in commerce, in mines, in natural productions; and they should have looked for revolutions, as a consequence of moral power. The Greek colonists planted free and prosperous cities; and, in a following century, each metropolis, envying the happiness of its daughters, imitated its institutions, and rejected kings. Rome, a nation of soldiers, planted colonies by the sword; and retributive justice merged its liberties in absolute despotism. The American colonists founded their institutions on popular freedom, and "set an example to the nations." Already the plebeian outcasts, the Anglo-Saxon emigrants, were the hope of the world. We are like the Parthians, said Norton in Boston; our arrows wound the more for our flight. "Jotham upon Mount Gerizim is bold to utter his apologue."

We have written the origin of our country; we are now to pursue the history of its wardship. The relations of the rising colonies, the representatives of democratic freedom, are chiefly with France and England; with the monarchy of France, which was the representative of absolute despotism, having subjected the three estates of the realm, the clergy by a treaty with the pope, feudalism by standing armies, the communal institutions by executive patronage and a vigorous police; with the parliament of England, which was the representative of aristocratic liberties, and had ratified royalty, primogeniture, corporate charters, the peerage, tithes, prelates, prescriptive franchises, and every

established immunity and privilege. The three nations and the three systems were, by the Revolution of 1688, brought into direct contrast with one another. At the same time, the English world was lifted out of theological forms, and entered upon the career of commerce, which had been prepared by the navigation acts and by the mutual treaties for colonial monopoly with France and Spain. The period through which we have passed shows why we are a free people; the coming period will show why we are a united people. We shall have no tales to relate of more adventure than in the early period of Virginia, none of more sublimity than of the pilgrims at Plymouth. But we are about to enter on a wider theatre; and, as we trace the progress of commercial ambition through events which shook the globe from the wilds beyond the Alleghanies to the ancient abodes of civilization in Hindostan, we shall still see that the selfishness of evil defeats itself, and God rules in the affairs of men.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SOUTHERN STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

THE Stuarts passed from the throne of England. The family, distinguished by a blind resistance to popular opinion, was no less distinguished by misfortunes. During their separate sovereignty over Scotland, but three of the race escaped a violent death. The first of them who aspired to the crown of Great Britain was by an English sovereign doomed to death on the scaffold; her grandson was beheaded in the name of the English people. The next in the line, long a needy exile, is remembered chiefly for his vices; and James II. was reduced from royalty to beggary by the conspiracy of his own children. Yet the New World has monuments of the Stuarts; North America acquired its British colonies during their rule, and towns, rivers, headlands, and even states bear their names. James I. promoted the settlement of Virginia; a timely neglect fostered New England; the favoritism of Charles I. opened the way for religious liberty in Maryland; Rhode Island long cherished the charter which it won from Charles II.; the honest friendship of James II. favored the grants which gave liberties to Pennsylvania, and extended them to Delaware; the crimes of the dynasty banished to our country men of learning, virtue, and fortitude. Despotism rendered benefits to freedom. "The wisdom of God," as John Knox had predicted, "compelled the very malice of Satan, and such as were drowned in sin, to serve to his glory and the profit of his elect."

Four hundred and seventy-four years after the barons at Runnymede extorted Magna Charta from their legitimate king, the aristocratic Revolution of 1688 established for England and its dominions the sovereignty of parliament and the supremacy of law. Its purpose was the security of

property and existing franchises, and not the abolition of privilege or the equalization of political power. The chiefs of the nobility, who, in 1640, had led the people in its struggle for liberty, had, from the passionate enthusiasm of "a generous inexperience," been hurried, against their design, into measures which their interests opposed. Made circumspect by the past, the renewed contest did not disturb their prudence, nor triumph impair their moderation. Avoiding the collisions with established privileges that spring from the fanatical exaggeration of abstract principles, still placing the hope of security on the system of checks and the balance of opposing powers, they made haste to finish the work of establishing the government. The character of the new monarch of Great Britain could mould its policy, but not its constitution. True to his purposes, he yet wins no sympathy. In political sagacity, in force of will, far superior to the English statesmen who environed him; more tolerant than his ministers or his parliaments, the childless man seems like the unknown character in algebra which is introduced to form the equation, and dismissed when the problem is solved. In his person thin and feeble, with eyes of a hectic lustre, of a temperament inclining to the melancholic, in conduct cautious, of a self-relying humor, with abiding impressions respecting men, he sought no favor, and relied for success on his own inflexibility and the ripeness of his designs. Too wise to be cajoled, too firm to be complaisant, no address could sway his resolve, no filial respect controlled his ambition. His exterior was chilling; yet he took delight in horses and the chase. In conversation he was abrupt, speaking little and slowly, and with repulsive dryness; in the day of battle, he was all activity, and the highest energy, without kindling his passions, animated his frame. His trust in Providence was so connected with faith in general laws that, unconscious to himself, he had sympathy with the people, who always have faith in Providence. "Do you dread death in my company?" he cried to the anxious sailors, when the ice on the coast of Holland had almost crushed the boat that was bearing him to the shore. Courage and pride pervaded the

reserve of the prince, who, spurning an alliance with a bastard daughter of Louis XIV., had made himself the centre of a gigantic opposition to France. For England, for the English people, for English liberties, he had no affection, indifferently employing the whigs, who found their pride in the revolution, and the tories, who had opposed his elevation, and who yet were the fittest instruments "to carry the prerogative high." One great passion had absorbed his breast, the independence of his native country. The encroachments of Louis XIV., which, in 1672, had made him a revolutionary stadholder, now assisted to constitute him a revolutionary king, transforming the impassive champion of Dutch independence into the defender of the liberties of Europe.

The English statesmen who settled the principles of the revolution took experience for their guide. It is true that Somers, the acknowledged leader of the whig party, of plebeian origin, and unsupported by inherited fortune, was ready, with the new king from a Calvinistic commonwealth, to admit some reform in the maxims of government and religion. Yet, free from fanaticism even to indifference, by nature, by his profession as a lawyer, and by the tastes which he had cultivated, averse to metaphysical abstractions, he labored to make an inventory of the privileges and liberties of Englishmen and imbody them in a public law, not to set forth the rights of man. Freedom sought its title-deeds in experience, in customs, in records, charters, and prescription. The bill of rights was designed to be an authentic recapitulation of ancient and well-established national possessions.

A king had broken the ties that bound England to Rome; the Puritans made the people of England Protestant, and in the finally triumphant war of English liberty had done most efficient service. But the statute-book of the kingdom, alike when it was Catholic, and from the days of Henry VIII., knew no other rule than the unity of the church. It was the policy of Bacon almost as much as of Whitgift. A revolution made on the principle of asserting established rights and liberties might be willing to promote further re-

forms, but knew not how to set about them. For Scotland there was no such difficulty; there the claim of right could, on historical ground, recognise the abolition of Episcopacy. In England, it was taken for granted that the Anglican church must subsist as the national church, and as a consequence the men of the revolution desired to comprehend the largest number of persons within its pale. In the convention which changed the dynasty, there was no party strong enough to carry through a vital change. The state of parties was reversed; Queen Elizabeth was in earnest, and would not be swayed by the persistent hostility of parliament to all superstitions that lurked in the prayer book; King William wished concessions, but his parliaments would not support him, and he was too indifferent to religion to hold out. No statesman of that day proposed to go back to the second service book of Edward VI., or to make it possible for a consistent Calvinist like John Knox to become a royal chaplain or to be presented to a benefice. The law of Charles II., which for the first time required Episcopal ordination before presentation to a benefice, was not repealed. In the convocation of the clergy, the Puritans were not represented, for the unrepealed law of Charles II. had turned them all out of the church. Nothing was therefore done beyond the toleration act of the convention parliament. The old laws enforcing conformity were left in force against Catholics; Protestants were exempted from penalties for absenting themselves from church and worshipping in conventicles, as the statute called them, provided the religious unity was so far at least preserved that their preachers would subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church of England. But even this narrow liberty was yielded only at the price of civil disfranchisement. The ministry, the privy council, both houses of parliament, the bench, all great employments, even places in corporations, were shut against the non-conformists, to whom the English constitution, in a great measure, owed its salvation.

In Ireland, persecution was double-edged; there was not even a toleration act, though two thirds of the inhabitants were Catholics, and of the Protestants one half were non-

conformists. In the next reign, the Anglicans gained fresh powers of harassing those who had carried out most thoroughly the principles of the Reformation. To an act of terrible severity against the Catholics, provisions were attached, to use the words of a British historian, that "if, on the death of a Protestant land-owner, the Protestant next of kin, to whom the estate would lapse, happened to be a Presbyterian, he was to be passed over in favor of a more remote member of the establishment. The English test act was introduced as a parenthesis. The Presbyterians, the Independents, the Huguenot immigrants, the Quakers, were swept under the same political disabilities, and were cut off from the army, the militia, the civil service, the commission of the peace, and from seats in the municipal corporations."

But the English revolution at least accepted from the Puritans and Presbyterians the doctrine of the right of resistance to tyranny, the cherished principle of liberty, familiar in the middle ages to the feudal nobles of every monarchy in Europe, and now transmitted as an inheritance to the great supporters of the Reformation. The commons of England, by a vast majority, declared the executive power to be a conditional trust; and the hereditary assembly of patricians, struggling in vain for the acknowledgment of a right of succession inherent in birth, after earnest debates, submitted to confess an original contract between king and people. The election of William III. to be king for life was a triumph of the perseverance of the more popular party in the commons over the inherited prejudices of the high aristocracy. In this lies the democratic tendency that won to the revolution the scattered remnant of "the good old" republicans; this appropriated to the whigs the glory of the change, in which they took pride, and of which the tories regretted the necessity. This has commended to the friends of freedom the epoch in which the great European world beheld a successful insurrection against legitimacy and authority over mind.

By resolving that James II. had abdicated, the representatives of the English people assumed to sit in judgment on its kings. By declaring the throne vacant, they annihilated

the principle of legitimacy. By disfranchising a dynasty for professing the Roman faith, they not only exerted the power of interpreting the original contract, but of introducing into it new conditions. By electing a king, they made themselves the fountain of sovereignty. His civil list was settled by them at his accession for his life; but all other supplies were granted by them annually and made subject to specific appropriations.

The royal prerogative of a veto on the acts of parliament soon fell into disuse. The dispensing power was expressly abrogated, or denied. The judiciary was rendered independent of the crown; so that charters were safe against executive interference, and state trials ceased to be collisions between blood-thirsty hatred and despair. For England, parliament was absolute.

The progress of civilization had gradually elevated the commercial classes, and given importance to towns. Among those engaged in commerce, in which the ancient patricians had no share, the spirit of liberty became active, and was quickened by the cupidity which sought new benefits for trade through political influence. The day for shouting liberty and equality had not come; the cry was "Liberty and property." Wealth became a power in the state; and when, at elections, the country people were first invited to seek other representatives than the large landholders, it was not the leveller or the republican, but the merchant, or a candidate in the interest of the merchant, who taught the timid electors their first lessons in independence.

Moreover, as the expense of wars soon exceeded the revenue of England, the government prepared to avail itself of the largest credit. The price of such aid was political influence. That the government should protect commerce and domestic manufactures, that the classes benefited by this policy should sustain the government with all their resources, was the reciprocal relation and compromise, on which rested the fate of parties in England. The accumulations and floating credits of commerce soon grew powerful enough to compete with the landed interest. The imposing spectacle of the introduction of the citizens

and of commerce as the arbiter of alliances, the umpire of factions, the judge of war and peace, roused the attention of speculative men; so that, in a few years, Bolingbroke, claiming to speak for the landed aristocracy, described his opponents as the party of the banks, the commercial corporations, and, "in general, the moneyed interest;" and Addison, espousing the cause of the burghers, declared nothing to be more reasonable than that "those who have engrossed the riches of the nation should have the management of its public treasure, and the direction of its fleets and armies." In a word, the old English aristocracy was compelled to respect the innovating element imbodied in the moneyed interest.

Still more revolutionary was the political theory developed by the revolution. Absolute monarchy was denied to be a form of civil government. Nothing, it was held, can bind freemen to obey any government save their own agreement. Political power is a trust; and a breach of the trust dissolves the obligation to allegiance. The supreme power is the legislature, to whose guardianship it has been sacredly and unalterably delegated. By the fundamental law of property, no taxes may be levied on the people but by its own act or that of its authorized agents.

The revolution is further marked as a consequence of public opinion, effected without bloodshed in favor of the strongest conviction. It refused to confirm itself by force, and would not tolerate standing armies. It compelled William III. to dismiss his Dutch guards. A free discussion of the national policy and its agents was more and more demanded and permitted. The English government, which used to punish censure of its measures or its ministers with merciless severity, began to lean on public conviction. The whigs could not consistently restrain debate; the tories, from their interests as a minority, desired freedom to appeal to popular sympathy; and the adherents of the fallen dynasty loved to multiply complaints against impious usurpation. All were clamorous for liberty; and Jacobites and patriots could frame a coalition. It was no longer possible to set limits to the active spirit of inquiry.

The philosophy of Locke, cherishing the variety that is always the first fruit of analysis and free research, was admired, even though it seemed to endanger some dogmas of the church, of which the denial was still by the statutes a crime. Men not only dissented from the unity of faith, but even denied the reality of faith; and philosophy, passing from the ideal world to the actual, claimed the right of observing, weighing, measuring, and doubting, at its will. The established censorship of the press, by its own limitation, drew near its end, and, after a short renewal, was suffered to expire, never again to be revived. England enjoyed the liberty of unlicensed printing. If prosecutions for libels still continued, the demand for the freedom of the press, was already irresistible. Its force was increased by the unlimited freedom of parliamentary debate, the freedom of elections, and the right of petition, which belonged to every Englishman. "In the Revolution of 1688, there was certainly no appeal to the people." In the contest between the nation and the throne, the aristocracy constituted itself the mediating lawgiver, and made privilege the bulwark of the commons against despotism. The free press carried political discussions everywhere. By slow degrees, a popular opinion would gather a consciousness of existence. By slow degrees, the common people would gain hardihood enough to present petitions; to come together for the consideration of public grievances. If the aristocracy refused to abdicate the control of parliament; if Lord Somers did not propose a reform of boroughs, such as the people of that day had not learned to desire, the liberty of unlicensed printing opened an avenue for diffusing political instruction, and was a pledge of the ultimate concession of reform.

Thus the Revolution of 1688, though narrow in its principle, imperfect in its details, ungrateful towards Puritans, frightfully intolerant towards Catholics, forms an era in the history of England and of mankind. Henceforward the title of the king to the crown was bound up with the title of the aristocracy to its privileges, of the people to its liberties: it sprung from the nation, and not from

a power superior to the nation; from law, and not from divine right; and its responsibility was therefore not to God alone, but to God and the nation. The revolution respected existing possessions, yet made conquests for freedom; preserved the ascendency of the aristocracy, yet increased the weight of the middling class; the securities of personal liberty, of opinion, and of the press; and the responsibility of the executive. England became the star of constitutional government, shining as a beacon on the horizon of Europe, and, in the heart of despotic countries, compelling the eulogies of Montesquieu and the homage of Voltaire. Never in the history of man had so large a state been blessed with institutions so favorable to public happiness, to the arts of peace, to the development of its natural resources. Its commerce connected it with every quarter of the globe; and its colonies were so many pledges that the whole race would participate in the benefit of her freedom and her culture.

When the revolution was effected, the statesmen of England had no plan for administering the colonies. The new king and his ministers, without knowledge of their condition or experience in their affairs, were now swayed by the principles of liberty, now eager to strengthen the prerogative, and they often followed the precedents and usages of the previous reign.

1689. To the proprietaries of Carolina, the respect of the revolution for vested rights secured their possessions. In the territory itself, south and west of Cape Fear, political parties had already become passionate, if they had not acquired consistency. Of "the pretended churchmen" who were among the early emigrants, some were known as "ill livers," having the manners of the time of Charles II. The larger part of the settlers were dissenters, bringing with them the faith and the staid sobriety of the Calvinists of that age. At first, "the ill livers," averse to restraint, opposed the proprietaries, whose government the grave Presbyterians, as friends to order, sustained. When the obstinate perversity of the proprietaries drove the Presbyterians into opposition, those who were styled "the nobil-

ity," together with the high church party, constituted a colonial oligarchy against the great mass of the people. The dissenters, who, from respect to an established government, had favored the proprietaries, now joined even with "ill livers" in behalf of colonial rights.

The people had deposed Colleton. His successor 1690.
was Seth Sothel, who to pretensions as a proprietary added the choice of the inhabitants His administration is the triumph of the more popular party; and its enactments were made, with silent disregard of the nobility, by the exclusive consent of the commons. The "wise, moderate, and well-living" Thomas Smith, who had advised martial law, and those who had established it, were disfranchised for two years. Methods of colonial defence were adopted, and were, in the following years, improved 1691.
by providing military stores, and establishing a revenue; in May, the Huguenots were fully enfran- May 1.
chised, as though they had been free-born citizens. The statute-book of South Carolina attests the moderation and liberality of the government, which derived its chief sanction from the immigrants.

But tranquillity did not return. As the Revolution of 1688 respected the rights of the proprietaries, the insurrectionary government soon came to an end. Factions multiplied in a colony which had as yet gained no moral unity. The legal sovereigns would not expend their private fortunes in reducing their insurgent liege-men; the colonial oligarchy, which they favored, was too feeble a minority to conduct the government; and the people were forbidden by law to take care of themselves. To this were added the evils of an uncertain boundary on the south, and of disordered finances.

All the acts of the democratic legislature were 1692.
rejected by the proprietaries; while, as a remedy for anarchy, Philip Ludwell, a moderate adherent of Berkeley, once collector of customs in Virginia, a man of a candid mind, a complainant in England against Effingham, and since 1689 governor of North Carolina, was sent to establish order and the supremacy of the proprietaries. But he had

power to inquire into grievances, not to redress them. Disputes respecting quit-rents and the tenure of lands continued; and, after floating for a year between the wishes of his employers and the necessities of the colonists, Ludwell gladly withdrew into Virginia.

1693. A concession followed. In April, 1693, the proprietaries voted "that, as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and for the protection of the well disposed, to grant their request." So perished the legislation of Shaftesbury and Locke. It had been promulgated as immortal, and, having never gained life in the colony, was, within a quarter of a century, abandoned by the proprietaries themselves. Palatines, landgraves, and caciques, "the nobility" of the Carolina statute-book, were doomed to pass away.

On the abrogation of the constitutions, Thomas Smith was by the proprietaries appointed governor. The system of biennial assemblies, which, with slight changes, still endures, was immediately instituted by the people; but, as the political opinions of Smith were at variance with those of the majority, his personal virtues could not conciliate for him confidence. Despairing of success, he proposed

1694. that one of the proprietaries should visit Carolina with ample powers alike of inquiry and of redress. The advice pleased; and the grandson of Shaftesbury, the pupil and antagonist of Locke, was elected dictator. On his declining, the choice fell upon John Archdale, an honest member of the society of Friends. He was invested with larger powers than any of his predecessors.

The disputes in South Carolina had grown out of the selfishness of a high church oligarchy, sustained by the proprietaries. Now the peaceful Archdale, the mediator between the factions, was himself, as a dissenter, pledged to

1695. Aug. 17. freedom of conscience, and his powers permitted him to infuse candor into his administration, though not into the constitution of Carolina. Conscious that "dissenters could kill wolves and bears, fell trees, and clear ground

as well as churchmen;" and acknowledging that emigrants should ever expect "an enlargement of their native rights in a wilderness country," — he selected for the council two men of the moderate party to one high churchman. This balance of power was in harmony with colonial opinion. By remitting quit-rents for three and for four years, by regulating the price of land and the form of conveyances, by giving the planter the option of paying quit-rents in money or in the products of the country, he quieted the jarrings between the colonists and their feudal sovereigns. To cultivate friendship with the Indians, he established a board to decide all contests between them and the white men. The natives round Cape Fear obtained protection against kidnappers, and requited this security by kindness towards mariners shipwrecked on their coast. The government was organized as it had been in Maryland, the proprietaries appointing the council, the people electing the house of assembly. The defence of the colony rested on the militia. With the Spaniards at St. Augustine friendly relations sprung up: a Quaker could respect the faith of a papist. Four Indians, converts of the Spanish priests, captives to the Yamassees, and exposed to sale as slaves, were ransomed by Archdale, and sent to the governor of St. Augustine. "I shall manifest reciprocal kindness," was his reply, "and shall always observe a good correspondence with you;" and, when an English vessel was wrecked on Florida, the Spaniards retaliated the benevolence of Archdale.

The fame of Carolina began to increase now that it "stood circumstanced with the honor of a true English government, zealous for the increase of virtue as well as outward trade and business;" and the representatives of its freemen declared that Archdale, "by his wisdom, patience, and labor, had laid a firm foundation for a most glorious superstructure." 1696. June 26.

Immediately after the return of the Quaker legislator, the Huguenots were once more and successfully endowed with the rights of citizens by the colonial legislature. Liberty of conscience was conferred on all Chris- 1697. Mar. 10.

tians, unhappily with the exception of papists. This was the first act in Carolina disfranchising religious opinion.

1698. Soon after Archdale reached England, the work of proprietary legislation was renewed. The new code asserted the favorite maxim of the reformers of that day, that "all power and dominion are most naturally founded in property." But this maxim, which in England was, in the progress of freedom, a conquest of commercial industry over the pride of birth, was, with the laws resting on it, rejected in Carolina. The journals of the provincial

1702. Sept. 1. assembly show that, after they had been read and debated, paragraph by paragraph, the question of ordering them to a second reading was carried in the negative. Carolina refused alike a hereditary nobility and the dominion of wealth.

The colonial oligarchy looked for favor to an exclusive religion of state. Even the consent of non-conformists had been given to the public maintenance of one min-

1703. May 6. ister of the church of England; and orthodoxy had, as in nearly every colony, been protected by the

1704. menace of disfranchisement and prisons. In 1704, "the high pretended churchmen," having, by the arts of Nathaniel Johnson, gained a majority of one in an assembly representing a colony of which two thirds were dissenters, abruptly disfranchised them all, and, after the English precedent, gave to the church of England a monopoly of political power. The council, no longer composed on the principles of Archdale, joined in the eager assent of the governor. In the court of the proprietaries, Archdale opposed the bill; but Lord Granville, the palatine, an opponent to occasional conformity, scorned the remonstrances of the Quaker. "You," said he, "are of one opinion, I of another; and our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy. I am for this bill, and this is the party that I will head and countenance." Dissenters having

Nov. thus been excluded from the house of commons, the church of England was easily established by law. At the same time, a body of lay commissioners was nominated by the oligarchy from its own number, to supersede

the authority of the bishop. The intolerant spirit which persecuted dissenters assumed "a haughty dominion over the clergy itself."

The dissenters, excluded from the colonial legislature, rejected with contumely by the proprietaries, appealed to the house of lords, where the spirit of Somers prevailed. An address to Queen Anne, in behalf of them, was adopted; the lords of trade and plantations reported that the proprietaries had forfeited their charter, and advised its recall by a judicial process; the intolerant acts were, by royal authority, declared null and void. In November of the same year they were repealed by the colonial assembly; but, while dissenters were tolerated and could share political power, the church of England was immediately established as the religion of the province.

1706. Mar. 12. May 24. June 10.

This compromise continued till the revolution. Meantime, the authority of the proprietaries was tainted by the declaration of the queen and the opinion of English lawyers. Strifes ensued perpetually respecting quit-rents and finances; and, as the proprietaries provided no sufficient defence for the colony, their power, which had no guarantee even in their own interests, and still less in the policy of the English government or the good-will of the colonists, awaited only an opportunity to expire.

This period of turbulence and insurrection, of angry factions and popular excitements, was nevertheless a period of prosperity. The country rapidly increased in population and the value of its exports. The prolific rice-plant had, at a very early period, been introduced from Madagascar; in 1691, the legislature rewarded the invention of new methods for cleansing it; its culture steadily increased; and the rice of Carolina was esteemed the best in the world. Hence the opulence of the colony; hence, also, its swarms of negro slaves. The profits of the rice-fields tempted the planter to enlarge his domains, and Africa furnished laborers.

The cereal grasses were ill adapted to the sands near the sea, or the alluvial swamps. The woods were more inviting.

Early in the eighteenth century, the Carolina Indian trade had penetrated a thousand miles into the interior. The skins of bears, beavers, wildcats, deer, foxes, and raccoons, invited commerce. The oak was cleft into staves for the West Indies: the trunk of the pine was valued for masts, boards, and joists; its juices yielded turpentine; from the same tree, when dry, fire extracted tar.

But naval stores were still more the produce of North Carolina, where, as yet, slaves were very few, and the planters mingled a leisurely industry with the use of the fowling-piece. While the world was set on fire by wars of unparalleled extent, the unpolished inhabitants of North Carolina multiplied and spread in the enjoyment of the highest personal liberty. Five miles below Edenton, just a hundred yards from the sound, beneath the shade of a large cedar, the stone that marks the grave of Henderson Walker keeps the record that "North Carolina, during his administration, enjoyed tranquillity." This is the history of four years in which the people, without molestation, enjoyed their wild independence. It was the liberty of freemen in the woods. "North Carolina," like ancient Rome, was famed "as the sanctuary of runaways;" seventy years after its origin, Spotswood describes it as "a country where there's scarce any form of government;" and it long continued to be said, with but slight exaggeration, that "in Carolina every one did what was right in his own eyes, paying tribute neither to God nor to Cæsar."

In such a country, which was almost an utter stranger to any public worship, among a people made up of Presbyterians and Independents, of Lutherans and Quakers, of men who drew their politics, their faith, and their law from the light of nature, — where, according to the royalists, the majority "were Quakers, atheists, deists, and other evil-disposed persons," — the pious zeal or the bigotry of the
1704. proprietaries, selecting Robert Daniel, the deputy governor, as the fit instrument, resolved on establishing the church of England. The legislature, chosen without reference to this end, after much opposition, acceded to the design; and further enacted that no one, who

would not take the oath prescribed by law, should hold a place of trust in the colony. Then did North Carolina first gain experience of disfranchisements for opinions; then did it first hear of glebes and a clergy; then were churches first ordered to be erected at the public cost. But a people does not bend in a generation: the laws could not be enforced; and, six years afterwards, "there was but one clergyman in the whole country." The Quakers, led by their faith, were foremost in opposition. They were "not only the principal fomenters of the distractions in Carolina," but the governor of the Old Dominion complained that they "made it their business to instil the like pernicious notions into the minds of his majesty's subjects in Virginia, and to justify the mad actions of the rabble by arguments destructive to all government."

On a vacancy in the office of governor, anarchy prevailed. "The North had been usually governed by a deputy, appointed by the governor of South Carolina;" and Thomas Cary obtained a commission in the wonted form. The proprietaries disapproved the appointment, and gave leave to the little oligarchy of their own deputies to elect the chief magistrate. Their choice fell on William Glover; and the colony was forthwith rent with divisions. On the one side were churchmen and royalists, the immediate friends of the proprietaries; on the other, "a rabble of profligate persons," that is, the Quakers and other dissenters, and that majority of the people which was unconsciously swayed by democratic instincts. Each party had its governor; each elected its house of representatives. Neither could entirely prevail. The one wanted a legal sanction, the other popular favor; and, as "it had been the common practice for them in North Carolina to resist and imprison their governors," till they came "to look upon that as lawful which had been so long tolerated, the party of the proprietaries was easily "trodden under foot." "The Quakers were a numerous people there, and, having been fatally trusted with a large share in the administration of that government," were resolved "to maintain themselves therein." To restore order,

1705.

1706 to 1710.

1710. 1711.

Edward Hyde was despatched to govern the province; but he was to receive his commission as deputy from Tynte, the governor of the southern division; and, as Tynte had already fallen a victim to the climate, Hyde could show no evidence of his right, except private letters from the proprietaries; and "the respect due to his birth could avail nothing on that mutinous people." The legislature which he convened, having been elected under forms which, in the eyes of his opponents, tainted the action with illegality, showed no desire to heal by prudence the distractions of the country, but, blinded by zeal for revenge, made passionate enactments, "of which they themselves had not power to enforce the execution," and which, in Virginia, even royalists condemned as unjustifiably severe. At once "the true spirit of Quakerism appeared" in an open disobedience to unjust laws: Cary and some of his friends took up arms; it was rumored that they were ready for an alliance with the Indians; and Spotswood, an experienced soldier, now governor of Virginia, was summoned by Hyde as an ally. The loyalty of the veteran was embarrassed. He could not esteem "a country safe which had in it such dangerous incendiaries." He believed that, unless "measures were taken to discourage the mutinous spirits, who had become so audacious as to take up arms, it would prove a dangerous example to the rest of her majesty's plantations." But "the difficulties of marching forces into a country so cut with rivers were almost insuperable;" there were no troops but the militia; the counties bordering on Carolina were "stocked with Quakers," or, at least, with "the articles of those people;" and the governor of Virginia might almost as well have undertaken a military expedition against foxes and raccoons, or have attempted to enforce religious uniformity among the conies, as employ methods of invasion against men whose dwellings were so sheltered by creeks, so hidden by forests, so protected by solitudes. The insurgents "obstructed the course of justice, demanding the dissolution of the assembly, and the repeal of all laws they disliked." Spotswood could only send a party of marines from the guard-ships, as evidence

of his disposition. No effusion of blood followed. Cary, and the leaders of his party, on the contrary, boldly appeared in Virginia, for the purpose, as they said, of appealing to England in defence of their actions; and Spotswood compelled them to take their passage in the men-of-war that were just returning. But North Carolina remained as before; its burgesses, obeying the popular judgment, "refused to make provision for defending any part of their country," unless "they could introduce into the government the persons most obnoxious for the late rebellion;" and therefore the assembly was promptly dissolved. There was little hope of harmony between the proprietaries and the inhabitants of North Carolina. 1711 to 1712. 1712. Feb.

But here, as elsewhere in America, this turbulence of freedom did not check the increase of population. Notwithstanding the contradictory accounts, the province, from its first permanent settlement by white men, has constantly been advancing, and has, I think, always exceeded South Carolina in numbers. The country between the Trent and the Neuse was occupied; and at the confluence of those rivers, in a wide sandy champaign, emigrants from Switzerland began the settlement of New Berne. Germans, fugitives from the devastated Palatinate, found a home in the same vicinity. In these early days, few negroes were introduced into the colony. Its trade was chiefly engrossed by New England. The increasing expenses of the government amounted, in 1714, to nine hundred pounds. While the people were establishing a commonwealth, the surplus revenue to the proprietaries, by sales of land and the quit-rents from their boundless domains, was but one hundred and sixty-nine pounds, or twenty guineas to each proprietary. 1710.

For Virginia, the revolution gave to her liberties the regularity of law; in other respects, the character of her people and the forms of her government were not changed. The first person who, in the reign of King William, entered the Ancient Dominion as lieutenant-governor, was the same Francis Nicholson who, in the days of King James, had

been the deputy of Andros for the consolidated provinces of the north, and had been expelled from New York
1692. by the insurgent people; his successor was Andros himself, fresh from imprisonment in Massachusetts. The earlier administration of the ardent but narrow-minded Nicholson was signalized by the establishment of the College of William and Mary, the first-fruits of the revolution, in age second only to Harvard; at the instance of the learned and persevering commissary Blair, whose zeal for future generations was aided by subscriptions, by a gift of quit-rents from the king, by an endowment from the royal domain, and by a tax of a penny a pound on tobacco exported to other plantations. To the care of Andros the historical inquirer owes the preservation of those few early papers of Virginia which have escaped official neglect, fires, time, and civil wars; but neither from the royalist governors of that day, nor from their successors, was there hope of an enlargement of civil freedom.

The powers of the governor were exorbitant; he was at once lieutenant-general and admiral, lord treasurer and chancellor, the chief judge in all courts, president of the council, and bishop, or ordinary; so that the armed force, the revenue, the interpretation of law, the administration of justice, the church, — all were under his control.

The checks on his power existed in his instructions, in the council, and in the general assembly. But the instructions were kept secret; and, besides, they rather confirmed his prerogatives. The members of the council owed their appointment to his recommendation, their continuance to his pleasure, and, moreover, looked to him for advancement o places of profit. The assembly was restrained by the ospect of a negative from the governor and from the own, was compelled to solicit the concurrence of the coun- , was exposed to influence from royal patronage, was tched in its actions by a clerk whom the governor ap- inted, and was always sure of being dissolved if com- aints grew loud or opposition ardent. It had, moreover, st the method of resistance best suited to the times, since, n addition to quit-rents, a former legislature had established perpetual revenue.

Yet the people of Virginia found methods of nourishing the spirit of independence. The permanent revenue was sure to be exhausted on the governor and his favorites; when additional supplies became necessary, the burgesses, as in Jamaica and in other colonies, claimed the right of nominating a treasurer of their own, subject to their orders, without further warrant from the governor. The statutes of Virginia show that the first assembly after the revolution set this example, which was often imitated. 1691. The denial of this system by the crown increased the aversion to raising money; so that Virginia refused to contribute its quota to the defence of the colonies against France, and not only disregarded the special orders for assisting Albany, but with unanimity, and even with the assent of the council, justified its disobedience. While other provinces were exhausted by taxation, in eleven years eighty-three pounds of tobacco for each poll was the total sum levied by all the special acts of the assembly 1707 to 1718. of Virginia.

The very existence of the forms of representation led to comparison. Virginia was conscious of its importance to the mother country; and its inhabitants, long aware that their liberties were less than those of New England, were put "upon a nice inquiry into the circumstances of the government." England also provoked a generous rivalry. "The assembly concluded itself entitled to all the rights and privileges of an English parliament;" and the records of the house of commons were examined in search of precedents favorable to legislative freedom.

The constitution of the church in Virginia cherished colonial freedom; for the act of 1642, which established it, reserved the right of presentation to the parish. The license of the bishop of London and the recommendation of the governor availed, therefore, but little. Sometimes the parish rendered the establishment nugatory by its indolence of action; sometimes the minister, if acceptable to the congregation, was received, but not presented. It was the general custom to hire the minister from year to 1703. year. A legal opinion was obtained from England,

that the minister is an incumbent for life, and cannot be displaced by his parishioners; but the vestry kept themselves the parson's master by preventing his induction, so that he acquired no freehold in his living, and might be removed at pleasure. Nor was the character of the clergy who came over always suited to win affection or respect. The parishes, moreover, were of such length that some of the people lived fifty miles from the parish church; and the assembly would not increase the taxes by changing the bounds, even from fear of impending "paganism, atheism, or sectaries." "Schism" threatened "to creep into the church," and to generate "faction in the civil government;" and, when Virginia and the crown came to a first violent collision, the strife related to the rights of "the parsons."

But the greatest safeguard of liberty in Virginia was the individual freedom of mind, which formed, of necessity, the characteristic of independent landholders living apart on their plantations. In the age of commercial monopoly, Virginia had not one market town, not one place of trade. "As to outward appearance, it looked all like a wild desert;" and the mercantile world, founding its judgment on the absence of cities, regarded it as "one of the poorest, miserablest, and worst countries in all America." It did not seek to share actively in the profits of commerce; it had little of the precious metals, and still less of credit; it was satisfied with agriculture. Taxes were paid in tobacco; remittances to Europe were made in tobacco; the revenue of the clergy, and the magistrates, and the colony, was collected in the same currency; the colonial tradesman received his pay in straggling parcels of it; and ships from abroad were obliged to lie whole months in the rivers, before boats, visiting the several plantations on their banks, could pick up a cargo. In the season of a commercial revolution, the commercial cl[illegible] did not enter into the character of the colony. [illegible]nts "daily grew more and more averse [illegible]ll royalists and churchmen as they were [illegible]nd established law, they reasoned boldly [illegible]sion, making their own good pleasure [illegible] conduct. "Pernicious notions, fatal to

the royal prerogative, were improving daily;" and, though Virginia protested against the charge of "republicanism," as an unfounded reproach, yet colonial opinion, the offspring of free inquiry which seclusion awakened, the woods sheltered, and the self-will of slaveholders fortified, was more than a counterpoise to the prerogative of the British crown. In former ages, no colony had ever enjoyed a happier freedom. From the days of the insurrection of Bacon, for a period of three quarters of a century, Virginia possessed uninterrupted peace. On its own soil, the strife with the Indians was ended; the French hesitated to invade the western frontier, on which they lowered: if sometimes alarm was spread by privateers upon the coast, a naval foe was not attracted to a region which had neither town nor magazines, where there was nothing to destroy but a field of tobacco, nothing to plunder but the frugal stores of scattered plantations. The soil was stained by nothing but the sweat of the laborer. In such scenes of tranquil happiness, the political strifes were but the fitful ebullitions of a high spirit, which, in the wantonness of independence, loved to tease the governor; and, again, if the burgesses expressed loyalty, they were loyal only because loyalty was their humor. Hence the reports forwarded to England were often contradictory. "The inclinations of the country," wrote Spotswood in 1710, "are rendered mysterious by a new and unaccountable humor, which hath obtained in several counties, of excluding the gentlemen from being burgesses, and choosing only persons of mean figure and character." "This government," so he reported in the next year, "is in perfect peace and tranquillity, under a due obedience to the royal authority, and a gentlemanly conformity to the church of England;" and the letter had hardly left the Chesapeake before he found himself thwarted by the impracticable burgesses; and, dissolving the assembly, feared to convene another till opinion should change. But Spotswood, the best in the line of Virginia governors, a royalist, a high churchman, a traveller, bore testimony to the virtues of the people. "I will do justice to this country," he writes to the bishop of London, and his evidence 1709. 1710.

is without suspicion of bias; "I have observed here less swearing and prophaneness, less drunkenness and debauchery, less uncharitable feuds and animosities, and less knaveries and villanys, than in any part of the world, where my lot has been." The estimate of fifty thousand as the population of the colony on the accession of Queen Anne is far too low.

The English revolution was a "Protestant" revolution: of the Roman Catholic proprietary of Maryland it sequestered the authority, while it protected the fortunes. During the absence of Lord Baltimore from his province, his powers had been delegated to nine deputies, over whom William Joseph presided. The spirit that swayed their counsels sprung from the doctrine of legitimacy which the revolution had prostrated; and they fell with it. Distrusting the people, they provoked opposition by demanding of the assembly, as a qualification of its members, an oath of fidelity to the proprietary. On resistance to the illegal demand, the house was prorogued; and, even after the successful invasion of England became known, the deputies of Lord Baltimore hesitated to proclaim the new sovereigns.

1689. April. The delay gave birth to an armed association for asserting the right of King William; and the deputies were easily driven to a garrison on the south side of Patuxent River, about two miles above its mouth.

Aug. 1. There they capitulated, obtaining security for themselves, and yielding their assent to the exclusion of papists from all provincial offices. A convention of the associates, "for the defence of the Protestant religion," assumed the government in the names of William and Mary, and in a congratulatory address denounced the influence of Jesuits, the prevalence of popish idolatry, the connivance by the government at murders of Protestants, and the danger from plots with the French and Indians.

The privy council, after a debate on the address, advised the forfeiture of the charter by a process of law; but King William, heedless of the remonstrances of the proprietary

1691. June 1. who could be convicted of no crime but his creed, and impatient of judicial forms, by his own powe

constituted Maryland a royal government. The arbitrary decree was sanctioned by a legal opinion from Lord Holt; and the barons of Baltimore were superseded for a generation. In 1692, Sir Lionel Copley arrived with a royal commission, dissolved the convention, assumed the government, and convened an assembly. Its first act recognised William and Mary; but, as it contained a clause giving validity in the colony to the Great Charter of England, it was not accepted by the crown. The second established the church of England as the religion of the state, to be supported by general taxation. The ancient capital, inconvenient in its site, was, moreover, tenanted chiefly by Catholics and surrounded by proprietary recollections: under Protestant auspices, the city sacred to the Virgin Mary was abandoned, and Annapolis became the seat of government. The establishment of a religion of state, earnestly advanced by the boastful eagerness of Francis Nicholson, who for four years was governor of Maryland, and by the patient, the disinterested, but unhappily too exclusive earnestness of the commissary, Thomas Bray, became the settled policy of the government. In 1696, the inviolable claim of the colony to English rights and liberties was engrafted by the assembly on the act of establishment; and this also was disallowed; for the solicitor-general Trevor "knew not how far the enacting that the great charter of England should be observed in all points would be agreeable to the constitution of the colony or consistent with the royal prerogative." In 1700, the presence and personal virtues of Bray, who saw Christianity only in the English church, obtained by unanimity a law commanding conformity in every "place of public worship." Once more the act was rejected in England from regard to the rights of Protestant dissenters; and when, at last, the Anglican ritual was established by the colonial legislature, and the right of appointment and induction to every parish was secured to the governor, the English acts of toleration were at the same time put in force. Protestant dissent was safe; for the difficulty of obtaining

1692.

1694.

1694 to 1698.

1700.

1702.

English missionaries, the remoteness of the ecclesiastical tribunals, the scandal arising from the profligate lives and impunity in crime of many clergymen, the zeal of the numerous Quakers for intellectual freedom, and the activity of a sort of "wandering pretenders from New England, deluding even "churchmen by their extemporary prayers and preachments," — all united as a barrier against persecution. The Roman Catholics alone were left without an ally, exposed to English bigotry and colonial injustice. On the soil which, long before Locke pleaded for toleration or Penn for religious freedom, a Catholic proprietary
1704. had opened to Protestants, the Catholic inhabitant became the victim of Anglican intolerance. Mass might not be said publicly. No Catholic priest or bishop might seek to make proselytes. No Catholic might teach the young. If the wayward child of a papist would but become an apostate, the law wrested for him from his parents a share of their property. The disfranchisement of the proprietary related to his creed, not to his family. Such were the methods adopted "to prevent the growth of popery."

For a quarter of a century, the administration of Maryland resembled that of Virginia. Nicholson and Andros were governors in each. Like Virginia, Maryland had no considerable town, was disturbed but little by the Indians, and less by the French. Its "people were well-natured and most hospitable." Its staple was tobacco; yet hemp and flax were raised, and both, like tobacco, were sometimes
used as currency. In Somerset and Dorchester, the
1706. manufacture of linen, and even of woollen cloth, was attempted. Industry so opposite to the system of mercantile monopoly needed an apology; and the assembly pleaded, in excuse of the weavers, that they were driven to their tasks "by absolute necessity." As Maryland lies in the latitude where, in the collision of negro labor and white labor, climate gives the white man the advantage, and as the large introduction of slaves drove free laborers to more northern regions, this province surpassed every other in the number of its white servants. The market was always sup-

plied with them, the price varying from twelve to thirty pounds. By its position, also, Maryland was connected with the north; it is the most southern colony which, in 1695, consented to pay its quota towards the defence of New York, thus forming, from the Chesapeake to Maine, an imperfect confederacy. The union was increased by a public post. Eight times in the year, letters might be for- 1695.
warded from the Potomac to Philadelphia. During the period of the royal government, the assembly still retained influence; for they refused to establish a permanent revenue. They encouraged tillage; exempted provincial vessels from a tax levied on British shipping; recognised the collector of parliamentary customs by regulating his fees; endeavored to obstruct the importation of negroes by imposing taxes; and attempted to prevent the introduction of convicts. To show their gratitude for the blessings which they enjoyed, they acknowledged the title of George I. They promised a library and a free school to every parish. The population of the colony increased, but not so rapidly as elsewhere. The usual estimates for this period are too low. In 1710, the number of bond and free 1710.
must have exceeded thirty thousand; yet a bounty for every wolf's head continued to be offered; the roads to the capital were long marked by notches on trees; and water-mills still solicited legislative encouragement. Such was Maryland as a royal province. In 1715, 1715.
the authority of the infant proprietary was vindicated. To recover his inheritance, he renounced the Catholic Church for that of England; the persecution never crushed the faith of the colonists.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE MIDDLE STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

MORE happy than Lord Baltimore, the proprietary of Pennsylvania regained his rights without surrendering his faith. Accepting the resignation of the narrow and imperious but honest Blackwell, who, at the period of the revolution, acted as his deputy, the Quaker chief desired "to settle the government in a condition to please the generality," to "let them be the choosers." "Friends," such was his message, "I heartily wish you all well, and beseech God to guide you in the ways of righteousness and peace. I have thought fit, upon my further stop in these parts, to throw all into your hands, that you may see the confidence I have in you, and the desire I have to give you all possible contentment." And, as the council of his province was, at that time, elected directly by the
1690. June 2. people, that body collectively was constituted his deputy. Of its members, Thomas Lloyd, from North Wales, an Oxford scholar, was universally beloved as a bright example of the integrity of virtue. The path of preferment had opened to him in England, but he chose rather the internal peace that springs from "mental felicity." This Quaker preacher, the oracle of "the patriot rustics" on the Delaware, was now, by free suffrage, constituted president of the council. But the lower counties
Nov. 21. were jealous of the superior weight of Pennsylvania; disputes respecting appointments to office grew up; the council divided; protests ensued; the members from the territories withdrew, and would not be reconciled;
1691. April 1. so that, with the reluctant consent of William Penn, who, though oppressed with persecutions and losses, never distrusted the people of his province, and always

endured hardships as though they "were, in the end, every way for good," the lower counties were constituted a government by themselves under Markham. The separate existence of the commonwealth of Delaware was the act of its own citizens.

Uncertainty rested on the institutions of the provinces; an apparent schism among the Quakers increased the trouble. The ministers of England, fearing the easy conquest of a colony of non-combatants by an enemy, were, in October, 1691, inclined to annex Pennsylvania to some other province, and to take it under the immediate government of the king. In this design they found an ally. Amidst the applause of the opponents of Quakers, George Keith, conciliating other Protestants by a more formal regard for the Bible, asserted his own exclusive adhesion to the principles of Friends by pushing the doctrine of non-resistance to an absolute extreme. No true Quaker, he asserted, can act in public life either as a lawgiver or as a magistrate. The inferences were plain; if Quakers could not be magistrates in a Quaker community, King William must send churchmen to govern them. Conforming his conduct to his opinion, Keith resisted the magistracy of Pennsylvania with defiant contumely. The grand jury found him guilty of a breach of the laws; an indictment, trial, and conviction followed. The punishment awarded was a fine of five pounds; yet, as his offence was, in its nature, a contempt of court, the scrupulous Quakers, shunning the punishment of impertinence, lest it should seem the punishment of opinion, forgave the fine. Meantime, the envious world, vexed at the society which it could neither corrupt nor intimidate, set up the cry that the Quakers were turned persecutors. Not a word of explanation would be listened to. The expressions of indignation, which the bluntness of the Quaker magistrates had not restrained, were quoted as proofs of intolerance. But, in the great conflict of parties, the devices of an apostate to deceive have but an accidental and transient interest: disowned by those who had cherished and advanced him, Keith was soon left without a faction, and made a true ex-

1691. 1691. 1692.

position of his part in the strife by accepting an Anglican benefice.

1692. Oct. 21. The disturbance by Keith, creating questions as to the administration of justice, confirmed the disposition of the English government to subject Pennsylvania

1693. Apr. 26. to a royal commission; and, in April, 1693, Benjamin Fletcher, assuming power as governor for William and Mary, once more united Delaware to Pennsylvania. "Some, who held commissions from the proprietor, withdrew at the publishing of their majesties' commission, and others refused to act under that power."

May 15. When the house of representatives assembled, resistance was developed. It was the object of Fletcher to gain supplies; the wary legislators were intent on maintaining their privileges. The laws founded on the charter of Penn they declare to be "yet in force; we desire the same may be confirmed to us as our right and liberties." "If the laws," answered Fletcher, "made by virtue of Mr Penn's charter, be of force to you, and can be brought into competition with the great seal which commands me hither, I have no business here;" and he pleaded the royal prerogative as inalienable. "The grant of King Charles," replied Joseph Growdon, the speaker, "is itself under the great seal. Is that charter in a lawful way at an end?"

May 24. To reconcile the difference, Fletcher proposed to re-enact the greater number of the former laws. "We are but poor men," said John White, "and of inferior degree, and represent the people. This is our difficulty; we durst not begin to pass one bill to be enacted of our former laws, least by soe doing we declare the rest void."

1693. May 25. The royalists next started a technical objection: the old laws are invalid because they do not bear the great seal of the proprietary. "We know the laws to be our laws," it was answered; "and we are in the enjoyment of them; the sealing does not make the law, but the consent of governor, council, and assembly."

The same spirit pervaded the session; and the grant of a penny in the pound, which, it was promised, "should not be dipt in blood," was connected with a capitulation recognising

the legislative rights of the representatives. And a public manifesto, signed by all the members from Pennsylvania, declared it to be "the right of the assembly that, before any bill for supplies be presented, aggrievances ought to be redressed." "My door was never shut," said Fletcher on parting; "but it was avoided, as if it were treason for the speaker, or anie other representative, to be seen in my company during your sessions."

One permanent change in the constitution was the fruit of this administration: the house originated its bills, and retained this right ever after. Fletcher would gladly have changed the law for "yearlie delegates;" for "where," thought the royalist, "is the hurt, if a good assemblie should be continued from one year to another?" But the people saved their privilege when they elected an assembly of which Fletcher could "give no good character at Whitehall," and which he could have no wish to continue.

The assembly of the next year was still more im- 1694.
practicable, having for its speaker David Lloyd, the keenest discoverer of grievances, and the most quiet and persevering of political scolds. "If you will not levy money to make war," such was the governor's May.
message, "yet I hope you will not refuse to feed the hungrie and clothe the naked." The assembly was willing to give alms to the sufferers round Albany; but it claimed the right of making specific appropriations, and collecting and disbursing the money by officers of its own appointment. The demand was rejected as an infringement on the royal prerogative; and, after a fortnight's altercation, the assembly was dissolved. Such was the success of a royal governor in Pennsylvania.

Thrice, within two years after the revolution, had William Penn been arrested and brought before court, and thrice he had been openly set free. In 1690, 1690.
he prepared to embark once more for America; emigrants crowded round him; a convoy was granted; the
was almost ready to sail, when, on his return from the
George Fox, messengers were sent to apprehend
ng been thrice questioned and thrice acquitted,

he went into retirement. Locke would have interceded for his pardon; but Penn refused clemency, waiting rather for justice. The delay completed the wreck of his fortunes; sorrow lowered over his family; the wife of his youth died; his eldest son had no vigorous hold on life; even among Friends, some cavilled at his conduct; Jesuit, papist, rogue, and traitor were the gentlest calumnies of the world; yet Penn preserved his serenity, and, true to his principles, in a season of passionate and almost universal war, published a plea for eternal peace among the nations.

1693. But, among the many in England whom Penn had benefited, gratitude was not extinct. On the restoration of the whigs to power, Rochester, who, under James II., had given up office rather than profess Romanism, the less distinguished Ranelagh, and Henry, the brother of Algernon Sydney, of old the correspondent of the Prince of Orange, as well as the warm friend of William Penn, interceded for the restoration of the proprietary of Pennsylvania. "He is my old acquaintance," answered William; "he may follow his business as freely as ever; I have nothing to say against him." Appearing before the king in council, his innocence was established; and, in August, 1694, the patent for his restoration passed the seals.

1694. Aug. 20.

1695. Mar. 26. The pressure of poverty delayed the return of the proprietary to the banks of the Delaware; and Markham was invested with the executive power. The

Sept. 9. members of the assembly, which he convened, anxious for political liberties, which the recent changes had threatened to efface, found a remedy within themselves, and, assuming the power of fundamental legislation, framed a democratic constitution. They would have "their privileges granted before they would give anie monie." Doubtful of the extent of his authority, Markham dissolved the assembly.

1696. Oct. The legislature of the next year, by its own authority, subject only to the assent of the proprietary, established a purely democratic government. The governor was but chairman of the council. The council, the

assembly, each was chosen by the people. The time of election, the time of assembling, the period of office, were placed beyond the power of the executive. The judiciary depended on the legislature. The people constituted themselves the fountain of honor and of power. When the assembly next came together, Markham could say to them: "You are met, not by virtue of any writ of mine, but of a law made by yourselves." The people ruled; and, after years of strife, all went happily. Nothing was wanting but concert with the proprietary. 1697. May 12.

Before the close of the century, William Penn was once more within his colony. The commonwealth, which had been as an infant nestling under his wing, had ripened into self-reliance. Passing over all intermediate changes, the proprietary acknowledged the present validity of the old fundamental law. "Let's make a constitution," said a member of the council, "that may be firm and lasting to us and ours;" and Penn invited them "to keep what's good in the charter and frame of government, to lay aside what is burdensome, and to add what may best suit the common good." And the old charter was surrendered, with the unanimous consent of the assembly and council. Yet the counties of Delaware dreaded the loss of their independence by a union with the extending population of Pennsylvania. Besides, in the lower province, the authority of William Penn rested but on sufferance; in the larger state, it was sanctioned by a royal charter; and a passionate strife delayed the establishment of government. 1699. Nov. 30. 1700. April. June 7. 1700. 1701.

Meantime, the proprietary endeavored to remove the jealousy with which his provinces were regarded in England. The parliament ever insisted on the colonial monopoly, and the colony readily passed laws against piracy and illicit trade; but it could not assent to propitiate the English sovereigns by granting its quota for the defence of New York.

In regard to the improvement of the negroes, Penn attempted to legislate not for the abolition of slavery, but for the sanctity of marriage among the slaves, and for their

personal safety. The latter object was effected; the former, which would have been the forerunner of freedom, was defeated.

Neither did philanthropy achieve permanent benefits for the Indian. Treaties of peace were renewed with the men of the wilderness from the Potomac to Oswego, and the trade with them was subjected to regulations; but they could not be won to the faith or the habits of civilized life.

1710. Aug. 21. These measures were adopted amidst the fruitless wranglings between the delegates from Delaware and those from Pennsylvania. At last, the news was received that the English parliament was about to render all their strifes and all their hopes nugatory by the general abrogation of every colonial charter. An assembly was summoned instantly; and, when it came together, the proprietary, eager to return to England to defend the common rights

Sept. 15. of himself and his province, urged the perfecting of their frame of government. "Since all men are mortal," such was his weighty message, "think of some suitable expedient and provision for your safety, as well in your privileges as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatever may render us happy by a nearer union of our interests. Review again your laws; propose new ones, that may better your circumstances; and what you do, do it quickly. Unanimity and despatch may contribute to the disappointment of those that too long have sought the ruin of OUR YOUNG COUNTRY."

The relations of Penn to his colony were twofold; he was their sovereign, and he was the owner of the unappropriated domain. The members of the assembly, impelled by an interest common to every one of their constituents, were disposed to encroach on his private rights. If some of their demands were resisted, he readily yielded every thing which could be claimed, even by inference, from his promises, or could be expected from his liberality; making his interests of less consideration than the satisfaction of his people; rather remitting than rigorously exacting his revenues.

Of political privileges, he conceded all that was desired.

The council, henceforward to be appointed by the proprietary, became a branch of the executive government; the assembly assumed to itself the right of originating every act of legislation, subject only to the assent of the governor. Elections to the assembly were annual; the time of its election and the time of its session were fixed; it was to sit upon its own adjournments. Sheriffs and coroners were nominated by the people; no questions of property could come before the governor and council; the judiciary was left to the discretion of the legislature. Religious liberty was established, and every public employment was open to every man professing faith in Jesus Christ. Happy Pennsylvania! While, in revolutionized England, the triennial parliaments were dependent for the time of their election, prorogation, and dissolution, on the will of the sovereign; while papists were persecuted and dissenters disfranchised, in Pennsylvania human rights were respected. The fundamental law of William Penn, even his detractors concede, was in harmony with universal reason, and true to the ancient and just liberties of the people.

On returning to America, William Penn had designed to remain here for life, and to give a home to his family and his posterity in the New World. But his work was accomplished. Divesting himself and his successors of all power to injure, he had founded a democracy. And now, having given freedom and self-government to his provinces, no strifes remaining but strifes about property, happily for himself, happily for his people, happily for posterity, he departed from the "young countrie" of his affections, and exiled himself to the birthplace of his fathers.

For the separation of the territories, contingent provision had been made by the proprietary. In 1702, Pennsylvania convened its legislature apart, and the two 1702.
colonies were never again united. The lower counties became at once almost an independent republic; for, as the authority of the proprietary was one of sufferance merely and was often brought into question, 1708.
the executive power intrusted to the governor of Pennsylvania was too feeble to limit the power of the

people. The legislature, the tribunals, the subordinate executive offices of Delaware knew little external control.

1701 to 1710. The subsequent years in Pennsylvania exhibit constant collisions between the proprietary, as owner of the unappropriated public territory, and a people eager to enlarge their freeholds. The scoldings of David Lloyd may be consigned to oblivion; the integrity of the mildly aristocratic James Logan, to whose judicious care the proprietary estates were intrusted, has preserved a purity unsullied by the accusations or impeachments of the assembly. Strifes also existed on political questions. The end of government was declared to be the happiness of the people, and from this maxim the duties of the governor were derived. But the organization of the judiciary was the subject of longest controversy. That the tenure of the judicial office

1707. should be the will of the people was claimed as "the people's right." The rustic legislators insisted on their right to institute the judiciary, fix the rules of court, define judicial power with precision, and by request displace judges for misbehavior. Neither would they, even in the highest courts, have English lawyers for judges. "Men skilled in the law," said they, "of good integrity, are

1706. very desirable; yet we incline to be content with the best men the colony affords." And the courts obtained no permanent organization till the accession of the house of Hanover. The civil constitution included feudalism and democracy; from this there could be no escape but through the sovereignty of the people. Twice, indeed, the province had almost become a royal one, — once by act of parliament, and once by treaty. But, in England, a real regard for the sacrifices and the virtues of William Penn gained him friends among English statesmen; and the malice of pestilent English officials, of Quarry, and the men employed in enforcing the revenue laws, valuing a colony only by the harvest it offered of emoluments and jobs, and ever ready to appeal selfishly to the crown, the church, or English trade, was never able to overthrow his influence. His poverty, consequent on his disinterested labors, created a willingness to surrender his province to the crown; but he

insisted on preserving the colonial liberties, and the crown hardly cared to buy a democracy. If the violent conflicts of the assembly, in their eagerness to engross all authority, and gain control over the questions of property between the province and its proprietary, seemed sometimes to compel a surrender of his powers of government, yet the bare apprehension of such a result always brought the colonists to a gentler temper.

In the government of Penn, there were an executive dependent for support on the people and all subordinate executive officers elected by the people; the judiciary dependent for its existence on the people; all legislation originating exclusively with the people; no forts, no armed police, no militia; perfect freedom of opinion; no established church; no difference of rank; and a harbor opened for the reception of all mankind, of children of every language and every creed. Could it be that the invisible power of reason would be able to order and to restrain, to punish crime and to protect property, under such a constitution? Would not confusion, discord, and rapid ruin successively follow? Or was it a conceivable thing that, in a country without army, without militia, without forts, and with no sheriffs but those elected "by the rabble," wealth and population should increase, and the spectacle be given of the happiest and most prospered land? Never did any country enjoy so much prosperity, or increase so rapidly in wealth and numbers, as Pennsylvania.

In New Jersey, had the proprietary power been vested in the people or reserved to one man, it would have survived; but it was divided among speculators in land, who, as a body, had gain, and not freedom, for their end. In April, 1688, "the proprietors of East New Jersey had surrendered their pretended right of government," and the surrender had been accepted. In October of the same year, the council of the proprietaries of West New Jersey voted to surrender to the secretary-general for the dominion of New England "all records relating to government." Thus the whole province fell, with New York and New England, under the consolidated government of Andros. At the rev-

olution, therefore, the sovereignty over New Jersey was merged in the crown; and the legal maxim, soon promulgated by the lords of trade, that the domains of the proprietaries might be bought and sold, but not their executive power, weakened their attempts at the recovery of authority, and consigned the colony to a temporary anarchy.

Will you know with how little government a community of husbandmen may be safe? For twelve years, the province was not in a settled condition. From June, 1689, to August, 1692, East New Jersey had apparently no superintending administration, being, in time of war, destitute of military officers as well as of magistrates with royal or proprietary commissions. They were protected by their neighbors from external attacks; and there is no reason to infer that the several towns failed to exercise regulating powers within their respective limits. Afterwards commissions were issued by two sets of proprietors, of which each had its adherents; while a third party, swayed by disgust at the confusion, and by disputes about land titles, rejected the proprietaries altogether. In the western moiety,
1689. Daniel Coxe, as largest owner of the domain, claimed exclusive proprietary powers; yet the people disallowed his claim, rejecting his deputy under the bad name of a Jacobite. In 1691, Coxe conveyed such authority as he had to the West Jersey Society; and, in 1692, Andrew Hamilton was accepted as governor under their commission. This rule, with a short interruption in 1698, continued through the reign of William. But the law officers
1694. of the crown questioned even the temporary settlement; the lords of trade claimed all New Jersey as
1699. a royal province, and proposed a settlement of the question by "a trial in Westminster Hall on a feigned issue." The proprietaries, threatened with the ultimate interference of parliament in respect to provinces "where," it was said, "no regular government had ever been established," resolved to resign their pretensions. In their negotiations with the crown, they wished to insist that there should be a triennial assembly; but King William, though he had against his inclination approved an act of parlia-

ment of that nature for England, would never consent to it in the plantations.

In the first year of Queen Anne, the surrender took place before the privy council. The domain, ceasing to be connected with proprietary powers, was, under the rules of private right, confirmed to its possessors, and was never confiscated. After the revolution, even to the present time, their rights have been respected like other titles to estates. 1702. Apr. 17.

The surrender of "the pretended" rights to government being completed, the two Jerseys were united in one province; and the government was conferred on Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, who, like Queen Anne, was the grandchild of Clarendon. Retaining its separate legislature, the province had for the next thirty-six years the same governors as New York. It never again obtained a charter: the royal commission and the royal instructions to Lord Cornbury constituted the form of its administration. April.

To the governor appointed by the crown belonged the power of legislation, with consent of the royal council and the representatives of the people. A freehold, or property qualification, limited the elective franchise. The governor could convene, prorogue, or dissolve the assembly at his will, and the period of its duration depended on his pleasure. The laws were subject to an immediate veto from the governor, and a veto from the crown, to be exercised at any time. The governor, with the consent of his council, instituted courts of law, and appointed their officers. The people took no part in constituting the judiciary. Liberty of conscience was granted to all but papists, but favor was invoked for the church of England, of which, at the same time, the prosperity was made impossible by investing the governor with the right of presentation to benefices.

In suits at law, the governor and council formed a court of appeal: if the value in dispute exceeded two hundred pounds, the English privy council possessed ultimate jurisdiction. Two instructions mark, one a declining bigotry, the other an increasing interest. "Great inconvenience," says Queen Anne, "may arise by the liberty of printing

in our province" of New Jersey; and therefore no printing-press might be kept, "no book, pamphlet, or other matters whatsoever, be printed without a license." And, in conformity with English policy, especial countenance of the traffic "in merchantable negroes" was earnestly enjoined. The courts, the press, the executive, became dependent on the crown; and the interests of free labor were sacrificed to the cupidity of the Royal African company.

One method of influence remained to the people of New Jersey. The assembly must fix the amount of its grants to the governor. The queen did not venture to prescribe, or to invite parliament to prescribe, a salary; still less, herself to concede it from colonial resources. Urgent that all appropriations should be made directly for the use of the crown, to be audited by her officers, she wished a fixed revenue to be settled; but the colonial deliberations were respected, and the wise assembly, which never established a permanent revenue, often embarrassed its votes of supplies by insisting on an auditor of its own.

The freemen of the colony were soon conscious of the diminution of their liberties. For absolute religious freedom, they obtained only toleration; for courts resting on enactments of their own representatives, they had courts instituted by royal ordinances; and the sense of their loss quickened their love of freedom by an undefined sentiment of having suffered a wrong. By degrees they claimed to hold their former privileges by the nature of an inviolable compact. The surrender of their charter could change the authority of the proprietaries, but not impair their concessions of political liberties. Inured to self-reliance and self-government, no thought of independence sprung up among them; but the Quakers and Puritans of East and West New Jersey, cordially joining to vindicate their common liberties, never feared to encounter a royal governor, and [illegible]ishments on their rights.

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blended with the English; and if, of the latter, the stern dissenters opposed the churchmen and those who had gathered round the royal governor, among the Dutch the humbler class of people had not amalgamated with "the gentlemen of figure." From the first, feudal distinctions had existed among the emigrants from Holland. In assuming power, Leisler rested chiefly for his support upon the less educated classes of the Dutch, and English dissenters were not heartily his friends. The large Dutch landholders, many of the English merchants, the friends to the Anglican church, the cabal that had grown up round the royal governors, were his wary and unrelenting opponents. But his greatest weakness was in himself. Too restless to obey and too passionate to command, as a Presbyterian, Leisler was averse to the church of England; as a man of middling fortunes, to the aristocracy; while, as a Dutchman and a Calvinist, he was an enthusiast for William of Orange.

The Protestant insurgents had, immediately after the revolution in New England, taken possession of the fort in New York. A few companies of militia sided with Leisler openly, and nearly five hundred men soon joined him in arms. Their declaration, published to the world, avows their purposes: "As soon as the bearer of orders from the Prince of Orange shall have let us see his power, then, without delay, we do intend to obey, not the orders only, but also the bearer thereof." 1689. June 3.

A committee of safety of ten assumed the task of reorganizing the government, and Jacob Leisler received their commission to command the fort of New York. Of this he gained possession without a struggle. An address to King William was forwarded, and a letter from Leisler was received by that prince, if not with favor, yet with respect, and without rebuke. Nicholson, the deputy governor, had been heard to say, what was afterwards often repeated, that the people of New York were a conquered people, without claim to the rights of Englishmen; that the prince might lawfully govern them by his own will, and appoint what laws he pleased. The June 8. July 25.

dread of this doctrine sunk deeply into the public mind, and afterwards attracted the notice of the assemblies
1689. Aug. 16. of New York. At that period of disorder, the committee of safety reassembled; and "Leisler, an insolent alien, assisted," say "the principal men" of New York, "by those who formerly were thought unfit to be in the meanest offices," was constituted the temporary governor of the province.

The appointment was, in its form, open to censure. Courtland, the mayor of the city, Bayard, and others of the council, after fruitless opposition, retired to Albany, where the magistrates, in convention, proclaimed their allegiance to William and Mary, and their resolution to disregard the authority of Leisler. When Milborne, the son-in-law of Leisler, first came to demand the fort, he was successfully resisted. In December, letters were received addressed to Nicholson, or, in his absence, to "such as, for the time being, take care for preserving the peace and administering the law" in New York. A commission to Nicholson accompanied them. The commission proved the royal favor to be with the tory party, the friends of the late government; but, as Nicholson was absent, Leisler esteemed his own authority to have received the royal sanction.

1690. Jan. 17. A warrant was issued for the apprehension of Bayard; and Albany, in the spring, terrified by the calamity of an Indian invasion, and troubled by the anger and the outrages of domestic factions, yielded to Milborne. To protect the frontier, and invade and conquer Canada, was the ruling passion of the northern colonies; but the summer was lost in fruitless preparations, and closed in strife. Meantime, a house of representatives had been convened, and, amidst distress and confusion, the government constituted by the popular act.

1691. In January of 1691, the "Beaver" arrived in New York harbor with Ingoldsby, who bore a commission as captain. Leisler offered him quarters in the city:
Jan. 30. "Possession of his majesty's fort is what I demand," replied Ingoldsby, and he issued a proclamation requiring submission. Thus the aristocratic party obtained as

a leader one who held a commission from the new sovereign. Leisler, conforming to the original agreement made with his fellow-insurgents, replied that Ingoldsby had produced no order from the king, or from Sloughter, who, it was known, had received a commission as governor, and, promising him aid as a military officer, refused to surrender the fort. The troops, as they landed, were received with all courtesy and accommodation; yet passions ran high, and a shot even was fired at them. The outrage was severely reproved by Leisler, who, amidst proclamations and counter-proclamations, promised obedience to Sloughter on his arrival. 1691. Jan. 31. Feb. 1. Mar. 10.

On the evening on which the profligate, needy, and narrow-minded adventurer, who held the royal commission, arrived in New York, Leisler sent messengers to receive his orders. The messengers were detained. Next morning, he asked, by letter, to whom he should surrender the fort. The letter was unheeded; and Sloughter, giving no notice to Leisler, commanded Ingoldsby "to arrest Leisler, and the persons called his council." Mar. 19. Mar. 20.

The prisoners, eight in number, were promptly arraigned before a special court constituted for the purpose by an ordinance, and having inveterate royalists as judges. Six of the inferior insurgents made their defence, were convicted of high treason, and were reprieved. Leisler and Milborne denied to the governor the power to institute a tribunal for judging his predecessor, and they appealed to the king. On their refusal to plead, they were condemned of high treason as mutes, and sentenced to death; Joseph Dudley, of New England, now chief justice of New York, giving the opinion that Leisler had had no legal authority whatever. "Certainly never greater villains lived," wrote Sloughter; but he "resolved to wait for the royal pleasure, if by any other means than hanging he could keep the country quiet." May 7.

Meantime, the assembly, for which warrants had been issued on the day of Leisler's arrest, came April 9.

together. In its character it was thoroughly royalist, establishing a revenue, and placing it in the hands of the receiver-general, at the mercy of the governor's warrant. It passed several resolves against Leisler, especially declaring his conduct at the fort an act of rebellion; and Sloughter, in a time of excitement, assented to the vote of
1691. May 14. the council, that Leisler and Milborne should be executed. "The house, according to their opinion
May 15. given, did approve of what his excellency and council had done."

Accordingly, on the next day, amidst a drenching rain, Leisler, parting from his wife Alice and his numerous family, was, with his son-in-law, Milborne, led to the gal-
May 16. lows. Both acknowledged the errors which they had committed "through ignorance and jealous fear, through rashness and passion, through misinformation and misconstruction;" in other respects, they asserted their innocence, which their blameless private lives confirmed. "Weep not for us, who are departing to our God," — these were Leisler's words to his oppressed friends, — "but weep for yourselves, that remain behind in misery and vexation;" adding, as the handkerchief was bound round his face, "I hope these eyes shall see our Lord Jesus in heaven." Milborne exclaimed: "I die for the king and queen, and the Protestant religion, in which I was born and bred. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

The appeal to the king, which had not been permitted during their lives, was made by Leisler's son; and, though the committee of lords of trade reported that the forms of law had not been broken, the estates of "the deceased" were restored to their families. Dissatisfied with this imperfect redress, the friends of Leisler and Milborne, with the assent of the king, persevered till, in 1695, an act of parliament, strenuously but vainly opposed by Dudley, reversed the attainder. In New York, their partisans, whom a royalist of that day described as "the meaner sort of the inhabitants," and who were distinguished always by their zeal for toleration, for opposition to the doctrine of legitimacy, formed a powerful, and ultimately a successful, party-

The rashness and incompetency of Leisler were forgotten in sympathy for the judicial murder by which he fell; and the principles which he upheld, though his opponents might rail at equality of suffrage and demand for the man of wealth as many votes as he held estates, necessarily became the principles of the colony.

There existed in the province no party which would sacrifice colonial freedom. Even the legislature of 1691, composed of the deadly enemies of Leisler, asserted the right to a representative government, and to English liberties, to be inherent in the people, and not a consequence of the royal favor of King William. "No tax whatever shall be levied on his majestie's subjects in the province, or on their estates, on any pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the representatives of the people in general assembly convened;" "supreme legislative power belongs to the governor and council, and to the people by their representatives:" such was the voice of the most royalist assembly that could ever be convened in New York. King William would not approve the act by which "a subordinate legislature declared its own privileges;" but it was even printed among the laws in force in New York without any notice of its disallowance. "New England," wrote the royalist councillors, "has poisoned the western parts, formerly signal for loyal attachments, with her seditious and anti-monarchical principles." 1691.

In the administration of the covetous and passionate Fletcher, a man of great mobility and feeble judgment, the people of New York, whom he described as "divided, contentious, and impoverished," were disciplined into more decided resistance. As to territory, the policy of consolidating provinces was revived; for the security of the central province, the command of the militia of New Jersey and Connecticut was, by a royal commission, conferred on Fletcher, and he was invested with powers of government in Pennsylvania and Delaware. 1692. Sept.

An address was sent to the king, representing the great cost of defending the frontiers, and requesting that the neighboring colonies might contribute to the protection of

Albany. The necessity of common defence in this age led only to instructions. All the colonies north of Carolina were directed to furnish quotas for the defence of New York or the attacks on Canada; but the instructions, though urgently renewed, were never enforced, and were by some colonies openly disregarded. 1695.

In its relations towards Canada, New York shared the passion for conquest, which gradually extended to other colonies. In its internal affairs, bordering on Puritan New England, it is the most northern province that admitted by enactment the partial establishment of the Anglican church. The Presbyterians had introduced themselves under compacts with the Dutch government. The original settlers from the Netherlands were Calvinists, yet with a church organization far less popular than that of New England, and having in some degree sympathy with the ecclesiastical polity of Episcopacy. During the ascendency of the Dutch, it had often been asserted in an exclusive spirit; when the colony became English, the conquest was made by men devoted to the English throne and the English church, and the influence of churchmen became predominant in the council. The idea of toleration was still imperfect in New Netherland. It is not strange, therefore, that the efforts of Fletcher to privilege the English service were partially successful. The house framed a bill, in which they established certain churches and ministers, reserving the right of presentation to the vestrymen and church-wardens. The governor, interpreting the act, limited its meaning to the English form of worship, and framed an amendment giving the right of presentation to the representative of the crown. The assembly asserted it for the people, rejecting the amendment. "Then I must tell you," retorted Fletcher, this "seems very unmannerly. There never was an amendment desired by the council board but what was rejected. It is a sign of a stubborn ill-temper. I have the power of collating or suspending any minister in my government by their majesties' letters patent; and, whilst I stay in this government, I will take care that neither heresy, schism, nor rebellion, be preached among you, nor vice and pro-

fanity encouraged. You seem to take the whole power into your hands, and set up for every thing."

The "stubborn temper" of the house was immovable; and, two years afterwards, that the act might not be construed too narrowly, it was declared that the vestrymen and church-wardens of the church established in New York might call a Protestant minister who had not received Episcopal ordination. Not a tenth part of the population of that day adhered to the Episcopal Church; the public spirit demanded toleration; and if, on the one hand, the English church succeeded in engrossing the provision made by public acts for the ministry, on the other, the dissenters were wakened to jealousy, lest the Episcopal party, deriving countenance from England, might nourish a lust for dominion. To the mixed races of legislators in the province, the governor, in 1697, said: "There are none of you but what are big with the privileges of Englishmen and Magna Charta." 1695. Apr. 12.

The differences were tranquillized in the short administration of the kindlier Earl of Bellomont, an Irish peer, with a sound heart and honorable sympathies for popular freedom. He arrived in New York after the peace of Ryswick, with a commission extending to the borders of Canada, including New York, New Jersey, and all New England, except Connecticut and Rhode Island. In New York, Bellomont, who had served on the committee of parliament to inquire into the trials of Leisler and Milborne, was indifferent to the little oligarchy of the royal council, of which he reproved the vices and resisted the selfishness. The memory of Leisler was revived; and the assembly, by an appropriation of its own in favor of his family, confirmed the judgment of the English parliament. 1698. April 2.

The enforcement of the acts of trade, which had been violated by the connivance of men appointed to execute them; and the suppression of piracy, which, as the turbulent offspring of long wars and of the false principles of the commercial systems of that age, infested every sea from America to China, — were the great purposes of Bellomont; yet for both he accomplished little. The acts of trade,

despotic in their nature, contradicting the rights of humanity, were evaded everywhere; but in New York, a city, in part, of aliens, owing allegiance to England, without the bonds of common history, kindred, and tongue, they were disregarded without scruple. No voice of conscience declared their violation a moral offence; respect for them was but a calculation of chances. In the attempt to suppress piracy, the prospect of infinite booty to be recovered from pirates, or to be won from the enemies of England, had gained from the king and the admiralty a commission for William Kidd, and had deluded Bellomont into a partnership in a private expedition. Failing in his hopes of opulence, Kidd found his way as a pirate to the gallows. In the house of commons, the transaction provoked inquiry, and hardly escaped censure.

Neither war nor illiberal legislation could retard the growth of the city of New York in commerce, in wealth, and in numbers. The increased taxes were imposed with equity and collected with moderation. "I will pocket none of the public money myself, nor shall there be any embezzlement by others," was the honest promise of Bellomont; and the necessity of the promise is the strongest commentary upon the character of his predecessors. The confiding house of representatives voted a revenue for six years, and placed it, as before, at the disposition of the governor. His death interrupted the short period of harmony in the colony; and, happily for New York, Lord Cornbury, his successor, had every vice of character necessary to discipline a colony into self-reliance and resistance.

Of the same family with the queen of England; brother-in-law to a king whose service he had betrayed; the grandson of a prime minister; himself heir to an earldom, — Lord Cornbury, destitute of the virtues of the aristocracy, illustrated the worst form of its arrogance, joined to intellectual imbecility. Of [illegible]acity of the common mind, of its [illegible]ng; of political power he had no [illegible] emanates from the self-will of a [illegible]r rights existed only as a condescen[illegible]eneva, he yet loved Episcopacy as

a religion of state subordinate to executive power. And now, at about forty years of age, with self-will and the pride of rank for his counsellors, without fixed principles, without perception of political truth, he stood among mixed people of New Jersey and of New York as their governor.

The royalists anticipated his arrival with the incense of flattery; and the hospitality of the colony, which was not yet provoked to defiance, elected a house of assembly disposed to confide in the integrity of one who had been represented as a friend to Presbyterians. The expenses of his voyage were compensated by a grant of two thousand pounds, and an annual revenue for the public service provided for a period of seven years. In April, 1703, a further grant was made of fifteen hundred pounds to fortify the Narrows, "and for no other use whatever." But Lord Cornbury cared little for the limitations of a provincial assembly. The money, by his warrant, disappeared from the treasury, while the Narrows were left defenceless; and the assembly, awakened to distrust, by addresses to the governor and the queen solicited a treasurer of its own appointment. The governor sought to hide his own want of integrity by reporting to the lords of trade that "the colonies were possessed with an opinion that their assemblies ought to have all the privileges of a house of commons; but how dangerous this is," he adds, "I need not say." The general revenue had been fixed for a period of years; no new appropriations could be extorted; and, heedless of menaces or solicitations, the representatives of the people in 1704 asserted "the rights of the house." Lord Cornbury answered: "I know of no right that you have as an assembly, but such as the queen is pleased to allow you." Broughton, the attorney-general in New York, reported in the same year that "republican spirits" were to be found there. The firmness of the assembly won its first victory; for the queen permitted specific appropriations of incidental grants of money, and the appointment by the general assembly of its own treasurer to take charge of extraordinary supplies.

1702.

1703. June.

1704.

1705.

In affairs relating to religion, Lord Cornbury was equally imperious, disputing the right of ministers or schoolmasters to exercise their vocation without his license. The question of the freedom of the pulpit no longer included the whole question of intellectual freedom; the victory for toleration had been won; and the spirit of political freedom found its organ in the provincial legislature. His long undetected forgery of a standing instruction in favor of the English church led only to acts of petty tyranny, useless to English interests, degrading the royal prerogative, and benefiting the people by compelling their active vigilance. The power of the people redressed the griefs. If Francis Makemie, a Presbyterian, was indicted for preaching without a license from the governor; if the chief justice advised a special verdict, — the jury, composed, it is said, of Episcopalians, constituted themselves the judges of the law, and readily agreed on an acquittal. In like manner, at Jamaica, the church which the whole town had erected was, by the connivance of Cornbury, reserved exclusively for the Episcopalians; an injustice which was reversed in the colonial courts.

1708. Aug. 19. Twice had Cornbury dissolved the assembly. The third which he convened proved how rapidly the political education of the people had advanced. Dutch, English, and New England men were all of one spirit. The rights of the people, with regard to taxation, to courts of law, to officers of the crown, were asserted with an energy to which the governor could offer no resistance. Without presence of mind, subdued by the colonial legislature, and now appearing as dispirited as he was indigent, he submitted to the ignominy of reproof, and thanked the assembly for the simplest act of justice.

In New Jersey there were the same demands for money, and a still more wary refusal; representatives, elected 1704. by a majority of votes, excluded by the governor; assemblies convened, and angrily dissolved. At last, necessity compelled a third assembly, and among its members were Samuel Jennings and Lewis Morris. The latter was of a liberal mind, yet having no fixed system; intrepid, but

ot exclusive. The former, elected speaker of the assembly, as a true Quaker, of a hasty yet benevolent temper, faithful in his affections, "stiff and impracticable in politics." These are they whom Lord Cornbury describes "as capable of any thing but good;" whom Quarry and other subservient counsellors accuse as "turbulent and disloyal," "encouraging the governments in America to throw off the royal prerogative, declaring openly that the royal instructions bind no further than they are warranted by law." The assembly, according to the usage of that day, wait on the governor with their remonstrance. The Quaker speaker reads it for them most audibly. It charges Cornbury with accepting bribes; it deals sharply with "his new methods of government," his "encroachment" on the popular liberties by "assuming a negative voice to the freeholders' election of their representatives;" "they have neither heads, hearts, nor souls, that are not forward with their utmost power lawfully to redress the miseries of their country." "Stop!" exclaimed Cornbury, as the undaunted Quaker delivered the remonstrance; and Jennings meekly and distinctly repeated the charges, with greater emphasis than before. What could Cornbury do? He attempted to retort, charging the Quakers with disloyalty and faction; and they answered, in the words of Nehemiah to Sanballat: "There is no such thing done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart." And they left, for the instruction of future governors, this weighty truth: "To engage the affections of the people, no artifice is needful but to let them be unmolested in the enjoyment of what belongs to them of right."

1707. April 7.

Lord Cornbury had fulfilled his mission; more successful than any patriot, he had taught New York the necessity and the methods of incipient resistance. The assembly which met Lord Lovelace, his short-lived successor, began the contest that was never to cease but with independence. The crown demanded a permanent revenue, without appropriation; New York henceforward would raise only an annual revenue, and appropriate it specifically. That province was struggling to make the in-

1709. April.

crease of the power of the assembly an open or tacit condition of every grant. The provincial revenue, as established by law, would not expire till 1709; but the war demanded extraordinary supplies; and, in 1704, the moneys voted by the assembly were to be disbursed by its own officers. The royal council, instructed from England, would have no money expended but by the warrant of the governor and council; but the delegates resolved that "it is inconvenient to allow the council to amend money bills;" and council, governor, and board of trade yielded to the fixed will of the representatives of the people. In 1705, the assembly were allowed by the queen "to name their own treasurer, when they raised extraordinary supplies;" and by degrees all legislative grants came to be regarded as such,

1708 to 1710. and to be placed in the keeping of the treasurer of the assembly, beyond the control of the governor. In 1708, the delegates, after claiming for the people the choice of coroners, made a solemn declaration that "the levying of money upon her majesty's subjects in this colony, under any pretence whatsoever, without consent in general assembly, is a grievance;" and, in 1709, as the condition of joining in an effort against Canada, the legislature assumed executive functions. In the same year, by withholding grants, they prepared to compel their future governors to an annual capitulation.

1710. In 1710, Cornbury's successor, Robert Hunter, the friend of Swift, the ablest in the series of the royal governors of New York, a man of good temper and discernment, whom the whig ministry enjoined to suppress the "illegal trade still carried on with the Dutch islands," and with the enemy under "flags of truce," found himself in his province powerless and without a salary. He writes of his government to a friend: "Here is the finest air to live upon in the universe: the soil bears all things, but not for me; for, according to the custom of the country, the sachems are the poorest of the people." "Sancho Panza was indeed but a type of me." In less than five months after his

Sept. 1. arrival, he was disputing with an assembly. As they would neither grant appropriations for more

than a year, nor give up the supervision of their own treasurer over payments from the public revenue, they were prorogued and dissolved.

Perceiving that their conduct was grounded on permanent motives, he made his report accordingly; and his letters reached England when Saint-John, a young man of thirty, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, had become secretary of state. In March, 1711, a bill was drawn under the superintendence of the board of trade, reciting the neglect of the general assembly of New York to continue the taxes which had been granted in all the previous sixteen years, and imposing them by act of parliament. Sir Edward Northey and Sir Robert Raymond, the attorney and solicitor generals, both approved the bill; but it was intended as a measure of intimidation, and not to be passed. Meantime, Hunter wrote to Saint-John "that the colonies were then infants at their mother's breasts, but such as would wean themselves when they came of age."

The desire to conquer Canada prevailed, in the summer of 1711, to obtain for that purpose a specific grant of bills of credit for ten thousand pounds. But when fresh instructions, with a copy of the bill for taxing New York by parliament, were laid before the assembly, no concession was made. The council, claiming the right to make amendments to the money bills, asserted that the house, like itself, existed only "by the mere grace of the crown;" but the assembly, defying the opinion of the lords of trade, as concluding nothing, rose to the doctrine required by the emergency. The share of the council in legislation, they agree, comes "from the mere pleasure of the prince;" but for themselves they claim an "inherent right" to legislation, springing "not from any commission or grant from the crown, but from the free choice and election of the people, who ought not, nor justly can, be divested of their property without their consent."

At the time of this controversy, Saint-John, better known as Lord Bolingbroke, was secretary for the colonies. Making to him a report of these proceedings, Hunter wrote: "Now the mask is thrown off. The delegates have called

in question the council's share in the legislature, trumped up an inherent right, declared the powers granted by her majesty's letters patent to be against law, and have but one short step to make towards what I am unwilling to name. The assemblies, claiming all the privileges of a house of commons, and stretching them even beyond what they were ever imagined to be there, should the councillors by the same rule lay claim to the rights of a house of peers, here is a body co-ordinate with, and consequently independent of, the great council of the realm; yet this is the plan of government they all aim at, and make no scruple to own." "Unless some speedy and effectual remedy be applied, the disease will become desperate." "If the assembly of New York," reported the lords of trade, in 1712, "is suffered to proceed after this manner, it may prove of very dangerous consequence to that province, and of very ill example to the other governments in America, who are already but too much inclined to assume pretended rights, tending to independency on the crown." And Hunter, as he saw the province add to its population at least one third in the reign of Anne, mused within himself on "what the consequences were likely to be, when, upon such an increase, not only the support of" the royal "government, but the inclination of the people to support it at all, decreases." Again the board of trade instructed him as to what the legislature should do, and the legislature remained inflexible. The menacing mandates of the reign of Queen Anne had but increased the ill humor of New York.

CHAPTER XXX.

NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

New York would willingly have extended her boundary over a part of Connecticut; but the people of the colony themselves vindicated its liberties and the integrity of its territory. Governor Treat having, in May, 1689, resumed his office, the assembly, which soon convened, obeying the declared opinion of the freemen, organized the government according to their charter. 1689. May 9.

On the joyful news of the accession of William and Mary, every fear vanished, every countenance brightened with joy. "Great was that day," said the loyal address of Connecticut to King William, "when the Lord, who sitteth upon the floods, did divide his and your adversaries like the waters of Jordan, and did begin to magnify you like Joshua, by the deliverance of the English dominions from popery and slavery. Because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore hath he made you king, to do justice and judgment." And, describing their acquiescence in the rule of Andros as "an involuntary submission to an arbitrary power," they announced that, by the consent of the major part of the freemen, they had themselves resumed the government. May 26. June 13.

In obtaining the approval of the king, Whiting, the agent of Connecticut, was aided by all the influence which the religious sympathy of the Presbyterians could enlist for New England. The English corporations had been restored; and Edward Ward gave his opinion that a surrender, of which no legal record existed, did not invalidate a patent. Somers assented. "There is no ground of doubt," reiterated Sir George Treby. And the sanctity attached to the democratic charter and government of Connecticut is an honorable proof of the respect which was 1690.

cherished by the Revolution of 1688 for every existing franchise. So the rule of the people was restored; they elected their own governor, council, assembly men, and all their magistrates, and all annually. Connecticut rested on free labor, and upheld equality: the people were the sources of all power.

The English crown would willingly have resumed, at least, the command of the militia, which, after having been, at one time, assigned to the governor of Massachusetts, by whom it was never challenged, was claimed as a part
1692. of the royal prerogative, and in 1692 conferred on the governor of New York. The legislature resisted, and referred the question to the consideration of its constituents, a community chiefly of freeholders, the unmixed progeny of English Puritans. Their opinion favored
1693. Sept. a petition to the king, by the hands of Fitz-John Winthrop. To give the command of the militia, it was said, to the governor of another colony, is, in effect, to put our persons, interests, and liberties entirely into his power: by our charter, the governor and company themselves have a commission of command.

Oct. 26. Meantime, Fletcher, refusing to await the decision from England, repaired to Hartford with a small retinue, to assume the authority over the militia, conferred on him by his instructions. He found the general court in session, went up to them, caused his commission to be read, gave the governor a memorial requiring obedience to the king's command, and so left them to debate. At the end of two days, they sent him a paper, insisting on their charter, and refusing obedience. After a conference with some of them, he quickly discovered that they were resolved and positive. To the secretary of state he reported that he had gone so far as he could without resorting to force, saying further: "I never saw magistracy so prostituted as here; the laws of England have no force in this colony; they set up for a free state." Six months later, the
1694. Apr. 19. king, in council, decided, on the advice of Ward and Treves, that the ordinary power of the militia in Connecticut and in Rhode Island belonged to their respec-

tive governments; and Winthrop, returning from his agency to a joyful welcome, was soon elected governor of the colony.

The decisions which established the rights of Connecticut included those of Rhode Island. The assaults of the royalists were always made upon the more powerful colony, in the assurance that the fate of both would be included in its overthrow. These two commonwealths were the portion of the British empire distinguished above all others by the largest liberty. Each presented the anomaly of a nearly absolute democracy under the shelter of a monarchy. But the results in the two were not strictly parallel. Rhode Island had asserted entire freedom of mind; it had therefore, apparently, less unity in its population and less cohesion. In consequence, it was inferior in all that required joint action, but had a greater regard for personal liberty and independence. No bitter conflict with the crown had excited any deep hostilities; and the colony yielded for a season to quiet influence what it might have refused to force or entreaty. It interpolated into the statute-book the exclusion of papists from the established equality. As all freemen had a joint interest in the large commons of land in the several townships, the right of admitting freemen, who would thus become sharers in the reserved lands, was transferred to the towns.

In Connecticut, no other influence gave a bias, except that of the Puritan clergy, who were there, and there only, consociated by the legislature; and it was first the custom, and afterwards the order, that "the ministers of the gospel should preach a sermon on the day appointed by law for the choice of civil rulers, proper for the direction of the towns in the work before them."

But danger was not passed. The crown, reserving to itself the right of appeal, had still a method of interfering in the internal concerns of the little republics. Besides, their charters were never safe; absolute sovereignty being claimed in England, their freedom rested on forbearance. Both were included among the colonies in which the lords of trade advised a complete restoration of the prerogatives

of the crown. Both were named in the bill which,
1701. Apr. 21. in 1701, was introduced into parliament for the abrogation of all American charters. The journals of the
May 8. house of lords relate that Connecticut was publicly heard against the measure, contending that its liberties were held by contract, in return for services that had been performed; that the taking away of so many charters would destroy all confidence in royal promises, and would afford a precedent dangerous to all the chartered corporations of England. Yet the bill was read a second time, and its principle, as applied to colonies, was advocated by the mercantile interest and by "great men" in England. The impending war with the French postponed the purpose till the accession of the house of Hanover.

But the object was not left out of mind. Lord
1703. June. Cornbury, who had in vain solicited money of Connecticut, wrote home that "this vast continent would never be useful to England, till all the proprietary and charter governments were brought under the crown." An officer of the English government sought to rouse mercantile avarice against the people of Connecticut by reporting that, "if the government be continued longer in these men's hands, the honest trade of these parts will be ruined." And Dudley, a native New England man, after he became governor of Massachusetts, took the lead in the conspiracy against the liberties of New England, preparing a volume of complaints, and urging the appointment of a gov-
1705. ernor over Connecticut by the royal prerogative. The lords of trade were too just to condemn the colony unheard, and it succeeded in its vindication; only an obsolete law against Quakers, which had never been enforced, after furnishing an excuse for outcries against Puritan intolerance, was declared null and void by the queen in council.

The insurrection in Boston, which had overthrown the dominion of Andros, had sprung spontaneously from the people. Among the magistrates, and especially among the ministers, some distrusted every popular movement, and sought to control a revolution of which they feared

the tendency. The insurgents insisted on the restoration of the charter; but Cotton Mather, claiming only English liberties, and not charter liberties, and selfishly jealous of popular power, was eager to thwart the design; and, against the opinion of the venerable Bradstreet, the charter magistrates, joining to themselves "the principal inhabitants" of Boston, became a self-constituted "council for the safety of the people." Thus was the popular will defeated. The colony had demanded its ancient liberties; the men on whom it was compelled to rely, assuming to be its guardians, "humbly" waited "for direction of the crown of England," and lost the only opportunity to vindicate its sequestered freedom. "Had they, at that time," — it is the confession of Increase Mather, — "entered upon the full exercise of their charter government, as their undoubted right, wise men in England were of opinion they might have gone on without disturbance." 1689. Apr. 20.

When the convention of the people assembled, they, too, were jealous of their ancient privileges. Instead of recognising the self-constituted council, they excluded the new associates, and declared the governor, deputy governor, and assistants, chosen and sworn in 1686, according to charter rights, and the deputies sent by the freemen of the towns, to be the government now settled in the colony. The council resisted; and the question was referred to the people. Nearly four fifths of the towns instructed their representatives to reassume; but the pertinacity of a majority of the council permitted only a compromise. In June, the representatives, upon a new choice, assembled in Boston. Again they refused to act, till the old charter officers should assume their power as of right. The council accepted the condition, but still as subject to directions from England. Indeed, the time had gone by. Already an address to King William had contained the assurance that "they had not entered upon the full exercise of the charter government," and was soon answered by the royal assent to the temporary organization which the council had adopted. But the popular party, jealous of the dispositions of Increase

May 9. May 22. June 5.

Mather, joined with him, in the agency for New England, Sir Henry Ashurst and two of their own adherents, the patriot Elisha Cooke, and the honest but less able Thomas Oakes.

A revolution in opinion was impending. The Reformation, to overthrow accumulated superstitions, went back of them all and sought the criterion of truth in the Bible; and a slavish interpretation of the Bible had led to a blind idolatry of the book. But true religion has no alliance with bondage; and, as the spirit of the Reformation, which was but a less perfect form of freedom of mind, was advancing, reason was summoned to interpret the records of the past, and to separate time-hallowed errors from truths of the deepest moment. The statute-book, in obedience to this adoration of the letter, had asserted the existence of witchcraft by establishing death as its penalty; sustaining both the superstition and its punishment by reference to the Jewish records.

New England, like Canaan, had been settled by fugitives. Like the Jews, they had fled to a wilderness; like
1688. the Jews, they looked to heaven for a light to lead them on; like the Jews, they had no supreme ruler but God; like the Jews, they had heathen for their foes; and they derived their legislation from the Jewish code. But, for the people of New England, the days of Moses and of Joshua were past; for them there was no longer a promised land, — they were in possession. Reason now insisted on bringing the adopted laws to the proof, that it might hold fast only the good. Skepticism began to appear; not the giant skepticism which, in Europe, was beginning to overthrow the accumulated abuses of centuries, but a cautious doubt, which should eliminate the errors adhering to the glorious faith by which New England had been created. The fear of sorcery and the evil power of the invisible world had sprung alike from the letter of the Mosaic law and from the wonder excited by the mysteries of nature. Man feels that he is a dependent being. The reverence for universal laws is implanted in his nature too deeply to be removed. The infinite is everywhere; and

everywhere man has acknowledged it, beholding in every power the result of an infinite attribute. The same truth superstition admits, yet disguises, when it fills the air with spectres; or startles ghosts among the tombs; or studies the stars to cast a horoscope; or gazes on the new moon with confiding credulity; or, yielding blindly to fear, beholds in the evil that is in the world the present malignity of Satan. The belief in witchcraft had fastened itself on the elements of faith, and become deeply branded into the common mind. Do not despise the credulity. The people did not rally to the error; they accepted the superstition only because it had not yet been disengaged from religion.

The same causes which had given energy to the religious principle had given weight to the ministers. In the settlement of New England, the temple, or, as it was called, the meeting-house, was the centre round which the people gathered. As the church had successfully assumed the exclusive possession of civil franchises, the ambition of the ministers had been both excited and gratified. They were not only the counsellors by an unwritten law; they were the authors of state papers, often employed on embassies, and, at home, speakers at elections and in town-meetings. "New England," says Cotton Mather, "being a country whose interests are remarkably inwrapped in ecclesiastical circumstances, ministers ought to concern themselves in politics." But their political mission was accomplished. Under their guidance, God's people had entered into possession of the promised land, and had planted commonwealths free from the presence of royalty, of feudalism, and of prelacy. The power of the ministers over the magistrates, having now no effect but to narrow and restrain, reposed no longer on the energy of religion, but on a superstitious veneration. It is the beauty of truth that nothing can rest upon it but justice. The ministers, desirous of unjust influence, could build their hope of it only on error; and the struggle for greater freedom of mind — the struggle against superstition, and against the slavish interpretation of the Bible — was one with the struggle against their dominion in the state.

In the last year of the administration of Andros, who,

as the servant of arbitrary power, had no motive to dispel superstition, the daughter of John Goodwin, a child of thirteen years, charged a laundress with having stolen linen from the family; Glover, the mother of the laundress, a friendless emigrant, almost ignorant of English, like a true woman with a mother's heart, rebuked the false accusation. Immediately the girl, to secure revenge, became bewitched. The infection spread. Three others of the family, the youngest a boy of less than five years old, soon succeeded in equally arresting public attention. They would affect to be deaf, then dumb, then blind, or all three at once; they would bark like dogs, or purr like so many cats; but they ate well and slept well. Cotton Mather went to prayer by the side of one of them, and, lo! the child lost her hearing till prayer was over. What was to be done? The four ministers of Boston, and the one of Charlestown, assembled in Goodwin's house, and spent a whole day of fasting in prayer. In consequence, the youngest child, the little one of four years old, was "delivered." But if the ministers could thus by prayer deliver a possessed child, then there must have been a witch; the honor of the ministers required a prosecution of the affair; and the magistrates, William Stoughton being one of the judges, and all holding commissions exclusively from the English king, and being irresponsible to the people of Massachusetts, with a "vigor" which the united ministers commended as "just," made "a discovery of the wicked instrument of the devil." The culprit was evidently a wild Irish woman, of a strange tongue. Goodwin, who made the complaint, "had no proof that could have done her any hurt;" but "the scandalous old hag," whom some thought "crazed in her intellectuals," was bewildered, and made strange answers, which were taken as confessions; sometimes, in excitement, using her native dialect. One Hughes testified that, six years before, she had heard one Howen say she had seen Glover come down her chimney. It was plain the prisoner was a Roman Catholic; she had never learned the Lord's prayer in English; she could repeat the paternoster fluently enough, but not quite correctly: so the ministers and Goodwin's family had the satisfaction of get-

ting her condemned as a witch, and executed. "Here," it was proclaimed, "was food for faith." So desperately wicked is the heart of man: the girl, who knew herself to be a deceiver, had no remorse; and to the ministers, in their self-righteousness, it never occurred that vanity and love of power had blinded their judgment.

There were skeptics in Boston. The age, thought the ministers, "was a debauched one," given up "to Sadducism;" and, as the possessed damsel obtained no relief, Cotton Mather, eager to learn the marvels of the world of spirits, and "wishing to confute the Sadducism" of his times, invited her to his house; and the artful girl easily imposed upon his credulity. The devil would permit her to read in Quaker books, or the Common Prayer, or popish books; but a prayer from Cotton Mather, or a chapter from the Bible, would throw her into convulsions. By a series of experiments, in reading aloud passages from the Bible, in various languages, the minister satisfied himself, "by trials of their capacity," that devils are well skilled in languages, and understand Latin and Greek and even Hebrew; though he fell "upon one inferior Indian language which the dæmons did not seem so well to understand." Experiments were made, with unequal success, to see if devils can know the thoughts of others; and the inference was that "all devils are not alike sagacious." The vanity of Cotton Mather was further gratified; for the bewitched girl would say that the demons could not enter his study, and that his own person was shielded by God against blows from the evil spirits.

The revolution in New England seemed to open, once more, a career to the ambition of ministers. Yet great obstacles existed. The rapid progress of free inquiry was alarming. "There are multitudes of Sadducees in our day," sighed Cotton Mather. "A devil, in the apprehension of these mighty acute philosophers, is no more than a quality or a distemper." "We shall come," he adds, "to have no Christ but a light within, and no heaven but a frame of mind." "Men counted it wisdom to credit nothing but what they see and feel. They never saw any witches; 1689.

therefore, there are none." "How much," add the ministers of Boston and Charlestown, "how much this fond opinion has gotten ground is awfully observable." "Witchcraft," shouted Cotton Mather from the pulpit, "is the most nefandous high treason against the Majesty on high;" "a capital crime." "A witch is not to be endured in heaven or on earth." And, because men were skeptical on the subject, "God is pleased," said the ministers, "to suffer devils to do such things in the world as shall stop the mouths of gainsayers, and extort a confession." The Discourse of Cotton Mather was therefore printed, with a copious narrative of the recent case of witchcraft. The story was confirmed by Goodwin, and recommended by all the ministers of Boston and Charlestown as an answer to atheism, proving clearly that "there is both a God and a devil, and witchcraft;" and Cotton Mather, announcing himself as an eye-witness, resolved henceforward to regard "the denial of devils, or of witches," as a personal affront, the evidence "of ignorance, incivility, and dishonest impudence."

This book, thus prepared and recommended, was printed in 1689, and widely distributed. Unhappily, it gained fresh power from England, where it was "published by Richard Baxter," who declared the evidence strong enough to convince all but "a very obdurate Sadducee."

This tale went abroad at a moment when the enthusiasm of the country was engrossed by the hopes that sprung from the accession of King William. The conquest of New France was the burning passion of New England, in harmony with its hatred of legitimacy and the old forms of Christianity. To subdue the French dominions, this was the joint object which was to foster a common feeling between England and the American colonies. This passion advanced even to action, but, at that time, was only fruitful of disasters.

Meanwhile, the agents of Massachusetts, appealing to the [illegible] towards France, solicited a restoration of [illegible]. King William was a friend to Calvin- [illegible] on the first interview with Increase Mather, [illegible] the recall of Sir Edmund Andros. The [illegible]liament voted that the taking away of the

New England charters was a grievance; and the English Presbyterians, with singular affection, declared that "the king could not possibly do any thing more grateful to his dissenting subjects in England than by restoring to New England its former privileges." The dissolution of the convention parliament, followed by one in which an influence friendly to the tories was perceptible, destroyed the hope of relief from the English legislature: to attempt a reversal of the judgment by a writ of error was hopeless. There was no avenue to success but through the favor of a monarch who loved authority. The people of New England "are like the Jews under Cyrus," said Wiswall, the agent for Plymouth colony: with a new monarch "on the throne of their oppressors, they hope in vain to rebuild their city and their sanctuary."

Yet William III. professed friendship for Massachusetts. His subjects in New England, said Increase Mather, if they could but enjoy "their ancient rights and privileges," would make him "the emperor of America." In the family of Hampden, Massachusetts inherited a powerful intercessor. The Countess of Sunderland, whom the Princess, afterwards Queen, Anne describes as "a hypocrite," "running from church to church after the famousest preachers, and keeping a clatter with her devotions," is remembered in America as a benefactress. The aged Lord Wharton, last surviving member of the Westminster assembly of divines, "a constant and cordial lover of all good men," never grew weary in his zeal. I take pleasure in recording that the tolerant archbishop of Canterbury, the rational Tillotson, charged the king "not to take away from the people of New England any of the privileges which Charles I. had granted them." "The charter," said the feebler Burnet, "was not an act of grace, but a contract between the king and the first patentees, who promised to enlarge the king's dominion at their own charges, provided they and their posterity might enjoy certain privileges." Yet Somers resisted its restoration, pleading its imperfections. The charter sketched by Sir George Treby was rejected by the privy council for its liberality; and that

1689. July 4.

which was finally conceded reserved such powers to the crown that Elisha Cooke, the popular envoy, declined to accept it. But Increase Mather, an earlier agent for the colony, announced it as conferring on the general court, "with the king's approbation, as much power in New England as the king and parliament have in England. The people," he added, "have all English liberties, can be touched by no law but of their own making, nor can be taxed by any authority but themselves."

The freemen of Massachusetts, under the old charter, had elected their governor annually; that officer, the lieutenant-governor, and the secretary were henceforward appointed by the king during the royal pleasure. The governor had been but first among the magistrates; he was now the representative of English royalty, and could convene, adjourn, or dissolve the general court. The freemen had, by popular vote, annually elected their magistrates or judicial officers; the judges were now appointed, with consent of council, by the royal governor. The decisions in the courts of New England had been final; appeals to the privy council were now admitted. The freemen had exercised the full power of legislation within themselves by their deputies; the warrior king reserved a double veto, — an immediate negative to the governor of the colony, while, at any time within three years, the king might cancel any act of colonial legislation. In one respect, the new charter was an advancement. Every form of Christianity, except, unhappily, the Roman Catholic, was enfranchised; and, in civil affairs, the freedom of the colony, no longer restricted to the members of the church, was extended so widely as to be, in a practical sense, nearly universal. The legislature continued to encourage by law the religion professed by the majority of the inhabitants, but it no longer decided controversies on opinions; and no synod was ever again convened. The charter government of Massachusetts, as established by the revolutionary monarch of England, differed from that of the royal provinces in nothing but the council. In the royal colonies, that body was appointed by the king; in Massachusetts, it was, in the first instance, appointed by

the king, and, subject to a negative from the governor, was ever after elected, in joint ballot, by the members of the council and the representatives of the people. As the councillors were twenty-eight in number, they generally, by their own vote, succeeded in effecting their own re-election; and, instead of being, as elsewhere, a greedy oligarchy, were famed for their unoffending respectability.

The territory of Massachusetts was by the charter vastly enlarged. On the south, it embraced Plymouth colony and the Elizabeth Islands; on the east, Maine and all beyond it to the Atlantic; on the north, it was described as swept by the St. Lawrence, — the fatal gift of a wilderness, for the conquest and defence of which Massachusetts expended more treasure, and lost more of her sons, than all the English continental colonies beside.

From the Elizabeth Islands to the St. Lawrence, and eastward to the Atlantic, Massachusetts now included the whole region, except New Hampshire. That colony became henceforward a royal province. Its inhabitants had assembled in convention to institute government for themselves; at their second session, they resolved to unite, and did actually unite, with Massachusetts; and both colonies desired that the union might be permanent. But England, if it annexed to Massachusetts the burden of the unconquered desert east and north of the Piscataqua, held itself bound by no previous compact to concede to New Hampshire any charter whatever. The right to the soil, which Samuel Allen, of London, had purchased of Mason, was recognised as valid; and Allen himself received the royal commission to govern a people whose territory, including the farms they had redeemed from the wilderness, he claimed as his own. His son-in-law Usher, of Boston, formerly an adherent of Andros, and a great speculator in lands, was appointed, under him, lieutenant-governor. The English Revolution of 1688 valued the uncertain claims of an English merchant more than the liberties of a province. Indeed, that revolution loved not liberty, but privilege, and respected popular liberty only where it had the sanction of a vested right.

1689. 1690.

1692. Aug. 13. In 1692, the new government for New Hampshire was organized by Usher. The civil history of that colony, for a quarter of a century, is a series of lawsuits about land. Complaints against Usher were met by counter complaints, till New Hampshire was placed, with 1699. Massachusetts, under the government of Bellomont; and a judiciary, composed of men attached to the colony, was instituted. Then, and for years afterwards, followed scenes of confusion: trials in the colonial courts, resulting always in verdicts against the pretended proprietary; appeals to the English monarch in council; papers withheld; records of the court under Cranfield destroyed; orders from the lords of trade and the crown disregarded by a succession of inflexible juries; a compromise proposed, and rendered of no avail by the death of one of the parties; an Indian deed manufactured to protect the cultivators of the soil; till, at last, the heirs of the proprietary 1715. abandoned their claim in despair. The yeomanry of New Hampshire gained quiet possession of the land which their labor had rendered valuable. The waste domain reverted to the crown. A proprietary, sustained by the crown, claimed the people of New Hampshire as his tenants; and they made themselves freeholders.

1691. For Massachusetts, the nomination of its first officers under the charter was committed to Increase Mather. As governor he proposed Sir William Phips, a native of New England, who honestly loved his country, of a dull intellect, headstrong, and with a reason so feeble that in politics he knew nothing of general principles, in religion was a victim to superstition. Accustomed, from boyhood, to the axe and the oar, he had gained distinction only by his wealth, the fruits of his enterprise with the diving-bell in raising treasures from a Spanish wreck. His partners in this enterprise gained him the honor of knighthood; his present favor was due to the honest bigotry and ignorance which left him open to the influence of the ministers. Intercession had been made by Cotton Mather for the advancement of William Stoughton, a man of cold affections, proud, self-willed, and covetous of distinction. He

had acted under James II. as deputy president; a fit tool for such a king, joining in all "the miscarriages of the late government." The people had rejected him, in their election of judges, giving him not a vote. Yielding to the request of his son, Increase Mather assigned to Stoughton the office of deputy governor. "The twenty-eight assistants, who are the governor's council, every man of them," wrote the agent, "is a friend to the interests of the churches." "The time for favor is come," exulted Cotton Mather; "yea, the set time is come. Instead of my being made a sacrifice to wicked rulers, my father-in-law, with several related to me, and several brethren of my own church, are among the council. The governor of the province is not my enemy, but one whom I baptized, and one of my own flock, and one of my dearest friends." And, uttering a midnight cry, he wrestled with God to awaken the churches to some remarkable thing. A religious excitement was resolved on. "I obtained of the Lord that he would use me," says the infatuated man, "to be a herald of his kingdom now approaching;" and, in the gloom of winter, among a people desponding at the loss of 1692.
their old liberties, their ill success against Quebec, the ravages of their north-eastern border by a cruel and well-directed enemy, the ruin of their commerce by French cruisers, the loss of credit by the debts with which the fruitless and costly war overwhelmed them, the wildest imaginations might prevail.

In modern times, the cry of witchcraft had been raised by the priesthood rarely, I think never, except when free inquiry was advancing. Many a commission was empowered to punish alike heresy and witchcraft. The bold inquirer was sometimes burnt as a wizard, and sometimes as an insurgent against the established faith. In France, where there were most heretics, there were most condemnations for witchcraft. Rebellion, it was said, is as the sin of witchcraft; and Cotton Mather, in his discourse, did but repeat the old tale: "Rebellion is the Achan, the trouble of us all."

In Salem village, now Danvers, there had been between

Samuel Parris, the minister, and a part of his people, a strife so bitter that it had even attracted the attention of the general court. The delusion of witchcraft would give opportunities of terrible vengeance. In the family of Samuel Parris, his daughter, a child of nine years, and his niece, a girl of less than twelve, began to have strange caprices. "He that will read Cotton Mather's Book of Memorable Providences may read part of what these children suffered;" and Tituba, a half Indian, half negro female servant, who had practised some wild incantations, being betrayed by her husband, was scourged by Parris, her master, into confessing herself a witch. The ministers of the neighborhood held at the afflicted house a day of fasting and prayer; and the little children became the most conspicuous personages in Salem. Of a sudden, the opportunity of fame, of which the love is not the exclusive infirmity of noble minds, was placed within the reach of persons of the coarsest mould; and the ambition of notoriety recruited the little company of the possessed. There existed no motive to hang Tituba: she was saved as a living witness to the reality of witchcraft; and Sarah Good, a poor woman of a melancholic temperament, was the first person selected for accusation. Cotton Mather, who had placed witches "among the poor and vile and ragged beggars upon earth," and had staked his own reputation for veracity on the reality of witchcraft, prayed "for a good issue." As the affair proceeded, and the accounts of the witnesses appeared as if taken from his own writings, his boundless vanity gloried in "the assault of the evil angels upon the country, as a particular defiance unto himself." Yet the delusion, but for Parris, would have languished. Of his own niece, the girl of eleven years of age, he demanded the names of the devil's instruments who bewitched the band of "the afflicted," and then became at once informer and witness. In those days, there was no prosecuting officer; and Parris was at hand to question his Indian servants and others, himself prompting their answers and acting as recorder to the magistrates. The recollection of the old controversy in the parish could not be forgotten;

1692. Feb.

Mar. 11.

and Parris, moved by personal malice as well as by blind zeal, "stifled the accusations of some," — such is the testimony of the people of his own village, — and, at the same time "vigilantly promoting the accusation of others," was "the beginner and procurer of the sore afflictions to Salem village and the country." Martha Cory, who on her examination in the meeting-house before a throng, with a firm spirit, alone, against them all, denied the presence of witchcraft, was committed to prison. Rebecca Nurse, likewise, a woman of purest life, an object of the special hatred of Parris, resisted the company of accusers, and was committed. And Parris, filling his prayers with the theme, made the pulpit ring with it. "Have not I chosen you twelve," — such was his text, — "and one of you is a devil?" At this, Sarah Cloyce, sister to Rebecca Nurse, rose up and left the meeting-house; and she, too, was cried out upon, and sent to prison.

1692. Mar. 21. Mar. 24. April 3.

The subject grew interesting; and, to examine Sarah Cloyce and Elizabeth Procter, the deputy governor and five other magistrates went to Salem. It was a great day; several ministers were present. Parris officiated; and, by his own record, it is plain that he himself elicited every accusation. His first witness, John, the Indian servant, husband to Tituba, was rebuked by Sarah Cloyce, as a grievous liar. Abigail Williams, the niece to Parris, was also at hand with her tales: the prisoner had been at the witches' sacrament. Struck with horror, Sarah Cloyce asked for water, and sank down "in a dying fainting fit." "Her spirit," shouted the band of the afflicted, "is gone to prison to her sister Nurse." Against Elizabeth Procter, the niece of Parris told stories yet more foolish than false: the prisoner had invited her to sign the devil's book. "Dear child," exclaimed the accused in her agony, "it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child;" and her accusers, turning towards her husband, declared that he, too, was a wizard. All three were committed. Examinations and commitments multiplied. Giles Cory, a stubborn old man of more than four-

Apr. 11. Apr. 18. Apr. 14.

score years, could not escape the malice of his minister and his angry neighbors, with whom he had quarrelled. Edward Bishop, a farmer, cured the Indian servant of a fit by flogging him; he declared, moreover, his belief that he could, in like manner, cure the whole company of the
1692. Apr. 22. afflicted, and, for his skepticism, found himself and his wife in prison. Mary Easty, of Topsfield, another sister to Rebecca Nurse, — a woman of singular gentleness and force of character, deeply religious, yet uninfected by superstition, — was torn from her children and sent
Apr. 22. to jail. Parris had had a rival in George Burroughs, a graduate of Harvard College, who, having formerly preached in Salem village, had had friends there
May 8. desirous of his settlement. He, too, a skeptic in witchcraft, was accused and committed. Thus far, there had been no success in obtaining confessions, though earnestly solicited. It had been hinted, also, that
May 11. confessing was the avenue to safety. At last, Deliverance Hobbs owned every thing that was asked of her, and was left unharmed. The gallows was to be set up not for those who professed themselves witches, but for those who rebuked the delusion.

Simon Bradstreet, the governor of the people's choice, deemed the evidence insufficient ground of guilt.
May 14 On Saturday, the 14th of May, the new charter and the royal governor arrived in Boston. On the next
May 16. Monday, the charter was published; and the parishioner of Cotton Mather, with the royal council, was installed in office. The triumph of Cotton Mather was perfect. Immediately a court of oyer and terminer was instituted by ordinance, and the positive, overbearing Stoughton appointed by the governor and council its chief judge, with Sewall and Wait Winthrop, two feebler men, as his associates: by the second of June the court was in session at Salem, making its first experiment on Bridget Bishop, a poor and friendless old woman. The fact of the witchcraft was assumed as "notorious:" to fix it on the prisoner, Samuel Parris, who had examined her before her commitment, was the principal witness to her power of inflicting

torture; he had seen it exercised. Deliverance Hobbs had been whipped with iron rods by her spectre; neighbors, who had quarrelled with her, were willing to lay their little ills to her charge; the poor creature had a preternatural excrescence in her flesh; "she gave a look towards the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem," — it is Cotton Mather who records this, — "and immediately a dæmon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it." She was a witch by the rules and precedents of Keeble and Sir Matthew Hale, of Perkins and Bernard, of Baxter and Cotton Mather; and, on the 10th of June, protesting her innocence, she was hanged. Of the magistrates at that time, not one held office by the suffrage of the people: the tribunal, essentially despotic in its origin, as in its character, had no sanction but an extraordinary and an illegal commission; and Stoughton, the chief judge, a partisan of Andros, had been rejected by the people of Massachusetts. The responsibility of the tragedy, far from attaching to the people of the colony, rests with the very few, hardly five or six, in whose hands the transition state of the government left, for a season, unlimited influence. Into the interior of the colony the delusion did not spread.

The house of representatives, which assembled in June, was busy with its griefs at the abridgment of the old colonial liberties. Increase Mather, the agent, was heard in his own defence; and, at last, Bond, the speaker, in the name of the house, tardily and languidly thanked him for his faithful and unwearied exertions. No recompense was voted. "I seek not yours, but you," said Increase Mather; "I am willing to wait for recompense in another world;" and the general court, after prolonging the validity of the old laws, adjourned to October.

1692. June 8 to July 2. June 9. June 24. July 2.

But Phips and his council had not looked to the general court for directions; they turned to the ministers of Boston and Charlestown; and from them, by the hand of Cotton Mather, they received gratitude for their sedulous endeavors to defeat the abominable witchcrafts; prayer that the discovery might be perfected; a caution against haste

and spectral evidence; a hint to affront the devil, and give him the lie, by condemning none on his testimony alone; while the direful advice was added: "We recommend the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have ren-
1692. June 30. dered themselves obnoxious." The obedient court, at its next session, condemned five women, all of blameless lives, all declaring their innocence. Four were convicted easily enough; Rebecca Nurse was, at first, acquitted. "The honored court was pleased to object against the verdict;" and, as she had said of the confessing witnesses, "They used to come among us," meaning that they had been prisoners together, Stoughton interpreted the words as of a witch festival. The jury withdrew, and could as yet not agree; but, as the prisoner, who was hard of hearing and full of grief, made no explanation, they no longer refused to find her guilty. Hardly was
July 4. the verdict rendered, before the foreman made a statement of the ground of her condemnation, and she sent her declaration to the court in reply. The governor, who himself was not unmerciful, saw reason to grant a reprieve; but Parris had preached against Rebecca Nurse, and prayed against her; had induced "the afflicted" to witness against her; had caused her sisters to be imprisoned for their honorable sympathy. She must perish, or the delusion was unveiled; and the governor recalled the reprieve. On the next communion day, she was taken in chains to the meeting-house, to be formally excommunicated by
July 19. Noyes, her minister; and was hanged with the rest.

"You are a witch; you know you are," said Noyes to Sarah Good, urging a confession. "You are a liar," replied the poor woman; "and, if you take my life, God will give you blood to drink."

Confessions rose in importance. "Some, not afflicted before confession, were so presently after it." The jails were filled; for fresh accusations were needed to confirm the confessions. "Some, by these their accusations of others,"—I quote the cautious apologist Hale,—"hoped to gain time, and get favor from the rulers." "Some of the inferior sort of people did ill offices, by promising favor

thereby, more than they had ground to engage. Some, under these temptations, regarded not as they should what became of others, so that they could thereby serve their own turns. Some have since acknowledged so much." If the confessions were contradictory; if witnesses uttered apparent falsehoods, "the devil," the judges would say, "takes away their memory, and imposes on their brain." And who now would dare to be skeptical? who would disbelieve confessors? Besides, there were other evidences. A callous spot was the mark of the devil: did age or amazement refuse to shed tears; were threats after a quarrel followed by the death of cattle or other harm; did an error occur in repeating the Lord's prayer; were deeds of great physical strength performed,—these all were signs of witchcraft. In some instances, phenomena of somnambulism would appear to have been exhibited; and "the afflicted, out of their fits, knew nothing of what they did or said in them."

Again, on a new session, six were arraigned, and all were convicted. John Willard had, as an officer, been employed to arrest the suspected witches. Perceiving the hypocrisy, he declined the service. The afflicted immediately denounced him, and he was seized, convicted, and hanged. 1692. Aug. 3.

At the trial of George Burroughs, the bewitched persons pretended to be dumb. "Who hinders these witnesses," said Stoughton, "from giving their testimonies?" "I suppose the devil," answered Burroughs. "How comes the devil," retorted the chief judge, "so loath to have any testimony borne against you?" and the question was effective. Besides, he had given proofs of great, if not preternatural, muscular strength. Cotton Mather calls the evidence "enough:" the jury gave a verdict of guilty.

John Procter, who foresaw his doom, and knew from whom the danger came, sent an earnest petition, not to the governor and council, but to Cotton Mather and the ministers. Among the witnesses against him were some who had made no confessions till after torture. "They have already undone us in our estates, and that will not July 23.

serve their turns without our innocent blood;" and he begged for a trial in Boston, or, at least, for a change of magistrates. His entreaties were vain, as also his prayers, after condemnation, for a respite.

Among the witnesses against Martha Carrier, the mother saw her own children. Her two sons refused to perjure themselves till they had been tied neck and heels so long that the blood was ready to gush from them. The confession of her daughter, a child of seven years old, is still preserved.

The aged Jacobs was condemned, in part, by the evidence of Margaret Jacobs, his grand-daughter. "Through the magistrates' threatenings and my own vile heart," thus she wrote to her father, "I have confessed things contrary to my conscience and knowledge. But, oh! the terrors of a wounded conscience who can bear?" And she confessed the whole truth before the magistrates. The magistrates refused their belief, and, confining her for trial, proceeded to hang her grandfather.

1692. Aug. 19. These five were condemned on the third, and hanged on the nineteenth of August; pregnancy reprieved Elizabeth Procter. To hang a minister as a witch was a novelty; but Burroughs denied absolutely that there was, or could be, such a thing as witchcraft, in the current sense. This opinion wounded the self-love of the judges, for it made them the accusers and judicial murderers of the innocent. On the ladder, Burroughs cleared his innocence by an earnest speech, repeating the Lord's prayer composedly and exactly, and with a fervency that astonished. Tears flowed to the eyes of many; it seemed as if the spectators would rise up to hinder the execution. Cotton Mather, on horseback among the crowd, addressed the people, cavilling at the ordination of Burroughs, as though he had been no true minister; insisting on his guilt, and hinting that the devil could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light; and the hanging proceeded.

Meantime, the confessions of the witches began to be directed against the Anabaptists. Mary Osgood was dipped by the devil. The court still had work to do. On the

ninth, six women were condemned; and more convictions followed. Giles Cory, the octogenarian, seeing that all who denied guilt were convicted, refused to plead, and was condemned to be pressed to death. The horrid sentence, a barbarous usage of English law, never again followed in the colonies, was executed forthwith.

On the twenty-second of September, eight persons were led to the gallows. Of these, Samuel Wardwell had confessed, and was safe; but, from shame and penitence, he retracted his confession, and, speaking the truth boldly, he was hanged, not for witchcraft, but for denying witchcraft. Martha Cory was, before execution, visited in prison by Parris, the two deacons, and another member of his church. The church record tells that, self-sustained, she "imperiously" rebuked her destroyers, and "they pronounced the dreadful sentence of excommunication against her." In the calmness with which Mary Easty exposed the falsehood of those who had selected from her family so many victims, she joined the noblest fortitude with sweetness of temper, dignity, and resignation. But the chief judge was positive that all had been done rightly, and "was very impatient in hearing any thing that looked another way." "There hang eight firebrands of hell," said Noyes, the minister of Salem, pointing to the bodies swinging on the gallows.

Already twenty persons had been put to death for witchcraft; fifty-five had been tortured or terrified into penitent confessions. With accusations, confessions increased; with confessions, new accusations. Even "the generation of the children of God" were in danger of "falling under that condemnation." The jails were full. One hundred and fifty prisoners awaited trial; two hundred more were accused or suspected. It was also observed that no one of the condemned confessing witchcraft had been hanged. No one that confessed, and retracted a confession, had escaped either hanging or imprisonment for trial. No one of the condemned who asserted innocence, even if one of the witnesses confessed perjury, or the foreman of the jury acknowledged the error of the verdict, escaped the gallows. Favoritism was shown in listening to accusations, which were turned

aside from friends or partisans. If a man began a career as a witch-hunter, and, becoming convinced of the imposture, declined the service, he was accused and hanged. Persons accused, who had escaped from the jurisdiction in Massachusetts, were not demanded, as would have been done in case of acknowledged crime; so that the magistrates acted as if witch-law did not extend beyond their jurisdiction. Witnesses convicted of perjury were cautioned, and permitted still to swear away the lives of others. It was certain that people had been tempted to become accusers by promise of favor. Yet the zeal of Stoughton was unabated, and the arbitrary court adjourned to the first Tuesday in November. "Between this and then," wrote Brattle, "will be the great assembly, and this matter will be a peculiar subject of agitation. Our hopes," he adds, "are here." The representatives of the people must stay the evil, or "New England is undone and undone."

Far different was the reasoning of Cotton Mather. He was met "continually with all sorts of objections and objectors against the work doing at Salem." The obstinate Sadducees, "the witch advocates," who esteemed the executions to be judicial murders, gained such influence as to embarrass the governor. But Cotton Mather, still eager "to lift up a standard against the infernal enemy," undertook the defence of his friends; and he sent to Salem for an account strong enough "to knock down" "one that believed nothing reasonable," promising "to box it about among his neighbors till it come he knows not where at last." Before the opening of the adjourned session of the general court, the indefatigable man had prepared his narrative of "the Wonders of the Invisible World," in the design of promoting "a pious thankfulness to God for justice being so far executed among us." For this book he received the approbation of the president of Harvard College, the praises of the governor, and the gratitude of Stoughton.

1692. Sept. 20.

Oct. 12.

On the second Wednesday in October, 1692, about a fortnight after the last hanging of eight at Salem, the representatives of the colony assembled; and the people

of Andover, their minister joining with them, appeared with their remonstrance against the doings of the witch tribunals. "We know not," say they, "who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children, and others under a diabolical influence, shall be received against persons of good fame." Of the discussions that ensued no record is preserved; we know only the issue. The general court did not place itself in direct opposition to the advocates of the trials: it ordered by bill a convocation of ministers, that the people might be led in the right way as to the witchcraft. The reason for doing it and the manner were such that the judges of the court, so wrote one of them, "consider themselves thereby dismissed." As to legislation, it adopted what King William rejected, — the English law, word for word, as it was enacted by a house of commons in which Coke and Bacon were the guiding minds; but they abrogated the special court, and established a tribunal by statute. Phips had, instantly on his arrival, employed his illegal court in hanging; the representatives of the people delayed the first assembling of the legal colonial court till January of the following year. Thus an interval of more than three months from the last executions gave the public mind security and freedom; and though Phips still conferred the place of chief judge on Stoughton, yet jurors, representing the public mind, acted independently. When the court met at Salem, six women of Andover, at once renouncing their confessions, treated the witchcraft but as something so called, the bewildered but as "seemingly afflicted." A memorial of like tenor came from the inhabitants of Andover.

1692. Oct. 18.

1693. Jan.

Of the presentments, the grand jury dismissed more than half; and, if it found bills against twenty-six, the trials did but show the feebleness of the testimony on which others had been condemned. The minds of the juries became enlightened before those of the judges. The same testimony was produced, and there, at Salem, with Stoughton on the bench, verdicts of acquittal followed: "Error died among its worshippers." Three had, for special reasons, been con-

victed: one was a wife, whose testimony had sent her husband to the gallows, and whose confession was now used against herself. All were reprieved, and soon set free.

1693. Feb. Reluctant to yield, the party of superstition were resolved on one conviction. The victim selected was Sarah Daston, a woman of eighty years old, who for twenty years had enjoyed the undisputed reputation of a witch: if ever there were a witch in the world, she, it was said, was one. In the presence of a throng, the trial went forward at Charlestown: there was more evidence against her than against any at Salem; but the common mind was disinthralled, and asserted itself, through the jury, by a verdict of acquittal.

Sept. To cover his confusion, Cotton Mather got up a case of witchcraft in his own parish. Miracles, he avers, were wrought in Boston. Believe his statements, and you must believe that his prayers healed diseases. But he was not bloodthirsty; he wished his vanity protected, not his parishioners hanged; and his bewitched neophyte, profiting by his cautions, was afflicted by veiled spectres. The imposture was promptly exposed to ridicule by "a malignant, calumnious, and reproachful man," "a coal from hell," the unlettered but rational and intelligent Robert Calef. Was Cotton Mather honestly credulous? Ever ready to dupe himself, he limited his credulity only by the probable credulity of others. He changes, or omits to repeat, his statements, without acknowledging error, and with a clear intention of conveying false impressions. He is an example how far selfishness, under the form of vanity and ambition, can blind the higher faculties, stupefy the judgment, and dupe consciousness itself. His self-righteousness was complete, till he was resisted. As the recall of Phips, a consequence of his rashness and imbecility, left the government for some years in the hands of Stoughton, the press was restrained: when, at last, the narrative of Calef appeared, Cotton Mather endeavored to shield himself by calling his adversaries the adversaries of religion; and, though hardly seven or eight of the ministers, and no magistrate of popular appointment, had a share in the guilt,

he strove, but ineffectually, to hold up the book as "a libel upon the whole government and ministry of the land." Denying the jurisdiction of popular opinion, he claimed the subject as "too dark and deep for ordinary comprehension," and appealed for a decision to the day of judgment. But the sentence was not delayed. The inexorable indignation of the people of Salem village drove Parris from the place; Noyes regained favor only by a full confession, asking forgiveness always, and consecrating the remainder of his life to deeds of mercy. Sewall, one of the judges, by rising in his pew in the Old South meeting-house on a fast day, and reading to the whole congregation a paper in which he bewailed his great offence, recovered public esteem. Stoughton and Cotton Mather never repented. The former lived proud, unsatisfied, and unbeloved; the latter attempted to persuade others and himself that he had not been specially active in the tragedy. His diary proves that he did not wholly escape the rising impeachment from the monitor within; and Cotton Mather, who had sought the foundation of faith in tales of wonders, himself "had temptations to atheism, and to the abandonment of all religion as a mere delusion."

The common mind of New England was more wise. It never wavered in its faith; more ready to receive every tale from the invisible world than to gaze on the universe without acknowledging an Infinite Intelligence. But, employing a cautious spirit of search, eliminating error, rejecting superstition as tending to cowardice and submission, cherishing religion as the source of courage and the fountain of freedom, it refused henceforward to separate belief and reason. In the west of Massachusetts, and in Connecticut, to which the influence of Cotton Mather and its consequences did not extend, we must look for the unmixed development of the essential character of New England; there faith and "common sense" were reconciled. In the vicinity of Boston, the skepticism of free inquiry conducted some minds to healthy judgments; others asserted God to be the true being, the devil to be but a nonentity, and disobedience to God to be the only possible compact with Satan;

others, still clinging to the letter of the Bible, yet showed the insufficiency of all evidence for the conviction of a witch; others denied witchcraft, as beyond comprehension, involving a contradiction, and not sustained by the evidence of experience. The invisible world began to be less considered; men trusted more to observation and analysis; and this philosophy, derived from the senses, was analogous to their civil condition. The people could hope from England for no concession of larger liberties. Instead, therefore, of looking for the reign of absolute right, they were led to reverence the forms of their privileges as exempt from change. We hear no more of the theocracy where God was alone supreme lawgiver and king; no more of the expected triumph of freedom and justice anticipated "in the second coming of Christ:" liberty, in Massachusetts, was defended by asserting the sanctity of compact, and the inherent right to all English liberties.

On the organization of the new government, in 1692. 1692, its first body of representatives, with the consent of the council and the royal governor, enacted that "the rights and liberties of the people shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed," that "no aid, tax, tallage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever, shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levied on any of their majesties' subjects, or their estates, on any color or pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people assembled in general court." "All trials shall be by the verdict of twelve men, peers or equals, and of the neighborhood, and in the county or shire, where the fact shall arise."

Such were the declared opinions of the colony, though never confirmed by the king. The same legislature, in November, 1692, renewed the institution of towns, the glory and the strength of New England. The inhabited part of Massachusetts was recognised as divided into little territories, each of which, for its internal purposes, constituted a separate integral democracy, free from supervision; having power to elect annually its own officers; to hold meetings of all freemen at its own pleasure; to discuss in

those meetings any subject of public interest; to elect, and, if it pleased, to instruct its representatives; to raise, appropriate, and expend money for the support of the ministry, of schools, of the poor, and for defraying other necessary expenses within the town. Royalists afterwards deplored that the law, which confirmed these liberties, received the unconscious sanction of William III. Maine, which was a part of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, had similar regulations; so that all New England was an aggregate of municipal democracies.

The late agent, Elisha Cooke, a patriot never willing to submit to the acts of trade, never consenting to the least diminution of freedom, the frank, sincere, persistent friend of popular power, proposed, as the lawful mode of controlling the officers appointed by the king, to establish a fixed salary for no one of them, to perpetuate no public revenue. This advice was as old as the charter. The legislature, conforming to it, refused from the beginning to vote a permanent establishment, and left the king's governor dependent on their annual grants. Phips, the first royal governor in Massachusetts, was the first to complain that "no salary was allowed or was intended," and was the first to solicit the interference of the king for relief.

His successor, the Earl of Bellomont, found himself equally a pensioner, dependent solely on the benevolence of the assembly. The same policy was sure to be followed, when, on the death of Bellomont, the colony had the grief of receiving as its governor, under a commission that included New Hampshire, its own apostate son, Joseph Dudley, the great supporter of Andros, "the wolf," whom the patriots of Boston had "seized by the ears," whom the people had insisted on having "in the jail," and who, for twenty weeks, had been kept in prison, or, as he termed it, had been "buried alive." He obtained the place by the request of Cotton Mather, who at that time continued, though erroneously, to be regarded in England as the interpreter of the general wish of the ministers.

The character of Dudley was that of profound selfishness. He possessed prudence and the inferior virtues, and was as

good a governor as one could be who loved neither
1702. freedom nor his native land. On meeting his first assembly, he gave "instances of his remembering the old quarrel, and the people, on their parts, resolved never to forget it." "All his ingenuity could not stem the current of their prejudice against him." A stated salary was demanded for the governor. "As to settling a salary for the governor," replied the house, "it is altogether new to us; nor can we think it agreeable to our present constitution; but we shall be ready to do what may be proper for his support." "This country," wrote his son, "will never be worth living in, for lawyers and gentlemen, till the charter is taken away." In vain did Dudley endeavor to win from the legislature concessions to the royal prerogative; and he became the active opponent of the chartered liberties of New England, endeavoring to effect their overthrow and the establishment of a general government as in the days of Andros.

"Even many of the councillors are commonwealth's
1703. men," wrote Dudley, in 1702; and in September of the following year, when the royal requisition for an established salary had once more been fruitlessly made, he urged the ministry to change the provincial charter. The choice of the people for councillors he described to the board of trade as falling on "persons of less affection to the strict dependence of these governments on the crown; till the queen," said he, "appoints the council, nothing will go well." It was not an Englishman who proposed this abridgment of charter privileges, but a native of Massachusetts, son of one of its earliest magistrates, himself first introduced to public affairs by the favor of its people.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE RULE OF PARLIAMENT AND THE COLONIES.

During the long contests in England, popular liberty had thriven vigorously in its colonies, like the tree by the rivers of water, that grows in the night-time, while they who gave leave to plant it were sleeping. Their governments were the most free that the world had ever instituted. They had developed a system of equal representative government in perfect symmetry, and had enjoyed it with exact regularity. In the reign of each one of the Stuarts, England was left for many years without a parliament. From the time that Southampton and Sandys established the system of assemblies in Virginia, it was maintained there by an unbroken usage; and the distribution of the representation was relatively fair and just. So it was in Maryland, and so too in the Carolinas, in Pennsylvania, in Delaware, without interruption. In New England, the legislatures of all the chief colonies met twice a year until the time of James II. The spirit of liberty had been one and the same in English statesmen at home and in Englishmen in the colonies, with this momentous difference: England capitulated with the old institutions of monarchy, prelacy, and hereditary aristocracy, which it was alike unwilling and unable to efface; in the colonies, neither of the three was present. The popular element which had been baffled in the older country existed in America without a master or even a rival.

Great Britain, the brilliant star of representative government for Europe, stood against the Bourbons and the Roman Catholic world on the one side, and the American mind on the other. The outline of the still distant conflict was already defined. The parliament, which had made itself supreme by electing a monarch and a dynasty for the British dominions, and had confirmed immutably its right of

meeting every year as the fundamental law of the land, did but represent England's aristocracy; and it lay in the very nature of the Revolution of 1688 that the parliament would one day assert its sovereignty in the widest range. Yet for the present its power was, in general terms, unquestioned in England even by American agents, and was by itself interpreted to extend over all the colonies, with no limitation but its own pleasure. It held itself to be "absolute and unaccountable."

We may leave to local historians the detailed enumeration of the petty strifes which took place between the several colonies and royal officers and informers and subordinate bureaus of the government. For our purpose, we need only present, in outline, the influence on the colonies of the political principles of the revolution in state and in church, and explain the methods in which English statesmen felt their way through much evil to the system of colonial government, which, in its present state, is the fairest monument of the greatness of the English nation.

The revolution sanctioned for England the right of resistance to tyranny. In like manner, the colonies rose to assert their charters and their English liberties. The three royal governments — New York, New Hampshire, and Virginia — rivalled the proprietary ones. They all were encouraged to assert their privileges as possessing a sanctity which tyranny only could disregard, and which could perish only by destroying allegiance itself.

In England, the right to representation could never again be separated from the power of taxation, and this was the peaceful method of avoiding all conflict with the king, and holding him in tranquil dependence: the colonies in like manner sought the bulwark for their liberties and their peace in their exclusive right of taxing themselves.

The antagonism between a parliament which held itself supreme and legislatures which claimed to be co-ordinate lay in the nature of things. The settlement of the church in England wrought for England incalculable evil and infinite advantage for the colonies. The statute-book of England, in the last third of the seventeenth century, over and

gain declared the church of England a Protestant
but neither its convocation nor its Book of Common
accepted the name, and nothing was done to bring
harmony with the Lutheran and Reformed churches
continent. The men who carried the principles of
formation most fully to their logical conclusions, and
aid had been required to bring about the revolution,
ebarred from the service of the state. The centre of
for that great part of English culture which the
is had represented and which England could not
ras transferred to colonies, where the heartiest wel-
nd the brightest career awaited alike Independents
esbytrians.

still more grievous and more fatal intolerance of the
ns in Ireland turned the emigration of British Puri-
d Presbyterians away from that island, and directed
sively to America; and the Irish Protestants, after
persecution had trained them to faith in the right-
of resisting oppression, were driven by their sorrows
same place of refuge. They formed the most numer-
l best class of comers during the sixty years which
d the English revolution, weakening Protestantism
nd irreparably by their departure, and in their new
animating zeal for independence by the recollection
lerable wrongs. Between the Presbyterian emigrat-
ectly from Scotland and the Scotch-Irish, the different
ons to which they had been exposed produced varie-
respect to political purposes and action. The former
ith them lessons from the Roman law, the latter from
ed of Geneva.

William, by his election to the English throne,
d his kingdom in a desperate struggle with France;
s great object in the administration of the colonies
eir union, that he might employ all their resources
war.

accession of James II. brought to the throne a man
ed and absolute will, who, as an American proprietary
rly five-and-twenty years' experience, knew what he
l, and had formed his system of colonial government

in America. Six northern colonies were consolidated under one captain-general, who, with a council likewise appointed by himself, was invested with legislative power. This arbitrary system, which was to have been extended to all, appeared to give to him a colonial civil list and revenue at his discretion; to make his servants directly and solely dependent on himself; and, by uniting so many colonies under one military chief, to erect a barrier against the Indians, and against French encroachments.

1685 to 1688. On reaching the throne, in 1685, James II. adopted the purpose of reducing "the independent" colonial administrations; and with promptness, consistency, and determination, employed the prerogative for that end. The letters patent of Massachusetts were already cancelled; those of Connecticut and Rhode Island, of Maryland, of New Jersey, of Carolina, were to be annulled or surrendered. But the system vanished like the shadow of a cloud, having no root in the colonies, and being adverse to the principle now formally recognised in the English institutions.

1689. Feb. In February, 1689, at the instance of Sir George Treby, the convention which made William III. king voted "that the plantations ought to be secured against quo warrantos and surrenders, and their ancient rights restored." But the clause in their favor did not reappear in later proceedings; they are not named in the declaration of rights; their oppression by James was not enumerated as one of the causes of the revolution; and Somers would not include the Massachusetts charter in the bill for restoring corporations. The plan of James II. was so far adopted that twice several northern provinces were grouped together under one governor.

The first soldiers sent to America after the revolution were two companies ordered to New York in 1689, and which seem to have arrived there in 1691. They were to be paid out of the revenue of England, till provision should be made for them at New York. One hundred pounds, also, were sent for presents to the Indians. This arrangement was to be transient; the ministry never designed to



e defence of America and the conduct of Indian
a direct burden on the people of England.
own had no funds at its disposal for the public
The conduct of a war required union, a common
military force, and a central will. In October,
sovereign of England attempted this union by an
e prerogative; sending to each colony north of
a requisition for a fixed quota of money and of
the defence of New York, "the outguard of his
neighboring plantations in America." This is
le as the first form of British regulation of the col-
er the Revolution of 1688. The requisition was
. Pennsylvania, swayed by the Society of Friends,
notice by its steadfast disobedience.
ngland insisted that the colonists should "employ
hands and purses in defence of their own
ves, and families;" and, in 1694, when two 1694.
panies at New York were placed upon the
establishment, and when artillery and ammunition
ished from "the king's magazines," a royal man-
ter prescribed to the several colonies the exact
n of their quotas. But the "order, by reason of
ict and independent governments," was "very
ly complied with." The governor of New York
ing "to rely on, for the defence of that frontier,
four companies in his majesty's pay." Pennsyl-
olly refused its contingent; while Massachusetts
t, as "all were equally benefited, each ought to
asonable aid."
ng of England attempted a more efficient method
stering the colonies; their affairs were taken
mittees of the privy council; and, in May, 1696.
oard of commissioners for trade and planta-
sisting of the chancellor, the president of the privy
he keeper of the privy seal, the two secretaries
and eight special commissioners, was called into
'o William Blathwayte, John Locke, and the rest
t commission, instructions were given by the crown
re into the means of making the colonies most use-

ful and beneficial to England; into the staples and manufactures which may be encouraged there; into the means of diverting them from trades which may prove prejudicial to England; to examine into and weigh the acts of the assemblies; to set down the usefulness or mischief of them to the crown, the kingdom, or the plantations themselves; to require an account of all the moneys given for public uses by the assemblies of the plantations, and how the same are employed." The several provinces gained unity in the person of the king, whose duties with regard to the colonies were transacted through one of the secretaries of state; but the board of trade was the organ of inquiries and the centre of colonial information. Every law of a provincial legislature, except in some of the charter governments, if it escaped the veto of the royal governor, might be arrested by the unfavorable opinion of the law officer of the crown, or by the adverse report of the board of trade. Its rejection could come only from the king in council, whose negative, even though the act had gone into immediate effect, invalidated every transaction under it from the beginning.

The board of trade was hardly constituted, before it was summoned to plan unity in the military efforts of the provinces; and Locke, with his associates, despaired, on beholding them "crumbled into little governments, disunited in interests, in an ill posture and much worse disposition to afford assistance to each other for the
1697. future." The board, "after considering with their utmost care," could only recommend the appointment of "a captain-general of all the forces and all the militia of all the provinces on the continent of North America, with power to levy and command them for their defence, under such limitations and instructions as to his majesty shall seem best;" "to appoint officers to train the inhabitants;" from "the Quakers, to receive in money their share of assistance;" and "to keep the Five Nations firm in friendship." "Rewards" were to be given "for all executions done by the Indians on the enemy; and the scalps they bring in to be well paid for." This plan of a military dictatorship is the second form of British regulation.

With excellent sagacity, — for true humanity perfects the judgment, — the gentle William Penn, forerunner and teacher of Franklin and of America, matured a plan of a permanent union, by a national representation of the American states. On the eighth day of February, 1697, he delivered his project for an annual "congress," as he termed it, of two delegates from each province, with a special king's commissioner as the presiding officer, to establish intercolonial justice, "to prevent or cure injuries in point of commerce, . . . to consider of ways and means to support the union and safety of these provinces against the public enemies. In this congress, the quotas of men and charge will be much easier and more equally set than it is possible for any establishment here to do; for the provinces, knowing their own condition and one another's, can debate that matter with more freedom and satisfaction, and better adjust and balance their affairs, in all respects, for their common safety;" and he added, "The determination, in the assembly I propose, should be by plurality of voices."

The proposition was advocated before the English world by the vigorous writings of Charles Davenant. He disdained the fear of a revolt of the colonies, "while they have English blood in their veins and have" profitable relations with England." "The stronger and greater they grow," thus he expressed his generous confidence, "the more this crown and kingdom will get by them. Nothing but such an arbitrary power as shall make them desperate can bring them to rebel. . . . And as care should be taken to keep them obedient to the laws of England, and dependent upon their mother country, so those conditions, privileges, terms, and charters should be kept sacred and inviolate, by which they were first encouraged, at their great expense and with the hazard of their lives, to discover, cultivate, and plant remote places. . . . Any innovations or breach of their original charters (besides that it seems a breach of the public faith) may, peradventure, not tend to the king's profit."

But the ministry adopted neither the military dictatorship of Locke and his associates, nor the peaceful congress

of William Penn, nor the widely read and long-remembered advice of Davenant, but trusted the affair of quotas and salaries to royal instructions. Two causes served to protect the colonies from any other system. Responsible ministers were unwilling to provoke a conflict with them, and a generous love of liberty in the larger and better class of Englishmen compelled them as patriots to delight in its extension to all parts of the English dominions.

England, at "the abdication" of its throne by the Stuarts, was, as it were, still free from debt; and a direct tax on America, for the benefit of the English treasury, was, I think, at that time not dreamed of. That the respective colonies should contribute to the common defence against the French and Indians was desired in America, was earnestly enjoined from England; but the demand for quotas continued to be directed to the colonies themselves, and was refused or granted by the colonial assemblies, as their own policy prompted, though the want of concert and the refusal of contributions readily suggested the interference of parliament.

If the declaratory acts, by which every one of the colonies asserted their right to the privileges of Magna Charta, to the feudal liberty of freedom from taxation except with their own consent, were always disallowed by the crown, it was done silently, and the strife on the power of parliament to tax the colonies was willingly avoided. The colonial legislatures had their own budgets; and financial questions arose: Shall the grants be generally for the use of the crown, or carefully limited for specific purposes? Shall the moneys levied be confided to an officer of royal appointment, or to a treasurer responsible to the legislature? Shall the revenue be granted permanently, or from year to year? Shall the salaries of the royal judges and the royal governor be fixed, or depend annually on the popular contentment? These were questions consistent with the relations between metropolis and colony; but the supreme power of parliament to tax at its discretion was not yet maintained in England, was always denied in America.

In this way, there grew up a great system of administra-

tion by the use of the prerogative. It controlled legislation. In England, the veto power ceased to be used. In the course of a few years, it came to be applied to all the colonies except Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The crown obtained everywhere the mastery over the judiciary; for the judges, in nearly all the colonies, received their appointments from the king and held them at his pleasure; and the right of appeal to the king in council was maintained in them all. Nor was the power given up to bring a chartered colony, by a scire facias, before English tribunals.

Where the people selected the judges, as in Connecticut and Rhode Island, they were chosen annually, and the public preference, free from fickleness, gave stability to the office; where the appointment rested with the royal governor, the popular instinct desired for the judges an independent tenure for life. The security of personal freedom was not formally denied to America. Massachusetts, in an enactment of 1692, claimed the full benefit of the writ of habeas corpus; "the privilege had not yet been granted to the plantations," was the reply even of Lord Somers; it was not become a vested right; and the act was disallowed. When, afterwards, the privilege was affirmed by Queen Anne, the burgesses of Virginia, in their gratitude, did but esteem it "an assertion to her subjects of their just rights and properties." England conceded the security of personal freedom as a boon; America claimed it as a birthright.

Copying the precedents of the Stuarts, the obsolete instructions, by which every royal governor was invested with the censorship over the press, were renewed. Yet, in spite of them, the press was generally as free in America as in any part of the world.

In like manner, the governors were commanded to "allow no one to preach without a license from a bishop;" but the instruction was, for the most part, suffered to slumber. For the advancement of the Anglican church, the crown incorporated and favored the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts; but to dissenters in America royal charters were refused.

The most terrible of the royal instructions was that which fostered slavery. Before the English crown became directly concerned in the slave-trade, governors were charged to keep the market open for merchantable negroes; and measures adopted by the colonial legislatures to restrain the traffic were nullified by the royal veto.

In May, 1689, the lords of the committee of colonies, willing even to derive power from the usurpations of James II., represented to King William that "the present relation" of the charter colonies to England is a matter "worthy of the consideration of parliament, for the bringing those proprieties and dominions under a nearer dependence on the crown." But at that time, I think, nothing was designed beyond the strict enforcement of the navigation acts.

1701. In March, 1701, less than ten years after the grant of the charter of Massachusetts, the board of trade invited "the legislative power" of England to resume all charters, and reduce all the colonies to equal "dependency;" and, in April, a bill for that end was introduced into the house of lords.

As the danger of a new war with France increased, William was advised that, "besides the assistance he might be pleased to give the colonies, it was necessary that the inhabitants should on their part contribute to their mutual security;" and a new requisition for quotas was made by the warlike sovereign. For Pennsylvania the quota was three hundred and fifty pounds; William Penn himself was present to urge compliance; but war, reasoned the Quakers, is not better than peace; trade and commerce are no less important than weapons of offence; and, professing "readiness to acquiesce wtih the king's commands," the assembly of Pennsylvania, like Massachusetts, made excuses

1702. Jan. for an absolute refusal. Immediately in January, 1702, the board of trade turned to their sovereign, representing the defenceless condition of the plantations: "Since the chartered colonies refuse obedience to the late requisitions, and continue the retreat of pirates and smugglers, the national interest requires that such independent

istrations should be placed by the legislative power of ngdom in the same state of dependence as the royal ıments." Such was the deliberate and abiding opin- the board, transmitted across half a century to the f Halifax and Charles Townshend. But the charters thing to fear from William of Orange; for him the of life were fast ebbing, and in March he was no

white inhabitants of British America, who, at the on of William III., were about one hundred ghty thousand, were, at the accession of Anne, 1702. t two hundred and seventy thousand. Their ıors were instructed to proclaim war against France; requisition was made of quotas "to build fortifications aid one another." "The other colonies will not ute," wrote Lord Cornbury, from New York, "till re compelled by act of parliament;" and he after- solicited "an act of parliament for the establishment ell-regulated militia everywhere." In Virginia, the ses would do nothing "that was disagreeable to a iced people," and excused themselves from comply- th the requisition. So did all the colonies: "New the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas," were in- t against, as "transcripts of New England," which ıed "the worst of examples."

ll the proprieties are brought under the queen's ıment," wrote Lord Cornbury, in 1702, "they 1702 to 1706. detrimental to the other settlements." "Con- ıt and Rhode Island," he added, the next year, everybody that owns any subjection to the queen." ıief justice of New York, in July, 1704, assured the ıry of state that "antimonarchical principles and to the church of England daily increase in most etary governments, not omitting Boston; and, to my nowledge, some of their leading men already begin k of shaking off their subjection to the crown of nd."

ısed by continued complaints, the privy council, in ıber, 1705, summoned the board of trade "to lay be-

fore the queen the misfeasances of the proprieties, and the advantage that may arise from reducing them." The 1706. Jan. board obeyed, and, in the following January, represented the original defects in the forms of the charter governments, their assumed independence, their antagonism to the prerogative, the difficulty of executing acts of parliament in provinces where their validity was scarcely admitted, the present inconveniences of administration, and the greater ones which were to come. A bill was, in consequence, introduced into the commons, "for the better regulation of the charter governments;" but it was not sustained, for the ministry were divided in judgment as to the remedy. The inquiry in the house of lords, in 1708, was also without results.

The shyness of the English parliament to tax America or to abrogate American charters was changed into eagerness to interfere when any question related to trade. Of the great maritime powers, England was the last to establish the colonial system in its severity; yet, pleading "the usage of other nations to keep their plantations' trade to themselves," we have seen that she also, in the reign of Charles I., renewed and extended that colonial monopoly, binding it up in a corn law. Every state, it was argued, has, in exclusion of all others, an indisputable right to the services of its own subjects. England should not only be the sole market for all products of America, but the only storehouse for its supplies.

In these opinions, the change of dynasty made no difference. The enforcement of the mercantile system in its intensest form is a characteristic of the policy of the aristocratic revolution of England. By the corn laws, English agriculture became an associate in the system of artificial legislation. "The value of lands" began to be urged as a motive for oppressing the colonies. All questions on colonial liberty and affairs were decided from the point of view of English commerce and the interests of the great landholders. It was said that New York had never respected the acts of trade; that Pennsylvania and Carolina were the refuge of the illicit trader; that the mariners of N

England distributed the productions of the tropics through the world. By an act of 1696, all former 1696.
acts giving a monopoly of the colonial trade to England were renewed, and, to effect their rigid execution, the paramount authority of parliament was strictly asserted. Colonial commerce could be conducted only in ships built, owned, and commanded by the people of England or of the colonies. A clause giving a severe construction to the act of 1672 declared that, even after the payment of export duties on the products of the colonies, those products should not be taken to a foreign market; at the same time, "the officers for collecting and managing his majesty's revenues" in America obtained equal powers of visiting, searching, and entering warehouses and wharfs with the officers of the customs in England; charters were overruled, — it is the first act of parliament of that nature, — and the appointment of the proprietary governors was subjected to the royal negative; all governors were ordered to promise by oath their utmost efforts to carry every clause of the acts of trade into effect; and every American law or custom repugnant to this or any other English statute for the colonies, made or hereafter to be made, was abrogated, as "illegal, null, and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

The words were explicit, both declaratory and enacting; but it was not easy to restrain the trade of a continent. In March, 1697, the house of lords, after an 1697.
inquiry, represented to the king the continuance of illegal practices, and advised "courts of admiralty in the plantations, that offences against the act of navigation might no longer be decided by judges and jurors who were themselves often the greatest offenders. The commissioners for the customs joined in the demand; and 1698
royalists of the next century were glad to repeat that Locke, the philosopher of liberty, sanctioned the measure. The crown lawyers overruled all objections derived from proprietary charters, and the king set up his courts of vice-admiralty in America.

In 1699, the system, which made England the only 1699
market and the only storehouse for the colonies, re-

ceived a new development by an act of parliament, which reached the door of every farm-house within them, and imbodied the despotic will of a selfishness known only to highly civilized life. As yet, the owners of land were not sufficiently pledged to the colonial system. Wool was the great staple of England, and its growers and manufacturers envied the colonies the possession of a flock of sheep, a spindle, or a loom. The preamble to an act of parliament avows the motive for a restraining law in the conviction, that colonial industry would "inevitably sink the value of lands" in England. The mother country could esteem the present interest of its landholders paramount to natural justice. The clause, which I am about to cite, is a memorial of a delusion which once pervaded all Western Europe, and which has already so passed away that men grow incredulous of its former existence: "After the first day of December, 1699, no wool, or manufacture made or mixed with wool, being the produce or manufacture of any of the English plantations in America, shall be loaden in any ship or vessel, upon any pretence whatsoever, — nor loaden upon any horse, cart, or other carriage, — to be carried out of the English plantations to any other of the said plantations, or to any other place whatsoever." The fabrics of Connecticut might not seek a market in Massachusetts, or be carried to Albany for traffic with the Indians. An English sailor, finding himself in want of clothes in an American harbor, might buy there forty shillings' worth of woollens, but not more; and this small concession was soon repealed. Did a colonial assembly show favor to manufactures, the board of trade was sure to interpose. Error, like a cloud, must be seen from a distance to be measured. Somers and Locke saw no wrong in this legislation, as Jeremy Taylor and Berkeley had seen none in that which established the church in Ireland. England, in its relations with foreign states, sought a convenient tariff; in the colonies, it prohibited industry. And the interests of landlords and manufacturers, jointly fostered by artificial legislation, so corrupted the public judgment that the intolerable injustice of the mercantile system was not surmised.

In Virginia, the poverty of the people compelled them to attempt coarse manufactures, or to go unclad; yet Nicholson, the royal governor, advised that parliament should forbid the Virginians to make their own clothing. Spotswood repeats the complaint: "The people, more of necessity than of inclination, attempt to clothe themselves with their own manufactures;" adding that "it is certainly necessary to divert their application to some commodity less prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain." The 1701. charter colonies were reproached by the lords of trade "with promoting and propagating woollen and other manufactures proper to England." The English need not fear to conquer Canada: such was the reasoning of an American agent; for, in Canada, "where the cold is extreme, and snow lies so long on the ground, sheep will never thrive so as to make the woollen manufactures possible, which is the only thing that can make a plantation unprofitable to the crown." The policy was continued by every administration.

To the enumerated commodities molasses and rice were added in 1704; though in 1730 rice was liberated.

Irish linen cloth was afterwards conditionally excepted; but now, at the end of three years, Ireland was abruptly dismissed from partnership in the colonial monopoly; even while the enumerated products might still be carried to "other English plantations."

An English parliament could easily make these enactments, but America evaded them as unjust. From Pennsylvania, the judge of the court of admiralty — a court hated in that colony, as "more destructive to freedom than the ship-money" — wrote home that his "commission could be of no effect, while the government denied the force of the acts of parliament;" and though William Penn entered a plea that his people were "not so disobedient as mistaken and ignorant," yet in August, 1699, the board of trade reported "the bad disposition of that people and the mismanagement of that administration, as requiring a speedy remedy."

In New Hampshire, Lord Bellomont, in November, 1700,

found that the people "laughed at the orders of the board" of trade against carrying their lumber directly to Portugal. In the same year, the councillors of Massachusetts were openly "indignant at the acts of navigation;" insisting that "they were as much Englishmen as those in England, and had a right, therefore, to all the privileges which the people of England enjoyed." And the people of Boston were told from the pulpit that they were "not bound in conscience to obey the laws of England, having no representatives there of their choosing." To the orders sent to Carolina, "to prosecute breaches of the act of navigation," the replies were but complaints "of encouragement to illicit trade, and opposition to the officers of the revenue and the admiralty." "The malignant humor of the proprietary governments" infected Maryland and Virginia. From 1688 to 1698, the plantation duties yielded no more than the expenses of management. All the energy of authority could make the plantation duties yield to the exchequer no more than about a thousand pounds a year.

1700. April. The maritime wars had increased piracy; and, in 1700, parliament seized the opportunity of the crime to illustrate its authority. It defined the offence, overruled patents in constituting courts for its trial, and, should a charter governor fail to obey the new statute, declared the charter of his colony forfeited. "The parliament, having in view the refractoriness of New England and other plantations," thus wrote the board of trade, "have now passed an act that extends to all; by which those of New England may perceive that, where the public good does suffer by their obstinacy, the proper remedy will be found here."

To "make most of the money centre in England," the lords of trade proposed a regulation of the colonial currency, by reducing all the coin of America to one standard. The proclamation of Queen Anne confirmed to all the colonies a depreciated currency, but endeavored to make the depreciation uniform and safe against change. In a word, England sought to establish for itself a fixed standard of gold and silver; for the colonies, a fixed standard of deprecia-

tion. As the colonies had of themselves depreciated their currency, England gained its first object and monopolized all gold and silver. Even the shillings of early coinage in Massachusetts were nearly all gathered up, and remitted; but the equality of depreciation could never be maintained against the rival cupidity of the competitors in bills of credit. In 1708, an act of parliament, supporting the proclamation of Queen Anne, fixed the rates of coin in America, as if by the most august authority to limit the depreciation of bills; but paper money continued to increase in the royal, and still more in the charter, colonies. Thus, in 1709, New York first emitted bills of credit, disposing of the proceeds by vote of the assembly. In 1710, the body politic of South Carolina issued forty-eight thousand pounds, which bore interest, and were loaned to individuals, to be sunk by small annual instalments. These depreciated immediately, yet formed the currency of the colony.

The American post-office defrayed its own expenses. By an act of prerogative, William III. had, in 1692, appointed a postmaster for the northern provinces. New York feebly encouraged, Massachusetts neglected, the enterprise. In 1710, the British parliament erected a post-office for America, establishing the rates of postage, conferring the freedom of all ferries, appointing a summary process for collecting dues, and making New York the centre of its operations. The routes of the mails were gradually extended through all the colonies; Virginia, where it was introduced in 1718, made transient resistance; for "the people," as Spotswood informed the board, "called the rates of postage a tax, and they believed that parliament could not lay any tax on them without the consent of the general assembly." But the rates of postage soon came to be regarded as an equitable payment for a valuable service.

The British parliament interfered for one other purpose, not so directly connected with trade. In 1704, to emancipate the English navy from dependence on Sweden, a bounty was offered on naval stores, and was accompanied by a proviso which extended the jurisdiction of parliament to every grove north of the Delaware. Every pitch-pine tree,

not in an enclosure, was consecrated to the purposes of the English navy; and, in the undivided domain, no tree fit for a mast might be cut without the queen's license.

Beyond these measures, parliament at that time did not proceed. The English lawyers of the day had no doubt of the power of parliament to tax America. But we have seen that even the impetuous Saint-John would not carry out the plan for the payment of royal officers in the colonies by a parliamentary tax. Oxford, the lord treasurer, looked to America for the means of supporting its own military establishment. In August, 1711, before paying the garrison at Port Royal, he inquired of the board of trade "whether there be not money of her majesty's revenue in that country to pay them;" and in June, 1713, "foreseeing that great expense would arise to the kingdom by the large supplies of stores demanded for the colonies, he desired the board of trade to consider how they might be made to supply themselves." But the absorbing spirit of faction within the English cabinet of itself baffled every effort at system. The papers of the board of trade began to lie unnoticed in the office of the secretary of state; its annual reports ceased; and whoever had colonial business to transact went directly to the privy council, to the admiralty, to the treasury.

But, with every year of the increase of the colonies, prophecies had been made of their tendencies to independence. "In all these provinces and plantations," thus, in August, 1698, wrote Nicholson, who had been in office in New York and Maryland, and was then governor of Virginia, "a great many people, especially in those under proprietaries, and the two others of Connecticut and Rhode Island, think that no law of England ought to be in force and binding on them without their own consent; for they foolishly say that they have no representative sent from themselves to the parliament, and they look upon all laws made in England, that put any restraint upon them, to be great hardships." Ireland was already reasoning in the same manner; and its writers joined America in disavowing the validity of British statutes in nations not represented in the British legislature.

In 1701, the lords of trade, in a public document, declared "the independency the colonies thirst after is now notorious." "Commonwealth notions improve daily," wrote Quarry, in 1703; "and, if it be not checked in time, the rights and privileges of English subjects will be thought too narrow." In 1705, it was said in print: "The colonists will, in process of time, cast off their allegiance to England, and set up a government of their own;" and by degrees it came to be said "by people of all conditions and qualities, that their increasing numbers and wealth, joined to their great distance from Britain, would give them an opportunity, in the course of some years, to throw off their dependence on the nation, and declare themselves a free state, if not curbed in time, by being made entirely subject to the crown." "Some great men professed their belief of the feasibleness of it, and the probability of its some time or other actually coming to pass."

CHAPTER XXXII.

PROGRESS OF FRANCE IN NORTH AMERICA.

IF our country, in the inherent opposition between its principles and the English system, was as ripe for governing itself in 1689 as in 1776, the colonists disclaimed, and truly, a present passion for independence. A deep instinct gave assurance that the time was not yet come. They were not merely colonists of England, but they were riveted into an immense colonial system, which every commercial country in Europe had assisted to frame, and which bound in its strong bonds every other quarter of the globe. The question of independence would be not a private strife with England, but a revolution in the commerce and in the policy of the world; in the present fortunes, and, still more, in the prospects of humanity itself. As yet, there was no union among the settlements that fringed the Atlantic; and but one nation in Europe would, at that day, have tolerated — not one would have fostered — an insurrection. Spain, Spanish Belgium, Holland, and Austria were then the allies of England against France, which, by centralizing its power and by well-considered plans of territorial aggrandizement, excited the dread of a universal monarchy. When Austria, with Belgium, shall abandon its hereditary warfare against France; when Spain and Holland, favored by the armed neutrality of Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Russia, shall be ready to join with France in repressing the commercial ambition of England, — then, and not till then, American independence becomes possible. Those changes, extraordinary and improbable as they might have seemed, were to spring from the false principles of the mercantile system, which made France and England enemies. Our borders were become the scenes of jealous collision; our soil was the destined battle-ground on which the grand con-

flict of the rivals for commercial privilege was to begin. The struggles for maritime and colonial dominion, which transformed the unsuccessful competitors for supremacy into the defenders of the freedom of the seas, having, in their progress, taught our fathers union, secured to our country the opportunity of independence.

The mercantile system placed the benefit of commerce, not in a reciprocity of exchanges, but in a favorable balance of trade. Its whole wisdom was to sell as much as possible, to buy as little as possible. Pushed to its extreme, the policy would destroy all commerce; it might further the selfish aims of an individual nation; the commerce of the world could flourish only in spite of it. In its mitigated form, it was a necessary source of European wars; for each nation, in its traffic, sought to levy tribute in favor of its industry, and the adjustment of tariffs and commercial privileges was the constant subject of negotiations among states. The jealousy of one country envied the wealth of a rival as its own loss.

Territorial aggrandizement was also desired and feared, in reference to its influence on European commerce; and, as France, in its ambitious progress, encroached upon the German empire and the Spanish Netherlands, the mercantile interests of England led directly to an alliance with Austria as the head of the empire, and with Spain as the sovereign of Belgium.

Thus the commercial interest was, in European politics, become paramount; it framed alliances, regulated wars, dictated treaties, and established barriers against conquest.

The discovery of America, and of the ocean-path to India, had created maritime commerce, and the European colonial system had united the world. Now, for the first time in the history of man, the oceans vindicated their rights as natural highways; now, for the first time, great powers struggled for dominion on the high seas. The world entered on a new epoch.

Ancient navigation kept near the coast, or was but a passage from isle to isle; commerce now selected, of choice, the boundless deep.

The three ancient continents were divided by no wide seas, and their intercourse was chiefly by land. Their voyages were, like ours on Lake Erie, a continuance of internal trade; the vastness of their transactions was measured not by tonnage, but by counting caravans and camels. But now for the wilderness commerce substituted the sea; for camels, merchant-men; for caravans, fleets and convoys.

The ancients were restricted in the objects of commerce; for how could rice be brought across continents from the Ganges, or sugar from Bengal? But now commerce gathered every production from the east and the west; tea, sugar, and coffee from the plantations of China and Hindostan; masts from American forests; furs from Hudson's Bay; men from Africa.

With the expansion of commerce, the forms of business were changing. Of old, no dealers in credit existed between the merchant and the producer. The Greeks and Romans were hard-money men; their language has no word for bank-notes or currency; with them there was no stock market, no broker's board, no negotiable scrip of kingdom or commonwealth. Public expenses were borne by direct taxes, or by loans from rich citizens, soon to be cancelled, and never funded. The expansion of commerce gave birth to immense masses of floating credits; larger sums than the whole revenue of an ancient state were transferred from continent to continent by bills of exchange; and, when the mercantile system grew strong enough to originate wars, it gained power to subject national credit to the floating credits of commerce.

Every commercial state of the earlier world had been but a town with its territory; the Phœnician, Greek, and Italian republics, each was a city government, retaining its municipal character with the enlargement of its jurisdiction and the diffusion of its colonies. The great European maritime powers were vast monarchies, grasping at continents for their plantations. In the tropical isles of America and the east, they made their gardens for the fruits of the torrid zone; the Cordilleras and the Andes supplied their mints with bullion; the most inviting points on the coasts of

Africa and Asia were selected as commercial stations; and the temperate regions of America were to be filled with agriculturists, whose swarming increase — such was the universal metropolitan aspiration — should lead to the infinite consumption of European goods.

That the mercantile system should be applied by each nation to its own colonies, was universally tolerated by the political morality of that day. Thus each metropolis was at war with the present interests and natural rights of its colonies; and, as the European colonial system was established on every continent, as the single colonies were, each by itself, too feeble for resistance, colonial oppression was destined to endure as long, at least, as the union of the oppressors. But the commercial jealousies of Europe extended, from the first, to European colonies; and the home relations of the states of the Old World to each other were finally surpassed in importance by the transatlantic conflicts with which they were identified. The mercantile system, being founded in error and injustice, was doomed not only itself to expire, but, by overthrowing the mighty fabric of the colonial system, to emancipate commerce and open a boundless career to human hope.

That colonial system all Western Europe had contributed to build. Even before the discovery of America, Portugal had reached Madeira and the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands and Congo; within six years after the discovery of Hayti, the intrepid Vasco da Gama, following where none but Africans from Carthage had preceded, turned the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at Mozambique and, passing the Arabian peninsula, landed at Calicut, and made an establishment at Cochin. 1419. 1448. 1449. 1484.

Within a few years, the brilliant temerity of Portugal achieved establishments on Western and Eastern Africa, in Arabia and Persia, in Hindostan and the eastern isles, and in Brazil. The intense application of the system of monopoly, combined with the despotism of the sovereign and the priesthood, precipitated the decay of Portuguese commerce in advance of the decay of the mercantile system; and the Moors, the Persians, Holland, and Spain,

dismantled Portugal of her possessions at so early a period that she was never involved, as a leading party, in the wars of North America.

Far different were the relations of Spain with our colonial history. In the division of the world by Pope Alexander VI. between Portugal and Spain, the east had been allotted to the former; Spain therefore never reached the Asiatic world except by travelling west, and, obedient to the Roman see, never claimed possession of any territory in Asia beyond the Philippine Isles. But in America there grew up a Spanish world safe against conquest from its boundless extent, yet doubly momentous to our fathers from its vicinity and its commercial system. Occupying Florida on our south, Spain was easily involved in controversy with England on the subject of reciprocal territorial encroachments; and, excluding foreigners from all participation in her colonial trade, she could not but arouse the cupidity of English commerce, bent on extending itself by smuggling, and, if necessary, by force. Yet the colonial maxims, in conformity with which Spain had spread its hierarchy, its missions, its garrisons, and its inquisition over islands and half a continent, were adopted by England; and both powers were, by their legislation, pledged to the system of colonial monopoly.

Holland had risen into existence as the advocate and example of maritime freedom, and had, moreover, been ejected from the continent of North America. Yet, as a land power, it needed the alliance of England as a barrier against France; and the aristocratic republic, possessing precious spice islands in the Indian Seas, admitted to them no European flag but its own.

But the two powers, of which the ambition was most actively interested in the colonial system, were France and England, both stern advocates of colonial exclusiveness, and both jealous competitors for new acquisitions.

The political condition of France rendered her commercial advancement possible. The story of Louis XIV., on coming of age, entering parliament with a whip in his hand, was invented as the emblem of absolute monarchy. The

feudal system, that great antagonist to free industry, was subjected to the crown; and the people of France emerged into existence, one day to assert their power. While absolute monarchy was the period of transition from hereditary privilege to equality; while the memory of republican virtues was kept alive by the poetry of Corneille, and the vices of courts were rebuked in the fictions of Fénelon, — the policy of France gave dignity to the class of citizens. In the magistracy, as in the church, they could reach high employments; the meanest burgher could have audience of the king; and the members of the royal council were, almost without exception, selected from the ignoble. Colbert and Louvois were not of the high nobility. The great middling class was constantly increasing in importance; and the energies of France, if not employed in arms for aggrandizement, began to be husbanded for commerce and the arts.

Even before the days of Colbert, the colonial rivalry with England had begun. When Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to a first not very successful English East India company, France, under Richelieu, struggled also, though vainly, to share the great commerce with Asia. The same year in which England took possession of Barbados, Frenchmen occupied the half of St. Christopher's. Did England add half St. Christopher's, Nevis, and at last Jamaica, France gained Martinique and Guadaloupe, with smaller islets, founded a colony at Cayenne, and, by the aid of buccaneers, took possession of the west of Hayti. England, by its devices of tariffs and prohibitions and by the royal assent to the act of navigation, sought to call into action every power of production, hardly a year before Colbert hoped in like manner by artificial legislation to foster the manufactures and finances of France, and insure to that kingdom spacious seaports, canals, colonies, and a navy. The English East India company had but just revived under Charles II., when France gave privileges to an East India commercial corporation; and, if the folly of that corporation in planting on the Island of Madagascar, where there was nothing to sell or to buy,

1664 to 1667.

effected its decline, still the banner of the Bourbons
1675. reached Malabar and Coromandel. The fourth Afri-
1674. can company, with the Stuarts for stockholders and
1679. the slave-trade for its object, soon found a rival in the Senegal company; and, just at the time when the French king was most zealous for the conversion
1685. of the Huguenots, he established a Guinea company to trade from Sierra Leone to the Cape of Good Hope. France was, through Colbert and Seignelay, become a great naval power, and had given her colonial system an extent even vaster than that of the British. So eager was she in her rivalry on the ocean, so menacing was the competition of her workshops in every article of ingenious manufacture, that the spirit of monopoly set its brand upon language, and England and France were called natural enemies.

Memory fostered the national antipathy; France had not forgotten English invasions of her soil, English victories over her sons.

France adhered to the old religion, and the revocation of the edict of Nantes made it a Catholic empire; England succeeded in a Protestant revolution, which made political power a monopoly of the Anglican church, disfranchised all Catholics, and even subjected them, in Ireland, to a legal despotism.

In England, freedom of mind made its way through a series of aristocratic and plebeian sects, each of which found its support in the Bible; and the progress was so gradual, and under such variety of forms, both among the people and among philosophers, that the civil institutions were not endangered, even when freedom degenerated into skepticism or infidelity. In France, reason was emancipated by philosophy, and making its way, at one bound, to absolute skepticism, rejected every prejudice, and menaced the institutions of church and of state.

In England, philosophy existed as an empirical science; men measured and weighed the outward world, and constructed the prevailing systems of morals and metaphysics on observation and the senses. In France, the philosophic

mind, under the guidance of Descartes, of Fénelon, of Malebranche, assumed a character alike spiritual and universal.

Still more opposite were the governments. In France, feudal monarchy had been quelled by a military monarchy; in England, it had yielded to a parliamentary monarchy, in which government rested on property. France sustained the principle of legitimacy; England had selected its own sovereign, and to dispute his claims involved not only a question of national law, but of English independence.

To these causes of animosity, springing from rivalry in manufactures and in commercial stations, from contrasts in religion, philosophy, opinion, and government, there was added a struggle for territory in North America. Not only in the West Indies, in the East Indies, in Africa, were France and England neighbors, over far the largest part of our country Louis XIV. claimed to be the sovereign; and the prelude to the overthrow of the European colonial system, which was sure to be the overthrow of the mercantile system, was destined to be the mighty struggle for the central regions of our republic.

The first permanent efforts of French enterprise, in colonizing America, preceded any permanent English settlement north of the Potomac. Years before the pilgrims anchored within Cape Cod, the Roman church had been planted, by missionaries from France, in the eastern moiety of Maine; Le Caron, an unambitious Franciscan, the companion of Champlain, had passed into the hunting-grounds of the Wyandots, and, bound by his vows to the life of a beggar, had, on foot or paddling a bark canoe, gone onward and still onward, taking alms of the savages, till he reached the rivers of Lake Huron. 1615. 1616.

While Quebec contained scarce fifty inhabitants, priests of the Franciscan order — Le Caron, Viel, Sagard — had labored for years as missionaries in Upper Canada, or made their way to the neutral Huron tribe that dwelt on the waters of the Niagara. 1623. 1625. 1626.

After the Canada company had been suppressed, and the Calvinists, William and Emeric Caen, had for 1622.

five years, enjoyed its immunities, the hundred asso-
1627. ciates, — Richelieu, Champlain, Razilly, and opulent merchants, being of the number, — by a charter from Louis XIII., obtained a grant of New France, and,
1632. after the restoration of Quebec by its English conquerors, entered upon the government of their province. Its limits embraced specifically the basin of the St. Lawrence, and of such other rivers in New France as flowed directly into the sea; they included Florida, or the country south of Virginia, esteemed a French province in virtue of the unsuccessful efforts of Coligny.

Religious zeal, not less than commercial ambition, had influenced France to recover Canada; and Cham-
1632. 1635. plain, its governor, ever disinterested and compassionate, full of honor and probity, of ardent devotion and burning zeal, esteemed "the salvation of a soul worth more than the conquest of an empire." The commercial monopoly of a privileged company could not foster a colony; the climate of the country round Quebec, "where summer hurries through the sky," did not invite to agriculture; no persecutions of Catholics swelled the stream of emigration; and, at first, there was little, except religious enthusiasm, to give vitality to the province. Touched by the simplicity of the order of St. Francis, Champlain had selected its priests of the contemplative class for his companions; "for they were free from ambition." But the aspiring honor of the Gallican church was interested; a prouder sympathy was awakened among the devo-
1632. tees at court; and the Franciscans having, as a mendicant order, been excluded from the rocks and deserts of the New World, the office of converting the heathen of Canada, and thus enlarging the borders of French dominion, was intrusted solely to the Jesuits.

The establishment of "the Society of Jesus" by Loyola had been contemporary with the Reformation, of which it was designed to arrest the progress; and its com-
1539. 1540. plete organization belongs to the period when the first full edition of Calvin's Institutes saw the light. Its members were, by its rules, never to become prelates, and

could gain power and distinction only by influence over mind. Their vows were poverty, chastity, absolute obedience, and a constant readiness to go on missions against heresy or heathenism. Their colleges became the best schools in the world. Emancipated in a great degree from the cloistral forms, separated from domestic ties, constituting a community essentially intellectual as well as essentially plebeian, bound together by the most perfect organization, and having for their end a control over opinion among the scholars and courts of Europe and throughout the habitable globe, the order of the Jesuits held, as its ruling maxims, the widest diffusion of its influence and the closest internal unity. Immediately on its institution, their missionaries, kindling with a heroism that defied every danger and endured every toil, made their way to the ends of the earth; they raised the emblem of man's salvation on the Moluccas, in Japan, in India, in Thibet, in Cochin China, and in China; they penetrated Ethiopia, and reached the Abyssinians; they planted missions among the Kaffres; in California, on the banks of the Marañhon, in the plains of Paraguay, they invited barbarians to the civilization of Christianity.

Champlain could devise no method of building up 1632.
the dominion of France in Canada but an alliance with the Hurons, or of confirming that alliance but the establishment of missions. Such a policy was congenial to a church which cherishes every member of the human race, without regard to lineage or skin. It was, moreover, favored by the conditions of the charter itself, which recognised the neophyte among the savages as an enfranchised citizen of France.

Thus it was neither commercial enterprise nor royal ambition which carried the power of France into the heart of our continent: the motive was religion. Religious enthusiasm colonized New England; and religious enthusiasm founded Montreal, made a conquest of the wilderness on the upper lakes, and explored the Mississippi. Puritanism gave New England its worship and its schools; the Roman church created for Canada its altars, its hospitals, and its

seminaries. The influence of Calvin can be traced in every New England village; in Canada, the monuments of feudalism and the Catholic Church stand side by side; and the names of Montmorenci and Bourbon, of Levi and Condé, are mingled with memorials of St. Athanasius and Augustin, of St. Francis of Assisi, and Ignatius Loyola.

1633. 1636. Within three years after the second occupation of Canada, the number of Jesuit priests in the province reached fifteen; and every tradition bears testimony to their worth. They had the faults of ascetic superstition; but the horrors of a Canadian life in the wilderness were resisted by an invincible passive courage and a deep internal tranquillity. Away from the amenities of life, away from the opportunities of vain-glory, they became dead to the world, and possessed their souls in unalterable peace. The few who lived to grow old, though bowed by the toils of a long mission, still kindled with the fervor of apostolic zeal. The history of their labors is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America: not a cape was turned, nor a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way.

Behold, then, the Jesuits Brebeuf and Daniel, soon to be followed by the gentler Lallemand, and many others of their order, bowing meekly in obedience to their 1634. vows, and joining a party of barefoot Hurons, who were returning from Quebec to their country. The journey, by way of the Ottawa and the rivers that interlock with it, was one of more than three hundred leagues, through a region horrible with forests. All day long the missionaries must wade, or handle the oar. At night, there is no food for them but a scanty measure of Indian corn mixed with water; their couch is the earth or the rocks. At five-and-thirty waterfalls, the canoe is to be carried on the shoulders for leagues through thick woods or over roughest regions; fifty times it was dragged by hand through shallows and rapids, over sharp stones; and thus — swimming, wading, paddling, or bearing the canoe across the portages, with garments torn, with feet mangled, yet with the breviary safely hung round the neck, and vows,

as they advanced, to meet death twenty times over, if it were possible, for the honor of St. Joseph — the consecrated envoys made their way, by rivers, lakes, and forests, from Quebec to the heart of the Huron wilderness. There, to the north-west of Lake Toronto, near the shore of Lake Iroquois, which is but a bay of Lake Huron, they raised the first humble house of the Society of Jesus among the Hurons; the cradle, it was said, of his church who dwelt at Bethlehem in a cottage. The little chapel, built by aid of the axe and consecrated to St. Joseph, where, in the gaze of thronging crowds, vespers and matins began to be chanted and bread was consecrated by solemn mass, amazed the hereditary guardians of the council-fires of the Huron tribes. Beautiful testimony to the equality of the human race! the sacred wafer, emblem of the divinity in man, all that the church offered to the princes and nobles of the European world, was shared with the humblest of the savage neophytes. The hunter, as he returned from his wide roamings, was taught to hope for eternal rest; the braves as they came from war, were warned of the wrath which kindles against sinners a never-dying fire, fiercer far than the fires of the Mohawks; the idlers of the Indian villages were told the exciting tale of the Saviour's death for their redemption. Two new Christian villages, St. Louis and St. Ignatius, bloomed among the Huron forests. The dormant sentiment of pious veneration was awakened in many breasts, and there came to be even earnest and ascetic devotees uttering prayers and vows in the Huron tongue; while tawny skeptics inquired if there were indeed, in the centre of the earth, eternal flames for the unbelieving. 1634. Sept.

The missionaries themselves possessed the weaknesses and the virtues of their order. For fifteen years enduring the infinite labors and perils of the Huron mission, and exhibiting, as it was said, "an absolute pattern of every religious virtue," Jean de Brebeuf, respecting even the nod of his distant superiors, bowed his mind and his judgment to obedience. Besides the assiduous fatigues of his office, each day, and sometimes twice in the day, he applied to

himself the lash; beneath a bristling hair-shirt he wore an iron girdle, armed on all sides with projecting points; his fasts were frequent; almost always his pious vigils continued deep into the night. In vain did Asmodeus assume for him the forms of earthly beauty; his eye rested benignantly on visions of divine things. Once, imparadised in a trance, he beheld the Mother of Him whose cross he bore, surrounded by a crowd of virgins, in the beatitudes
1640. of heaven. Once, as he himself has recorded, while engaged in penance, he saw Christ unfold his arms to embrace him, promising oblivion of his sins. Once, late at night, while praying in the silence, he had a vision of an infinite number of crosses, and with mighty heart he strove again and again to grasp them all. Often he saw the shapes of foul fiends, now appearing as madmen, now as raging beasts; and often he beheld the image of Death, a bloodless form, by the side of the stake, struggling with bonds, and at last falling, as a harmless spectre, at his feet.
1638. Having vowed to seek out suffering for the greater glory of God, he renewed that vow every day, at the moment of tasting the sacred wafer; and, as his cupidity for martyrdom grew into a passion, he exclaimed: "What shall I render to thee, Jesus, my Lord, for all thy benefits? I will accept thy cup, and invoke thy name;" and, in sight of the Eternal Father and the Holy Spirit, of the most holy Mother of Christ and St. Joseph, before angels, apostles, and martyrs, before St. Ignatius and Francis Xavier, he made a vow never to decline the opportunity of martyrdom, and never to receive the death-blow but with joy.

The life of a missionary on Lake Huron was simple and uniform. The earliest hours, from four to eight, were absorbed in private prayer; the day was given to schools, visits, instruction in the catechism, and a service for proselytes. Sometimes, after the manner of St. Francis Xavier, Brebeuf would walk through the village and its environs, ringing a little bell, and inviting the Huron braves and counsellors to a conference. There, under the shady forest, the most solemn mysteries of the Catholic faith were subjected to discussion. It was by such means that the senti-

ment of piety was unfolded in the breast of the great warrior Ahasistari. Nature had planted in his mind the seeds of religious faith: "Before you came to this country," he would say, "when I have incurred the greatest perils, and have alone escaped, I have said to myself, 'Some powerful spirit has the guardianship of my days;'" and he professed his belief in Jesus, as the good genius and protector, whom he had before unconsciously adored. After trials of his sincerity, he was baptized; and, enlisting a troop of converts, savages like himself, "Let us strive," he exclaimed, "to make the whole world embrace the faith in Jesus."

As missionary stations multiplied, the central spot 1639.
was named St. Mary's, upon the banks of the river now called Wye. There, at the humble house dedicated to the Virgin, in one year three thousand guests from the cabins of the red man received a frugal welcome.

The news from this Huron Christendom awakened in France the strongest sympathy; religious communities, in Paris and in the provinces, joined in prayers for its advancement; the king sent magnificently embroidered garments as presents to the neophytes; the queen, the princesses of the blood, the clergy of France, even Italy, listened with interest to the novel tale; and the pope himself expressed his favor. To confirm the missions, the first measure was the establishment of a college in New France; and the parents of the Marquis de Gamache, pleased with his pious importunity, assented to his entering the order of the Jesuits, and added from their ample fortunes the means of endowing a seminary for education at Quebec. Its foundation was laid, under happy auspices, in 1635, just before Champlain passed from among the 1635.
living, two years before the emigration of John Harvard, and one year before the general court of Massachusetts had made provision for a college.

The fires of charity were at the same time kindled. The Duchess d'Aiguillon, aided by her uncle, the Cardinal Richelieu, endowed a public hospital, dedicated to the Son of God, whose blood was shed in mercy for all mankind. Its

doors were open, not only to the sufferers among the emigrants, but to the maimed, the sick, and the blind of any of the numerous tribes between the Kennebec and Lake Superior; it received misfortune without asking its lineage. From the hospital nuns of Dieppe, three were selected, the youngest but twenty-two, the eldest but twenty-nine, to brave the famine and the rigors of Canada in their patient missions of benevolence.

The same religious enthusiasm, inspiring Madame de la Peltrie, a young and opulent widow of Alençon, with the aid of a nun from Dieppe and two others from Tours, established the Ursuline convent for the education of girls. As the youthful heroines stepped on shore at Quebec, they stooped to kiss the earth which they adopted as their country, and were ready, in case of need, to tinge with their blood. The governor, with the little garrison, received them at the water's edge; Hurons and Algonkins, joining in the shouts, filled the air with yells of joy; and the motley group escorted the new comers to the church, where, amidst a general thanksgiving, the Te Deum was chanted. Is it wonderful that the natives were touched by a benevolence which their poverty and squalid misery could not appall? Their education was also attempted; and the venerable ash-tree still lives, beneath which Mary of the Incarnation toiled, though in vain, for the culture of the red man's children.

1639. Aug. 1.

Meantime, a colony of Algonkins had been established in the vicinity of Quebec; and the name of Silleri is the monument to the philanthropy of its projector. Here savages were to be trained to the faith and the manners of civilization.

1637.

Of Montreal, selected to be a nearer rendezvous for converted Indians, possession was taken, in 1640, by a solemn mass, celebrated beneath a tent. In the following February, in France, at the cathedral of Our Lady of Paris, a general supplication was made that the Queen of Angels would take the Island of Montreal under her protection. In August of the same year, in the presence of the French gathered from all parts of Canada,

1640.

1641.

and of the native warriors summoned from the wilderness, the festival of the assumption was solemnized on the island itself. Henceforward, the hearth of the sacred fires of the Wyandots was consecrated to the Virgin. "There the Mohawk and the feebler Algonkin," said Le Jeune, "shall make their home; the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and a little child shall guide them."

The occupation of Montreal did not immediately produce nearer relations with the Huron missionaries, who, for a period of three years, received no supplies whatever: so that their clothes fell in pieces; they had no wine for the chalice but the juices of the wild grape, and scarce bread enough for consecration. Yet the efforts of the Jesuits were not limited to the Huron nation. Within thirteen years, this remote wilderness was visited by forty-two missionaries, members of the Society of Jesus, besides eighteen others, who, if not initiated, were yet chosen men, ready to shed their blood for their faith. Twice or thrice a year, they all assembled at St. Mary's; for the rest of the time, they were scattered through the infidel tribes.

1641 to 1644.

1634 to 1647.

I would willingly follow their progress, as they gradually surveyed the coast of our republic, from the waters of the Niagara to the head of Lake Superior; but their narratives do but incidentally blend description with their details of conversions. Yet the map which was prepared by the order, at Paris, in 1660, proves that, in this earliest period, they had traced the highway of waters from Lake Erie to Lake Superior, and had gained a glimpse, at least, of Lake Michigan.

Within six years after the recovery of Canada, the plan was formed of establishing missions, not only among the Algonkins in the north, but south of Lake Huron, in Michigan, and at Green Bay; thus to gain access to the immense regions of the west and the north-west, to the great multitude from all nations, whom no one can number. But the Jesuits were too feeble and too few to attempt the spiritual conquest of so many countries: they prayed for recruits; they invoked the blessing of the Divine Majesty on their thoughts and enterprises.

1638. 1639.

At the various missions, Indians from the remotest points appeared. In 1638, there came to the Huron mission a chief of the Huron tribe that dwelt on the head-waters of the Ohio; and we find constant mention of Algonkins from the west, especially from Green Bay.

In the autumn of 1640, Charles Raymbault and Claude Pijart reached the Huron missions, destined for service among the Algonkins of the north and the west. By continual warfare with the Mohawks, the French had been excluded from the navigation of Lake Ontario, and had never even launched a canoe on Lake Erie. Their avenue to the west was by way of the Ottawa and French River; so that the whole coast of Ohio and Southern Michigan remained unknown, except as seen by missionaries from their stations in Canada. In 1640, Brebeuf had been sent to the villages of the neutral nation which occupied the territory on the Niagara. Of these, some villages were extended on the southern shore of Lake Erie, beyond Buffalo; but it is not certain that Brebeuf visited them, or that he was at any time on the soil of our republic. His mission perfected the knowledge of the great watercourse of the valley of the St. Lawrence. "Could we but gain the mastery," it was said, "of the shore of Ontario on the side nearest the abode of the Iroquois, we could ascend by the St. Lawrence, without danger, and pass free beyond Niagara, with a great saving of time and pains." Thus did Jesuits see the necessity of possessing a post in Western New York, seven years after the restoration of Quebec. At this time, no Englishman had reached the basin of the St. Lawrence. The country on the sea was held by the Dutch; that part of New York which is watered by streams that flow to the St. Lawrence was first visited by the French.

But the fixed hostility and the power of the Five Nations left no hope of success in gaining safe intercourse by the St. Lawrence. To preserve the avenue to the west by the Ottawa, Pijart and Charles Raymbault, in 1640, on their pilgrimage to the Huron country, attempted the conversion of the roving tribes that were masters of the high-

ways; and, in the following year, they roamed as missionaries with the Algonkins of Lake Nipising. 1641. May 8.

Towards the close of summer, these wandering tribes prepared to celebrate "their festival of the dead," — to gather up the bones of their deceased friends, and give them jointly an honorable sepulchre. To this ceremony all the confederate nations were invited; as they approach the shore, on a deep bay in Lake Iroquois, their canoes advance in regular array, and the representatives of nations leap on shore, uttering exclamations and cries of joy, which the rocks echo. The long cabin for the dead had been prepared; their bones are nicely disposed in coffins of bark, and wrapped in such furs as the wealth of Europe would have coveted; the mourning-song of the war-chiefs had been chanted, all night long, to the responsive wails of the women. The farewell to the dead, the dances, the councils, the presents, all were finished. But, before the assembly dispersed, the Jesuits, by their presents and their festivals, had won new affection, and an invitation was given to visit the nation of Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie. Sept.

For the leader of this first invasion of the soil of our republic in the west, Charles Raymbault was selected; and, as Hurons were his attendants, Isaac Jogues was given him as a companion.

It was on the seventeenth day of September, 1641, that the birch-bark canoe, freighted with the first envoys from Christendom, left the Bay of Penetangushene for the Falls of St. Mary. Passing to the north, they floated over a wonted track till beyond the French River; then they passed onward over the clear waters and between the clustering archipelagoes of Lake Huron, beyond the Manitoulins and other isles along the shore, to the straits that form the outlet of Lake Superior. There, at the falls, after a navigation of seventeen days, they found an assembly of two thousand souls. They made inquiries respecting many nations, who had never known Europeans, and had never heard of the one God. Among other nations, they were told of the 1641. Oct. 4.

Nadowessies, the famed Sioux, who dwelt eighteen days' journey farther to the west, beyond the Great Lake, then still without a name; warlike tribes, with fixed abodes, cultivators of maize and tobacco, of an unknown race and language. The religious zeal of the French bore the cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of Lake Superior, and looked wistfully towards the homes of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the New England Eliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston harbor.

The chieftains of the Chippewas invited the Jesuits to dwell among them, and hopes were inspired of a permanent mission. A council was held. "We will embrace you," said they, "as brothers; we will derive profit from your words."

After finishing this excursion, Raymbault designed to rejoin the Algonkins of Nipising, but the climate forbade; and, late in the season, he returned to the harbor of the Huron missions, wasting away with consumption. In mid-summer of the next year, he descended to Que-
1642. Oct. 22. bec. After languishing till October, the self-denying man, who had glowed with the hope of bearing the gospel across the continent, through all the American Barbary, even to the ocean that divides America from China, ceased to live; and the body of this first apostle of Christianity to the tribes of Michigan was buried in "the particular sepulchre," which the justice of that age had "erected expressly to honor the memory of the illustrious" Champlain.

Thus the climate made one martyr: the companion of Raymbault was destined to encounter a far more dreaded foe. The war-parties of the Five Nations, hereditary enemies of the Hurons, and the deadly opponents of the French, controlled the passes between Upper Canada and Quebec; and each missionary on his pilgrimage was
1642. in danger of captivity. Such was the fate of Isaac Jogues, who, having been one of the first to carry the cross into Michigan, was now the first to bear it through
1642. June 13. the villages of the Mohawks. From the Falls of St. Mary he had repaired to the Huron missions, and

thence, with the escort of Ahasistari and other Huron braves, he descended by the Ottawa and St. Lawrence to Quebec. On his return with a larger fleet of canoes, a band of Mohawks, whose war-parties, fearlessly strolling through the illimitable forest, were ever ready to burst suddenly upon their foes, lay in wait for the pilgrims, as they ascended the St. Lawrence. "There can be but three canoes of them," said Ahasistari, as, at day-break, he examined their trail on the shore: "there is nothing to fear," added this bravest of the braves. Unhappy confidence! The Mohawks, from their ambush, attacked the canoes, as they neared the land: the thin bark is perforated; Hurons and Frenchmen alike make for the shore, to find security in the thick forests. Jogues might have escaped; but there were with him converts, who had not yet been baptized; and when did a Jesuit missionary seek to save his own life, at what he believed the risk of a soul? Ahasistari had gained a hiding-place: observing Jogues to be a captive, he returned to him, saying: "My brother, I made oath to thee that I would share thy fortune, whether death or life; here am I to keep my vow." 1642. Aug. 1.

The horrible inflictions of savage cruelty ensued, and were continued all the way from the St. Lawrence to the Mohawk. There they arrived the evening before the festival of the assumption of the Virgin; and, as he ran the gauntlet, Jogues comforted himself with a vision of the glory of the queen of heaven. In a second and a third village, the same sufferings were encountered; for days and nights he was abandoned to hunger and every torment which petulant youth could devise. But yet there was consolation: an ear of Indian corn on the stalk was thrown to the good father; and see! to the broad blade there clung drops of water or of dew, enough to baptize two captive neophytes.

Three Hurons were condemned to the flames. The brave Ahasistari, having received absolution, met his end with the enthusiasm of a convert and the pride of the most gallant war-chief of his tribe.

Sad was the fate of the captive novice, René Goupil. He

had been seen to make the sign of the cross on an
1642. Sept. 19. infant's brow. "He will destroy the village by his charms," said his master; and, summoned while reciting alternately with Jogues the rosary of the Virgin, a blow with the tomahawk laid him lifeless.

Father Jogues had expected the same fate; but his life was spared, and his liberty enlarged. On a hill apart, he carved a long cross on a tree, and there, in the solitude, meditated the imitation of Christ, and soothed his griefs by reflecting that he alone, in that vast region, adored the true God of earth and heaven. Roaming through the stately forests of the Mohawk valley, he wrote the name of Jesus on the bark of trees, graved the cross, and entered into possession of these countries in the name of God; often lifting up his voice in a solitary chant. Thus did France bring its banner and its faith to the confines of Albany. The missionary himself was humanely ransomed from captivity by the Dutch, and, sailing for France, soon returned to Canada.

1644. May. Similar was the fate of Father Bressani. Taken prisoner while on his way to the Hurons; beaten, mangled, mutilated; driven barefoot over rough paths, through briers and thickets; scourged by a whole village; burned, tortured, wounded, and scarred, — he was eyewitness to the fate of one of his companions, who was boiled and eaten. Yet some mysterious awe protected his life; and he, too, was at last humanely rescued by the Dutch.

Meantime, to make good the possession of the
1645. country, a treaty of peace is sought by the French with the Five Nations, and at Three Rivers a great meeting is held. There are the French officers in their magnificence; there the five Iroquois deputies, couched upon mats, bearing strings of wampum. It was agreed to smooth the forest path, to calm the river, to hide the tomahawk. "Let the clouds be dispersed," said the Iroquois; "let the sun shine on all the land between us." The Algonkins joined in the peace. "Here is a skin of a moose," said Negabamat, chief of the Montagnez; "make moccasons for the Mohawk deputies, lest they wound their feet on

their way home." "We have thrown the hatchet," said the Mohawks, "so high into the air, and beyond the skies, that no arm on earth can reach to bring it down. The French shall sleep on our softest blankets, by the warm fire, that shall be kept blazing all the night long. The shades of our braves that have fallen in war have gone so deep into the earth that they never can be heard calling for revenge." "I place a stone on their graves," said Pieskaret, "that no one may move their bones."

With greater sincerity, the Abenakis of Maine, touched by the charities of Silleri, had solicited missionaries. Conversion to Catholic Christianity would establish their warlike tribes as a wakeful barrier against New England; and, in August, 1646, Father Gabriel Dreuillettes, 1646. Aug. 29. first of Europeans, made the long and painful journey from the St. Lawrence to the sources of the Kennebec, and, descending that stream to its mouth, in a bark canoe continued his roamings on the open sea along the coast. The cross was already planted there, raised by the disciples of St. Francis of Assisi over their humble lodge near the mouth of the Penobscot. After a short welcome, the earnest apostle returned to the wilderness; and, a few miles above the mouth of the Kennebec, the Indians, in large numbers, gathered about him, building a rude chapel. In the winter, he was their companion in their long excursions in quest of game. Who can tell all the hazards that were encountered? The sharp rocks in the channel of the river were full of perils for the frail canoe; winter turned the solitudes into a wilderness of snow; the rover, Christian or pagan, must carry about with him his house, his furniture, and his food. But the Jesuit succeeded in winning the affections of the savages; and, after a pilgrimage of ten months, an escort of thirty conducted him to 1647. June 15. Quebec, full of health and joy.

Thus, in September, 1646, within fourteen years from the restoration of Quebec, France, advancing rapidly towards a widely extended dominion in North America, had its outposts on the Kennebec and on the shores of Lake Huron, and had approached the settlements round Albany.

The strength of the colony lay in the missions. The government was weakened by the royal jealousy;
1646. the population hardly increased; there was no military force; and the trading company, deriving no income but from peltries and Indian traffic, had no motive to make large expenditures for protecting the settlements or promoting colonization. Thus the missionaries were left, almost alone, to contend against the thousands of braves that roamed over Acadia and the vast basin of the St. Lawrence. But what could sixty or seventy devotees accomplish amongst the countless wild tribes from Nova Scotia to Lake Superior? They were at war as well with nature as with savage inhumanity, and had to endure perils and sufferings under every form. The frail bark of the
1623. Franciscan Viel had been dashed in pieces, and the missionary drowned, as he was shooting a rapid, on his return from the Hurons. Father Anne de Noué, in the depth of winter, leaves Quebec for the mouth of the Sorel, to shrive the garrison; and, losing his way among pathless snows, perishes by the frosts of Canada. No faithful Jesuit would allow an infant to die unbaptized; and the Indian father, interpreting the sprinkling as a device to kill his child, avenged his affections by the death of the missionary. Still greater was the danger which sprung from the hostility of the tribes towards the French, or towards the nations by whom their envoys were received.

1645. A treaty of peace had, indeed, been ratified, and
1646. for one winter Algonkins, Wyandots, and Iroquois joined in the chase. The wilderness seemed hushed
1646. into tranquillity. In May, 1646, Father Jogues, commissioned as an envoy, was hospitably received by the Mohawks, and gained an opportunity of offering the friendship of France to the Onondagas. On his return,
1646. his favorable report raised a desire of establishing
June 27. a permanent mission among the Five Nations; and he himself, the only one who knew their dialect,
Oct. was selected as its founder. "Ibo, et non redibo," —"I shall go, but shall never return,"— were his words of farewell. On arriving at the Mohawk castles, he

was received as a prisoner, and, against the voice of the other nations, was condemned by the grand council of the Mohawks as an enchanter, who had blighted their harvest. Timid by nature, yet tranquil from zeal, he approached the cabin where the death-festival was kept, and, as he entered, received the death-blow. His head was hung upon the palisades of the village, his body thrown into the Mohawk River. 1646. Oct. 18.

This was the signal for war. The Iroquois renewed their invasions of the Huron country. In vain did the French seek to engage New England as an ally in the contest. The Huron nation was doomed; the ancient clans of the Wyandots were to be exterminated or scattered; and the missionaries on the river Wye shared the dangers of the tribes with whom they dwelt. 1648.

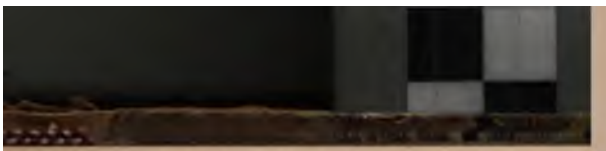
Each sedentary mission was a special point of attraction to the invader, and each, therefore, was liable to the horrors of an Indian massacre. Such was the fate of the village of St. Joseph. On the morning of July 4, 1648, when the braves were absent on the chase, and none but women, children, and old men remained at home, Father Anthony Daniel hears the cry of danger and confusion. He hastens to the scene to behold his converts, in the apathy of terror, falling victims to the fury of Mohawks. No age, however tender, excites mercy; no feebleness of sex wins compassion. A group of women and children fly to him to escape the tomahawk; as if his lips, uttering messages of love, could pronounce a spell that would curb the madness of destruction. Those who had formerly scoffed his mission implore the benefit of baptism. He bids them ask forgiveness of God, and, dipping his handkerchief in water, baptizes the crowd of suppliants by aspersion. Just then the palisades are forced. Should he fly? He first ran to the wigwams to baptize the sick; he next pronounced a general absolution on all who sought it, and then prepared to resign his life as a sacrifice to his vows. The wigwams are set on fire; the Mohawks approach the chapel, and the consecrated envoy serenely advances to meet them. Astonishment seized the barbarians. At length, drawing near,

they discharge at him a flight of arrows. All gashed and rent by wounds, he still continued to speak with surprising energy; now inspiring fear of the divine anger, and anon breathing the affectionate messages of mercy and grace. Such were his actions till he received a death-blow from a halbert. The victim to the heroism of charity died, the name of Jesus on his lips; the wilderness gave him a grave; the Huron nation were his mourners. By his religious associates it was believed that he appeared twice after his death, youthfully radiant in the sweetest form of celestial glory; that, as the reward for his torments, a crowd of souls, redeemed from purgatory, were his honoring escort into heaven.

1649. Mar. 16. Not a year elapsed, when, in the dead of a Canadian winter, a party of a thousand Iroquois fell, before dawn, upon the little village of St. Ignatius. It was sufficiently fortified, but only four hundred persons were present, and there were no sentinels. The palisades were set on fire, and an indiscriminate massacre of the sleeping inhabitants followed.

The village of St. Louis was alarmed; and its women and children fly to the woods, while eighty warriors prepare a defence. A breach is made in the palisades; the enemy enter; and the group of Indian cabins becomes a slaughter-house. In this village resided Jean de Brebeuf, and the younger and gentler, yet not less patient, Gabriel Lallemand. The character of Brebeuf was firm beyond every trial; his virtue had been nursed in the familiar sight of death. Disciplined by twenty years' service in the wilderness work, he wept bitterly for the sufferings of his converts, but for himself he exulted in the prospect of martyrdom. Both the missionaries might have escaped; but here, too, there were converts not yet baptized; besides, the dying might, in the hour of agony, desire the ordinances; and both, therefore, remain. They exhort the combatants to fear God: they bend over the dying to give them baptism, and claim their spirits as redeemed.

Success was with the Mohawks: the Jesuit priests are now their prisoners, to endure all the tortures which the



ruthless fury of a raging multitude could invent. Brebeuf was set apart on a scaffold, and, in the midst of every outrage, rebuked his persecutors, and encouraged his Huron converts. They cut his lower lip and his nose; applied burning torches to his body; burned his gums, and thrust hot iron down his throat. Deprived of his voice, his assured countenance and confiding eye still bore witness to his firmness.

The delicate Lallemand was stripped naked, and enveloped from head to foot with bark full of rosin. Brought into the presence of Brebeuf, he exclaimed: "We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men." The pine bark was set on fire, and, when it was in a blaze, boiling water was poured on the heads of both the missionaries. The voice of Lallemand was choked by the thick smoke; but, the fire having snapped his bonds, he lifted his hands to heaven, imploring the aid of Him who is an aid to the weak. Brebeuf was scalped while yet alive, and died after a torture of three hours; the sufferings of Lallemand were prolonged for seventeen hours. The lives of both had been a continual heroism; their deaths were the astonishment of their executioners.

It may be asked if these massacres quenched enthusiasm. The Jesuits never receded; but as, in a brave army, new troops press forward to fill the places of the fallen, there were never wanting heroism and enterprise in behalf of the cross and French dominion.

It was intended to collect the scattered remnants of the Hurons in the Grand Manitoulin Isle, which was chosen to be the centre of the western missions. "We shall be nearer," wrote Rageneau, cheeringly, "to the Algonkins of the west;" and, as the way to Quebec, even by the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, was beset with danger, it was thought that, through the remote wilderness, some safe avenue might yet be opened. But the Hurons, destined to be scattered through the widest regions, hovered, for a season, round the isles that were nearest the graves of their ancestors; and the mission on the Grand Manitoulin was abandoned. 1649.

The great point of desire was the conversion of the

Five Nations themselves. Undismayed by barbarism or the martyrdom of their brethren, the missionaries were still eager to gain admission, while the Mohawks and the other tribes, having now through commerce with the Dutch learned the use of fire-arms, seemed resolved on asserting their power in every direction, — not only over the barbarians of the north, the west, and the south-west, but over the French themselves. They bade defiance to forts and intrenchments; their war-parties triumphed at Three
1651. Rivers, were too powerful for the palisades of Silleri, and proudly passed by the walls of Quebec. The Ottawas were driven from their old abodes to the forests in the Bay of Saginaw. No frightful solitude in the wilderness, no impenetrable recess in the frozen north, was safe against the passions of the Five Nations. Their chiefs, animated not by cruelty only, but by pride, were resolved that no nook should escape their invasions, that no nation should rule but themselves; and, as their warriors strolled by Three Rivers and Quebec, they killed the gov-
1653. ernor of the one settlement, and carried off a priest from the other.

At length, satisfied with the display of their prowess, they themselves desired rest. Besides, of the scattered Hurons, many had sought refuge among their oppressors, and, according to an Indian custom, had been incorporated with the tribes of the Five Nations. Of these, some re-
1654. tained affection for the French. When peace was concluded, and Father Le Moyne appeared as envoy among the Onondagas to ratify the treaty, he found there a multitude of Hurons, who, like the Jews at Babylon, retained their faith in a land of strangers. The hope was renewed of winning the whole west and north to Christendom.

The villages bordering on the settlements of the Dutch were indifferent to the peace; the western tribes, who could more easily traffic with the French, adhered to it
1654. firmly. At last, the Mohawks also grew weary of the strife; and Le Moyne, selecting the banks of their river for his abode, resolved to persevere, in the vain

hope of infusing into their savage nature the gentler spirit of civilization.

The Onondagas were more sincere; and when Chaumonot, a native of France, long a missionary among the Hurons, left Quebec for their territory, he was ac- 1655.
companied by Claude Dablon, a missionary, who had recently arrived from France, and a party of laymen and soldiers. They were hospitably welcomed at On- Nov. 5.
ondaga, the principal village of the tribe. A general convention was held, by their desire; before the mul- Nov. 15.
titudinous assembly of the chiefs and the whole people, gathered under the open sky, among the primeval forests, presents were delivered; and the Jesuit, with much gesture, after the Italian manner, discoursed so eloquently to the crowd that it seemed to Dablon as if the word of God had been preached to all the nations of that land.
On the next day, the chiefs and others crowded round Nov. 16.
the Jesuits, with their songs of welcome. "Happy land!" they sang; "happy land! in which the French are to dwell;" and the chief led the chorus, "Glad tidings! glad tidings! it is well that we have spoken together; it is well that we have a heavenly message." A chapel
sprung into existence, and, by the zeal of the na- Nov. 18.
tives, was finished in a day. "For marbles and precious metals," writes Dablon, "we employed only bark; but the path to heaven is as open through a roof of bark as through arched ceilings of silver and gold." The savages showed themselves susceptible of religious ecstasy; and in the heart of New York, near the present city of Syracuse, hard by the spring which is still known as the Jesuits' Well, the services of the Roman church were chanted as securely as in any part of Christendom. The charter of the hundred associates included the basin of every tributary of the St. Lawrence. The Onondagas dwelt exclusively on the Oswego and its tributary waters; their land was, therefore, a part of the empire of France. The cross and the lily, emblems of France and Christianity, were cherished in the hamlet which was at that time the farthest inland European settlement in our country, and preceded

by a century the occupation of Western New York by the English.

The success of the mission encouraged Dablon to invite a French colony into the land of the Onondagas; and, though the attempt excited the jealousy of the Mohawks, whose war-chiefs, in their hunt after Huron fugitives, still roamed even to the Isle of Orleans, a company of
1656. May 7. fifty Frenchmen embarked for Onondaga. Diffuse harangues, dances, songs, and feastings were their
July 11. welcome from the Indians. In a general convocation of the tribe, the question of adopting Christianity
July 24. as its religion was debated; and sanguine hope already included the land of the Onondagas as a part of Christendom. The chapel, too small for the throng of worshippers that assembled to the sound of its little bell, was enlarged. The Cayugas also desired a missionary, and they received the fearless René Mesnard. In their village, a chapel was erected, with mats for the tapestry; and there the pictures of the Saviour and of the Virgin mother were unfolded to the admiring children of the wilderness. The Oneidas also listened to the missionary; and, early
1657. in 1657, Chaumonot reached the more fertile and more densely peopled land of the Senecas. The influence of France was planted in the valleys of Western New York. The Jesuit priests published their faith from the Mohawk to the Genesee, Onondaga remaining the central station.

But the savage nature of the tribes was unchanged. At this time, a ruthless war of extermination was waged against the nation of Erie and in the north of Ohio. The crowded hamlet became a scene of carnage. Prisoners, too, were brought home to the villages, and delivered to the flames; and what could the Jesuits expect of nations who could burn even children with refinements of tortures? "Our lives," said Mesnard, "are not safe." In Quebec, and in France, men trembled for the missionaries. They made their home among cannibals; hunger, thirst, nakedness, were to be encountered; nature itself offered trials; and the first colony of the French, making its home near the Lake

of Onondaga, and encountering the forest with the axe, suffered from fever before they could prepare their tenements. Border collisions also continued. The Oneidas murdered three Frenchmen, and the French retaliated by seizing Iroquois. At last, when a conspiracy was framed in the tribe of the Onondagas, the French, having vainly solicited re-enforcements, abandoned their chapel, their cabins, their hearths, and the valley of the Oswego. The Mohawks compelled Le Moyne to return; and the French and the Five Nations were once more at war. Such was the issue of the most successful attempt at French colonization in New York.

1657.

1658. Mar. 19.

1658. 1659.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FRANCE AND THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

MEANTIME, the Jesuits reached our country in the far west. In August, 1654, two young fur-traders, smitten with the love of adventure, joined a band of the Ottawas or other Algonkins, and, in their gondolas of bark, ventured on a voyage of five hundred leagues. After two years, they reappeared, accompanied by a fleet of fifty canoes. The natives ascend the cliff of St. Louis, welcomed by a salute from the ordnance of the castle. They describe the vast lakes of the west, and the numerous tribes that hover round them; they speak of the Knisteneaux, whose homes stretched away to the Northern Sea; of the powerful Sioux, who dwelt beyond Lake Superior; and they demand commerce with the French, and missionaries for the boundless west.

1654. Aug. 6.

The request was eagerly granted; and Gabriel Dreuillettes, the same who carried the cross through the forests of Maine, and Leonard Gareau, of old a missionary among the Hurons, were selected as the first religious envoys to a land of sacrifices and deaths. The canoes are launched; the tawny mariners embark; the oars flash, and sounds of joy and triumph mingle with the last adieus. But, just below Montreal, a band of Mohawks, enemies to the Ottawas, awaited the convoy; in the affray, Gareau was mortally wounded, and the fleet dispersed.

1656. Aug. 30.

The remote nations, by the necessity of the case, still sought alliance with the French. The Mohawks, and their confederates, receiving European arms from Albany, exterminated the Eries, and approached the Miamis and the Illinois. The western Indians desired commerce with the

French, that they might gain means to resist the Iroquois; and, as furs were abundant there, the traders pressed forward to Green Bay. Two of them dared to pass the winter of 1659 on the banks of Lake Superior. Enriched with knowledge of the western world, in the summer of 1660, they came down to Quebec, with an escort of sixty canoes, rowed by three hundred Algonkins, and laden with peltry. 1659.

If the Five Nations can penetrate these remote regions, to satiate their passion for blood; if mercantile enterprise can bring furs from the plains of the Sioux, — why cannot the cross be borne to their cabins, and the name of the king of France be pronounced in their councils? The zeal of Francis de Laval, the bishop of Quebec, kindled with a desire himself to enter on the mission; but the lot fell to René Mesnard. He was charged to visit Green Bay and Lake Superior, and, on a convenient inlet, to establish a residence as the common place of assembly for the surrounding nations. Joining a party of Ottawas who were returning to their homes on Lake Superior, he made few preparations; for he trusted, such are his words, "in the Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert, and clothes the wild flowers of the forests." Obedient to his vows, the aged man entered on the path that was red with the blood of his predecessors, and made haste to scatter the seeds of truth through the wilderness, even though the sower cast his seed in weeping. "In three or four months," he wrote to a friend, "you may add me to the memento of deaths." In October, he carried the flying church of Christian savages to the bay which he called St. Theresa, and which may have been the Bay of Keweena, on the south shore of Lake Superior. After a residence of eight months, he yielded to the invitation of Hurons who had found refuge in the Isle of St. Michael; and, bidding farewell to his neophytes and the French, and to those whom he never more should meet on earth, he departed, with one attendant, for the Bay of Chegoimegon. The accounts would indicate that he took the route by way of Keweena Lake and 1660. Aug. Oct. 15. 1661.

Portage. There, while his attendant was employed
1661. Aug. 20. in transporting the canoe, Mesnard was lost in the forest, and was never again seen.

1660. Meantime, the colony of New France was too feeble to defend itself against the fickleness and increasing confidence of the Iroquois: the harvest could not be gathered in safety; the convents were insecure; many prepared to return to France; in moments of gloom, it seemed as if all must be abandoned. True, religious zeal was
1661. still active. Le Moyne once more appeared among the Five Nations, and was received with affection at Onondaga. The deputies of the Senecas, the Cayu-
Aug. 12. gas, and the Onondagas, assembled to the sound of the bell that had belonged to the chapel of the Jesuits; and the resolve of the council was peace. But he could influence only the upper nations. The Mohawks would not be appeased; Montreal was not safe: one
1662. ecclesiastic was killed near its gates; a new organization of the colony was needed, or it would come to an end.

1663. The company of the hundred associates resolved,
Feb. 14. therefore, to resign the colony to the king; and immediately, under the auspices of Colbert, it was conceded to the new company of the West Indies.

An appeal was made, in favor of Canada, to the king; the company of Jesuits publicly invited him to assume its defence, and become their champion against the Iroquois. After various efforts at fit appointments, the year 1665 saw the colony of New France protected by a royal regiment, with the aged but indefatigable Tracy as general; with Courcelles, a veteran soldier, as governor; and with Talon, a man of business and of integrity, as intendant and representative of the king in civil affairs. Every omen was favorable, save the conquest of New Netherland by the English. That conquest eventually made the Five Nations a dependence on the English world; and if for twenty-five years England and France sued for their friendship with uncertain success, yet afterwards, in the grand division between parties throughout the world, the Bourbons found in them

implacable opponents. The Europeans in their struggle against legitimacy and for freedom, having come all the way into the wilderness, pursued the contest even there, making of the Iroquois allies, and of their hunting-fields battle-grounds.

With better hopes, undismayed by the sad fate of Gareau and Mesnard, indifferent to hunger, nakedness, and cold, to the wreck of their ships of bark, and to fatigues and weariness by night and by day, — in August, 1665, Father Claude Alloüez embarked on a mission by way of the Ottawa to the far west. 1665. Aug. 8. Early in September he reached the rapids, through which the waters of the upper lakes rush to the Huron, and admired the beautiful river with its woody isles and inviting bays. On the second of that month, he entered the lake which the savages reverenced as a divinity, and of which the entrance presents a spectacle of magnificence rarely excelled in the rugged scenery of the north. He passed the lofty ridge of naked sand, which stretches along the shore its stupendous piles of drifting barrenness; he sailed by the cliffs of pictured sandstone, which for twelve miles rise three hundred feet in height, fretted by the chafing waves into arches and bastions, caverns and towering walls, heaps of prostrate ruins, and erect columns crowned with fantastic entablatures. Landing on the south shore, he said mass; thus consecrating the forests, which he claimed for a Christian king.

Sailing beyond the Bay of St. Theresa, and having vainly sought for a mass of pure copper of which he had heard rumors, on the first day of October he arrived at the great village of the Chippewas in the Bay of Chegoimegon. Oct. It was at a moment when the young warriors were bent on a strife with the warlike Sioux. A grand council of ten or twelve neighboring nations was held to wrest the hatchet from the hands of the rash braves; and Alloüez was admitted to an audience before the vast assembly. In the name of Louis XIV. and his viceroy, he commanded peace, and offered commerce and an alliance against the Iroquois; the soldiers of France would smooth the path

between the Chippewas and Quebec; would brush the pirate canoes from the rivers; would leave to the Five Nations no choice but between tranquillity and destruction. On the shore of the bay, to which the abundant fisheries attracted crowds, a chapel soon rose, and the mission of the Holy Spirit was founded. There admiring throngs who had never seen a European came to gaze on the white man, and on the pictures which he displayed of the realms of hell and of the last judgment; there a choir of Chippewas were taught to chant the pater and the ave. During his long sojourn, he lighted the torch of faith for more than twenty different nations. The dwellers round the Sault, a band of "the Outchibouec," as the Jesuits called the Chippewas, pitched their tents near his cabin for a month, and received his instructions. The scattered Hurons and Ottawas, that roamed the deserts north of Lake Superior, appealed to his compassion, and, before his return, obtained his presence in their morasses. From the unexplored recesses of Lake Michigan came the Pottawatomies; and these worshippers of the sun invited him to their homes. The Sacs and Foxes travelled on foot from their country, which abounded in deer and beaver and buffalo. The Illinois, a hospitable race, unaccustomed to canoes, having no weapon but the bow and arrow, came to rehearse their sorrows. Their ancient glory and their numbers had been diminished by the Sioux on the one side, and the Iroquois, armed with muskets, on the other. Curiosity was roused by their tale of the noble river on which they dwelt, and which flowed towards the south. "They had no forests, but, instead of them, vast prairies, where herds of deer and buffalo, and other animals, grazed on the tall grasses." They explained, also, the wonders of their peace-pipe, and declared it their custom to welcome the friendly stranger with shouts of joy. "Their country," said Allouëz, "is the best field for the gospel. Had I had leisure, I would have gone to their dwellings, to see with my own eyes all the good that was told me of them."

1665 to 1667.

Then, too, at the very extremity of the lake, the missionary met the wild, impassive warriors of the Sioux, who

dwelt to the west of Lake Superior, in a land of prairies, with wild rice for food, and skins of beasts, instead of bark, for roofs to their cabins, on the banks of the Great River, of which Alloüez reported the name to be "Messipi."

After residing for nearly two years chiefly on the southern margin of Lake Superior, and connecting his name with the progress of discovery in the west, Alloüez in August, 1667, returned to Quebec to urge the establishment of permanent missions, to be accompanied by little colonies of French emigrants; and such was his own fervor, such the earnestness with which he was seconded, that, in two days, with another priest, Louis Nicolas, for his companion, he was on his way, returning to the mission at Chegoimegon. In this year, some Indians gave to the French a massive specimen of very pure copper ore. 1667. Aug.

The prevalence of peace favored the progress of French dominion; the company of the West Indies, resigning its monopoly of the fur-trade, gave an impulse to Canadian enterprise; a recruit of missionaries had arrived from France; and Claude Dablon and James Marquette repaired to the Chippewas at the Sault, to establish the mission of St. Mary. It is the oldest settlement begun by Europeans within the present limits of the commonwealth of Michigan. 1668.

For the succeeding years, the illustrious triumvirate, Alloüez, Dablon, and Marquette, were employed in confirming the influence of France in the regions that extend from Green Bay to the head of Lake Superior, mingling happiness with suffering, and winning glory by perseverance. For to what inclemencies from nature and from man was each missionary among the barbarians exposed! He defies the severity of climate, wading through water or through snows, without the comfort of fire; having no bread but pounded maize, and often no food but the unwholesome moss from the rocks; laboring incessantly; exposed to live, as it were, without nourishment, to sleep without a resting-place, to travel far and always incurring perils, — to carry his life in his hand, expecting captivity, death from the tomahawk, tortures, fire. And yet the simplicity and the free-

dom of life in the wilderness had their charms. The heart of the missionary would swell with delight, as, under a serene sky, and with a mild temperature, and breathing a pure air, he moved over waters as transparent as the most limpid fountain. Every encampment offered his attendants the pleasures of the chase. Like a patriarch, he dwelt beneath a tent; and of the land through which he walked, he was its master, in the length of it and in the breadth of it, profiting by its productions, without the embarrassment of ownership. How often was the pillow of stones like that where Jacob felt the presence of God! How often did the ancient oak, of which the centuries were untold, seem like the tree of Mamre, beneath which Abraham broke bread with angels! Each day gave the pilgrim a new site for his dwelling, which the industry of a few moments would erect, and for which nature provided a floor of green inlaid with flowers.

1669. The purpose of discovering the Mississippi, of which the tales of the natives had published the magnificence, sprung from Marquette himself. He Sept. 13. had resolved on attempting it in the autumn of 1669; and, when delay intervened, from the necessity of employing himself at Chegoimegon, which Alloüez had exchanged for a new mission at Green Bay, he selected a young Illinois as a companion, by whose instructions 1669. 1670. he became familiar with the dialect of that tribe.

1670. Continued commerce with the French gave protection to the Algonkins of the west, and confirmed their attachment. A political interest grew up, and extended to Colbert and the ministry of Louis XIV. It became the fixed purpose of Talon, the intendant of the colony, to spread the power of France to the utmost borders of Canada, and even to the South Sea. To this end, as soon as he disembarked at Quebec, he made choice of Saint-Lusson to hold a congress at the Falls of St. Mary. The invitation was sent by Nicolas Perrot in every direction for more than a hundred leagues round about; and fourteen nations, among them Sacs, Foxes, and Miamis, agreed to be present by their ambassadors.

The fourth of June, 1671, the day appointed for the congress of nations, arrived; and, with Allouëz as his interpreter, Saint-Lusson, fresh from an excursion to Southern Canada, — that is, the borders of the Kennebec, where English habitations were already sown broadcast along the coast, — appeared at the Falls of St. Mary as the delegate of Talon. 1671. June. There are assembled the envoys of the republicans of the wilderness, and brilliantly clad officers from the veteran armies of the king of France. It was announced to the natives, gathered, as they were, from the head-springs of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Red River, that they were placed under his protection. A cross of cedar was raised; and, amidst the groves of maple and pine, of elm and hemlock, that are intermingled on the banks of the St. Mary, where the bounding river lashes its waters into snowy whiteness, as they hurry past the dark evergreen of the forested islands in the channel, — the whole company of the French, bowing before the emblem of man's redemption, chanted to its glory a hymn of the seventh century: —

Vexilla Regis prodeunt;
Fulget crucis mysterium.
The banners of heaven's King advance;
The mystery of the cross shines forth.

By the side of the cross, a cedar column was planted and marked with the lilies of the Bourbons in the presence of the ancient races of America, in the heart of our continent. Yet this daring ambition of the servants of a military monarch was doomed to leave no abiding monument, this echo of the middle age to die away.

In the same year, Marquette gathered the wandering remains of one branch of the Huron nation round a chapel at Point St. Ignace, on the continent north of the peninsula of Michigan. 1671. The climate was repulsive; but fish abounded, at all seasons, in the strait; and the establishment was long maintained as the key to the west, and the convenient rendezvous of the remote Algonkins. Here Marquette once more gained a place among the founders of Michigan. Nicolas Perrot attempted the discovery of copper mines near Lake Superior.

1672. The countries south of the village founded by Marquette were explored by Alloüez and Dablon, who bore the cross through Eastern Wisconsin and the north of Illinois, visiting the Mascoutins and the Kickapoos on the Milwaukee, and the Miamis at the head of Lake Michigan. The young men of the latter tribe were intent on an excursion against the Sioux, and they prayed to the missionaries to give them the victory. After finishing the circuit, Alloüez extended his rambles to the cabins of the Foxes on the river which bears their name.

1673. The long-expected discovery of the Mississippi was at hand, to be accomplished by Joliet, of Quebec, of whom there is no record but of this one excursion, and by Marquette, who, after years of pious assiduity to the poor wrecks of Hurons, whom he planted near abundant fisheries on the cold extremity of Michigan, entered with equal humility upon a career, which exposed his life to perpetual danger, and by its results affected the destiny of nations.

The enterprise projected by Marquette had been favored by Talon, the intendant of New France, who, on the point of quitting Canada, wished to signalize the last period of his stay by ascertaining if the French, descending the great river of the central west, could bear the banner of France to the Pacific, or plant it, side by side with that of Spain, on the Gulf of Mexico.

A branch of the Pottawatomies, familiar with Marquette as a missionary, heard with wonder the daring proposal. "Those distant nations," said they, "never spare the strangers; their mutual wars fill their borders with bands of warriors; the Great River abounds in monsters, which devour both men and canoes; the excessive heats occasion death." "I shall gladly lay down my life for the salvation of souls," replied the good father; and the docile nation joined him in prayer.

June 9. At the last village on Fox River ever visited by the French, — where Kickapoos, Mascoutins, and Miamis dwelt together on a hill in the centre of prairies and groves, that extended as far as the eye could reach, and where Alloüez had already raised the cross, which the

savages had ornamented with brilliant skins and crimson belts, a thank-offering to the Great Manitou, — the ancients assembled in council to receive the pilgrims. "My companion," said Marquette, "is an envoy of France to discover new countries; and I am ambassador from God to enlighten them with the gospel;" and, offering presents, he begged two guides for the morrow. The wild men answered courteously, and gave in return a mat, to serve as a couch during the long voyage.

Behold, then, in 1673, on the tenth day of June, the meek, single-hearted, unpretending, illustrious Marquette, with Joliet for his chieftain, five Frenchmen as his companions, and two Algonkins as guides, lifting their two canoes on their backs, and walking across the narrow portage that divides the Fox River from the Wisconsin. They reach the water-shed; uttering a special prayer to the immaculate Virgin, they leave the streams that, flowing onwards, could have borne their greetings to the castle of Quebec; already they stand by the Wisconsin. "The guides returned," says the gentle Marquette, "leaving us alone, in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence." Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers, as they sailed west, went solitarily down its current, between alternate plains and hillsides, beholding neither man nor the wonted beasts of the forest: no sound broke the appalling silence, but the ripple of their canoe, and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven days, "they entered happily the Great River, with a joy that could not be expressed;" and the two birch-bark canoes, raising their happy sails under new skies and to unknown breezes, floated down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over broad clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable water-fowl; winding through islets that swelled with tufts of massive thickets from the bosom of the channel, and between the natural parks and prairies of Illinois and Iowa.

About sixty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, the western bank of the Mississippi bore on its sands the trail of men; a little footpath was discerned leading into a beautiful prairie; and, leaving the canoes, 1673. June 25.

Joliet and Marquette resolved alone to brave a meeting with the savages. After walking six miles, they beheld a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a slope, at a distance of a mile and a half from the first. The river was the Mou-in-gou-e-na, or Moingona, of which we have corrupted the name into Des Moines. Marquette and Joliet were the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa. Commending themselves to God, they uttered a loud cry. The Indians hear; four old men advance slowly to meet them, bearing the peace-pipe, brilliant with many colored plumes. "We are Illinois," said they, — that is, when translated, "We are men;" and they offered the calumet. An aged chief received them at his cabin with upraised hands, exclaiming: "How beautiful is the sun, Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! Our whole village awaits thee; thou shalt enter in peace into all our dwellings." And the pilgrims were followed by the devouring gaze of an astonished crowd.

At the great council, Marquette published to them the one true God, their Creator. He spoke, also, of the great captain of the French, the governor of Canada, who had chastised the Five Nations and commanded peace; and he questioned them respecting the Mississippi and the tribes that possessed its banks. For the messengers, who announced the subjection of the Iroquois, a magnificent festival was prepared of hominy and fish, and the choicest viands from the prairies.

After six days' delay, and invitations to new visits, the chieftain of the tribe, with hundreds of warriors, attended the strangers to their canoes; and, selecting a peace-pipe embellished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and all feathered over with plumage of various hues, they hung round Marquette the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, the sacred calumet, a safeguard among the nations.

1673. July. The little group proceeded onwards. "I did not fear death," says Marquette; "I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God." They passed the perpendicular rocks, which wore the appearance of monsters; they heard at a distance the

noise of the waters of the Missouri, known to them by its Algonkin name of Pekitanoni; and, when they came to the grandest confluence of rivers in the world, — where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea, — the good Marquette resolved in his heart, anticipating Lewis and Clarke, one day to ascend the mighty river to its source; to cross the ridge that divides the oceans, and, descending a westerly flowing stream, to publish the gospel to all the people of this New World.

In a little less than forty leagues, the canoes floated past the Ohio, which then, and long afterwards, was called the Wabash. Its banks were tenanted by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois.

The thick canes begin to appear so close and strong that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects become intolerable; as a shelter against the suns of July, the sails are folded into an awning. The prairies vanish; and forests of whitewood, admirable for their vastness and height, crowd even to the skirts of the pebbly shore. It was, moreover, observed that, in the land of the Chickasaws, the Indians had obtained fire-arms.

Near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi, stood the village of Mitchigamea, in a region that had not been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto. "Now," thought Marquette, "we must, indeed, ask the aid of the Virgin." Armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers, amidst continual whoops, the natives, bent on war, embark in vast canoes made out of the trunks of hollow trees; but, at the sight of the mysterious peace-pipe held aloft, God touched the hearts of the old men, who checked the impetuosity of the young; and, throwing their bows and quivers into the canoes, as a token of peace, they prepared a hospitable welcome.

The next day, a long, wooden canoe, containing ten men, escorted the discoverers, for eight or ten leagues, to the village of Akansea, the limit of their voyage. They had left the region of the Algonkins, and, in the midst of the

Sioux and Chickasaws, could speak only by an interpreter. A half league above Akansea, they were met by two boats, in one of which stood the commander, holding in his hand the peace-pipe, and singing as he drew near. After offering the pipe, he gave bread of maize. The wealth of his tribe consisted in buffalo skins; their weapons were axes of steel, — a proof of commerce with Europeans.

Thus had our travellers descended below the entrance of the Arkansas, to the genial climes that have almost no winter but rains, beyond the bound of the Huron and Algonkin languages, to the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico, and to tribes of Indians that had obtained European arms by traffic with Spaniards or with Virginia. So, having ascertained that the father of rivers went not to the ocean east of Florida, nor yet to the Gulf of California, on the seventeenth of July Marquette and Joliet left Akansea and ascended the Mississippi.

At the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, they entered the river Illinois, and discovered a country without its paragon for fertile prairies. The tribe of the Illinois entreated Marquette to come back and reside among them. One of their chiefs, with their young men, conducted the party to Chicago; and, before the end of September, the explor-
1674. ers were safe in Green Bay. In a relation sent the next year by Father Dablon, a canal is proposed to connect Lake Michigan with the Illinois River.

Joliet returned to Quebec to announce the discovery, of which the fame, through Talon, fired the ambition of
1675. Colbert. In 1675, Marquette, who had been delayed by his failing health for more than a year, rejoined the Illinois on their river. Assembling the whole tribe, whose chiefs and men were reckoned at two thousand, he raised before them pictures of the Virgin Mary, spoke to them of one who had died on the cross for all men, and built an altar and said mass in their presence on the prairie. Again celebrating the mystery of the eucharist, on Easter Sunday he took possession of the land in the name of Jesus Christ, and, to the universal joy of the multitude, founded the mission of the Immaculate Conception. This work

accomplished, he journeyed by way of Chicago to Mackinaw; but, foreknowing his death, he entered a little river in Michigan to breathe his last. Exposed upon the shore, like Francis Xavier, whom he loved to imitate, he repeated in solitude all his acts of devotion of the preceding days. Then, having called his companions and given them absolution, he begged them once more to leave him alone. When, after a little while, they went to seek him, they found him passing gently away near the stream that bears his name. On its highest bank, the canoe-men dug his grave in the sand. Ever after, the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake Michigan, would invoke his name. One state in the north-west calls after him city and county and river.

At the death of Marquette, there dwelt at the outlet of Lake Ontario Robert Cavalier de la Salle. Of a good family, he had renounced his inheritance by entering the seminary of the Jesuits. After profiting by the discipline of their schools, and obtaining their praise for purity and diligence, he had taken his discharge from the fraternity; and, with no companions but poverty and a boundless spirit of enterprise, about the year 1667, when the attention of all France was directed towards Canada, the young merchant adventurer embarked for fame and fortune in New France. Established at first, as a fur-trader, at La Chine, and encouraged by Talon and Courcelles, he explored Lake Ontario, and ascended to Lake Erie; and, when the French governor, some years after occupying the banks of the Sorel, began to fortify the outlet of Lake On- 1675.
tario, La Salle, repairing to France, and aided by Frontenac, obtained the rank of nobility, and the grant of Fort Frontenac, now the village of Kingston, on condition of maintaining the fortress. The grant was, in fact, a concession of a large domain and the exclusive traffic with the Five Nations.

In the portion of the wilderness of which the 1675 to 1677.
young man was proprietary, cultivated fields proved the fertility of the soil; his herd of cattle multiplied; groups of Iroquois built their cabins in the environs, a few French settled under his shelter; Franciscans, now tolerated

in Canada, renewed their missions under his auspices; the noble forests invited the construction of log cabins and vessels with decks; and no canoe-men in Canada could shoot a rapid with such address as the pupils of La Salle. Fortune was within his grasp. But Joliet, as he descended from the upper lakes, had passed by the bastions of Fort Frontenac, had spread the news of the brilliant career of discoveries opened in the west. In the solitudes of Upper Canada, the secluded adventurer had inflamed his imagination by reading the voyages of Columbus and the history of the rambles of De Soto; and the Iroquois had, moreover, described to him the course of the Ohio. Thus the young enthusiast framed plans of colonization in the south-west, and of commerce between Europe and the Mississippi. Once more he repaired to France; and from the policy of Colbert, who instinctively listened to the vast schemes which his heroic sagacity had planned, and the special favor of Seignelay, Colbert's son, he obtained, with the monopoly of the traffic in buffalo skins, a commission for perfecting the dis-
1678. covery of the Great River. With Tonti, an Italian veteran, as his lieutenant, and a recruit of mechanics and mariners; with anchors, and sails, and cordage for rigging a ship, and stores of merchandise for traffic with the natives, — with swelling hopes and a boundless ambition, La Salle, in the autumn of 1678, returned to Fort Frontenac. As a discoverer, he should have gone to the head-waters of the Alleghany, and so to the Ohio; he chose the way by the lakes for the sake of trading for buffalo robes. Before winter, "a wooden canoe" of ten tons, the first that ever sailed into Niagara River, bore a part of his company to the vicinity of the falls; at Niagara, a trading-house was established; in the mouth of the Cayuga Creek, the work of ship-building began; Tonti and the Franciscan Hennepin, venturing among the Senecas, established relations of amity; while La Salle himself, skilled in the Indian dialects, was now urging forward the ship-builders, now gathering furs at his magazine, now gazing at the mighty cataract, now sending forward a detachment into the country of the Illinois to prepare the way for his reception.

Under the auspices of La Salle, Europeans first pitched a tent at Niagara; it was he who, in 1679, amidst the salvo from his little artillery, the chanting of the Te Deum, and the astonished gaze of the Senecas, first launched a wooden vessel, a bark of sixty tons, on the upper Niagara River, and, in the "Griffin," freighted with the colony of fur-traders for the valley of the Mississippi, on the seventh day of August unfurled a sail to the breezes of Lake Erie. Indifferent to the malignity of those who envied his genius or were injured by his special privileges, La Salle, first of mariners, sailed over Lake Erie and between the verdant isles of the Detroit; debated planting a colony on its banks; gave a name to Lake St. Clair, from the day on which he traversed its shallow waters; and, after escaping from storms on Lake Huron, and planting a trading-house at Mackinaw, he cast anchor in Green Bay. Here having despatched his brig to Niagara River with a very rich cargo of furs, he himself, with his company in scattered groups, repaired in bark canoes to the head of Lake Michigan; and at the mouth of the St. Joseph's, in that peninsula where Allouez had already gathered a village of Miamis, awaiting the return of the "Griffin," he constructed the trading-house, with palisades, known as the Fort of the Miamis. It marks his careful forethought that he sounded the mouth of the St. Joseph's, and raised buoys to mark the channel. But of his vessel, on which his fortunes so much depended, no tidings came. Weary of delay, he resolved to penetrate Illinois; and, leaving ten men to guard the fort of the Miamis, La Salle himself, with Hennepin and two other Franciscans, with Tonti and about thirty followers, ascended the St. Joseph's, and, by a short portage over bogs and swamps made dangerous by a snow-storm, entered the Kankakee. Descending its narrow stream, before the end of December, the company had reached the site of an Indian village on the Illinois, probably not far from Ottawa, in La Salle county. The tribe was absent, passing the winter in the chase.

1679. Aug. 7.

Aug. 17.

Aug. 27.

Dec. 3.

1680. Jan. 4. On the banks of Lake Peoria, Indians appeared; they were Illinois; and, desirous to obtain axes and fire-arms, they offered the calumet, and agreed to an alliance: if the Iroquois should renew their invasions, they would claim the French as allies. They heard with joy that colonies were to be established in their territory; they described the course of the Mississippi, and they were willing to guide the strangers to its mouth. The spirit and prudence of La Salle, who was the life of the enterprise, won the friendship of the natives. But clouds lowered over his path: the "Griffin," it seemed certain, was wrecked, thus delaying his discoveries as well as impairing his fortunes; his men began to despond: alone against them all, he toiled to revive their courage; there could be no safety but in union: "None," he added, "shall stay after the spring, unless from choice." But fear and discontent pervaded the company; and when La Salle planned and began to build a fort on the banks of the Illinois, four days' journey, it is said, below Lake Peoria, thwarted by destiny, and almost despairing, he named the fort Crevecœur.

Yet here the immense power of his will appeared. With no resources but in himself, fifteen hundred miles from the nearest French settlement, impoverished, pursued by enemies at Quebec, and in the wilderness surrounded by uncertain nations, he inspired his men with resolution to saw trees into plank and prepare a bark; he despatched Louis Hennepin to explore the upper Mississippi; he questioned the Illinois and their southern captives on the course of the Mississippi; he formed conjectures respecting the Tennessee River; and then, as new recruits were needed, and sails and cordage for the bark, in the month of March, with a musket and a pouch of powder and shot, with a blanket for his protection, and skins of which to make moccasons, he,

1680. March. with three companions, set off on foot for Fort Frontenac, to trudge through thickets and forests, to wade through marshes and melting snows, having for his pathway the ridge of highlands which divide the basin of the Ohio from that of the lakes, without drink except water from the brooks, without food except supplies from the gun.

During the absence of La Salle, Michael Accault, accompanied by Du Gay and by the Franciscan, Louis Hennepin, bearing the calumet, followed the Illinois to its junction with the Mississippi; and, invoking the guidance of St. Anthony of Padua, they then ascended the mighty stream far beyond the mouth of the Wisconsin. The great falls in the river, which he describes with tolerable accuracy, were named from the chosen patron of the expedition. On a tree near the cataract, the Franciscan engraved the cross, and the arms of France; and, after a summer's rambles, diversified by a short captivity among the Sioux, the party returned, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, to the French mission at Green Bay.

In Illinois, Tonti was less fortunate. La Salle had selected, as the fit centre of his colony, Rock Fort, near a village of the Illinois; a cliff rising two hundred feet above the river that flows at its base, in the centre of a lovely country of verdant prairies, bordered by distant slopes, richly tufted with oak and black walnut, and the noblest trees of the American forest. This rock Tonti was to fortify; and, during the attempt, men at Crevecœur deserted. Besides, the enemies of La Salle had instigated the Iroquois to hostility; and, in September, a large party of them, descending the river, threatened ruin to his enterprise. After a parley, Tonti and the few men that remained with him, excepting the aged Franciscan Gabriel de la Ribourde, fled to Lake Michigan, where they found shelter with the Pottawatomies. On the authority of a legend made up in Paris from the adventures of Tonti, — a legend full of geographical contradictions, of confused dates, and manifest fiction, — some have placed this attack of the Iroquois on the Illinois in 1681. The narrative of Hennepin, the whole of which was printed in 1682, proves conclusively that it happened in 1680, as Frontenac, the governor of Canada, related at the time.

When, therefore, La Salle returned to Illinois, with large supplies of men and stores for rigging a brigantine, he found the post in Illinois deserted. Hence came 1681.
the delay of another year, which was occupied in

traffic at Green Bay; in looking up Tonti and his men; and in finishing a capacious barge. At last, in the early
1682. part of 1682, La Salle and his company descended the Mississippi to the sea. As he floated down its flood; as he framed a cabin on the first Chickasaw bluff; as he raised the cross by the Arkansas; as he planted the arms of France near the Gulf of Mexico, — he anticipated the future affluence of emigrants, and heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that were coming to take possession of the valley. Meantime, he claimed the territory for France, and gave it the name of Louisiana. The year of the descent has been unnecessarily made a question; its accomplishment was known in Paris before the end of 1682.

This was the period of the proudest successes and largest ambition of Louis XIV. La Salle will return, it was said, to give to the court an ample account of the terrestrial paradise of America; there the king will at once call into
1683. being a flourishing empire. And, in fact, La Salle,
May 12. remaining in the west till his exclusive privilege had
Nov. expired, returned to Quebec to embark for France.

Colbert, whose genius had awakened a national spirit in behalf of French industry, and who yet had rested his system of commerce and manufactures on no firmer basis than that of monopoly, was no more; but Seignelay, his son, the minister for maritime affairs, listened confidingly to the expected messenger from the land which was regarded with pride as "the delight of the New World."

1684. In the early months of 1684, the preparations for
July 24. colonizing Louisiana were perfected, and in July the fleet left Rochelle. Four vessels were destined for the Mississippi, bearing two hundred and eighty persons, to take possession of the valley. Of these, one hundred were soldiers, — an ill omen, for successful colonists always defend themselves: about thirty were volunteers, two of whom — young Cavalier, and the rash, passionate Moranget — were nephews to La Salle: of ecclesiastics, there were three Franciscans, and three of St. Sulpice, one of them being brother to La Salle: there were, moreover, mechanics of

various skill; and the presence of young women proved the design of permanent colonization. But the mechanics were poor workmen, ill versed in their art; the soldiers, though they had for their commander Joutel, a man of courage and truth, and afterwards the historian of the grand enterprise, were themselves spiritless vagabonds, without discipline and without experience; the volunteers were restless with indefinite expectations; and, worst of all, the naval commander, Beaujeu, was deficient in judgment, envious, self-willed, and foolishly proud.

Disasters lowered on the voyage at its commencement: a mast breaks; they return; the voyage begins anew amidst variances between La Salle and the naval commander. In every instance on the record, the judgment of La Salle was right.

At St. Domingo, La Salle, delayed and cruelly thwarted by Beaujeu, saw already the shadow of his coming misfortunes. On leaving the island, they were more at variance than ever. They double Cape Antonio; they discover land on the continent: aware of the easterly direction of the gulf-stream, they sail slowly in the opposite course. On the tenth day of January, 1685, they must have been near the mouth of the Mississippi; but La Salle thought not, and the fleet passed beyond it. Presently, he perceived his error, and desired to return; but Beaujeu refused; and thus they went to the west, and still to the west, till they reached the Bay of Matagorda. Weary of differences with Beaujeu, believing the streams that had their outlet in the bay might be either branches from the Mississippi or lead to its vicinity, La Salle resolved to disembark. While he was busy in providing for the safety of his men, his store-ship, on entering the harbor, was wrecked by the careless pilot. Others gazed listlessly; La Salle, calming the terrible energy of his grief at the sudden ruin of his boundless hopes, borrowed boats from the fleet to save, at least, some present supplies. But with night came a gale of wind, and the vessel was dashed utterly in pieces. The stores, provided with the munificence that marked the plans of Louis XIV., lay scattered on the

1684. Nov. 25. Dec. 12. Dec. 28. 1685. Jan. 10.

sea; little could be saved. To aggravate despair, the savages came down to pilfer, and murdered two of the volunteers.

Terror pervaded the group of colonists: the evils of the wreck and the gale were charged to La Salle, as if he ought to have deepened the channel and mastered the winds; men deserted, and returned in the fleet. La Salle, who, by the power of his will, controlled the feeble and irritable persons that surrounded him, and even censured their inefficiency, their treachery, and their disobedience, with angry vehemence, was yet, in his struggle against adversity, magnanimously tranquil. The fleet sets sail, and there remain on the beach of Matagorda a desponding company of
1685. about two hundred and thirty, huddled together in a fort constructed of the fragments of their shipwrecked vessel, having no reliance but in the constancy and elastic genius of La Salle.

Ascending the small stream at the west of the bay, in the vain hope of finding the Mississippi, La Salle selected a site on the open ground for the establishment of a fortified post. The spot, which he named St. Louis, was a gentle slope, which showed, towards the west and south-west, the boundless expansion of the landscape, verdant with luxuriant grasses, and dotted with groves of forest trees; south and east was the Bay of Matagorda, skirted with prairies. The waters abounded with fish, and invited crowds of wild fowl; the fields were alive with deer, and bisons, and wild turkeys, and the dangerous rattlesnake, bright inhabitant of the meadows. There, under the suns of June, with timber felled in an inland grove, and dragged for a league over the prairie grass, the colonists prepared to build a shelter; La Salle being the architect, and himself marking the beams and tenons and mortises. With parts of the wreck, brought up in canoes, a second house was framed, and of each the roof was covered with buffalo skins.

This is the settlement which made Texas a part of Louisiana. In its sad condition, it had yet saved from the wreck a good supply of arms, and bars of iron for the forge. Even now, this colony possessed, from the bounty of Louis

XIV., more than was contributed by all the English monarchs together for the twelve English colonies on the Atlantic. Its number still exceeded that of the early colony in Virginia, or of those who embarked in the "Mayflower." France took possession of Texas; her arms were carved on its forest trees; and by no treaty or public document, except when she ceded the whole of Louisiana, did she ever after relinquish the right to the province as colonized under her banners, and made still more surely a part of her territory, because the colony found there its grave.

Excursions into the vicinity of the Fort St. Louis had discovered nothing but the luxuriant productiveness of the country. La Salle proposed to seek the Mississippi in canoes; and, after an absence of about four months, and the loss of twelve or thirteen men, he returned in rags, having failed to find "the fatal river," and yet renewing hope by his presence. In April, he plunged into the wilderness, with twenty companions, lured towards New Mexico by the brilliant fictions of the rich mines of Sainte Barbe, the El Dorado of Northern Mexico. There, among the Cenis, he succeeded in obtaining five horses, and supplies of maize and beans; but he found no mines. 1685. Dec. 1686. March.

On his return, he was told of the wreck of the little bark which had remained with the colony: he heard it unmoved. Heaven and man seemed his enemies. With the giant energy of an indomitable will, having lost his hopes of fortune, his hopes of fame; with his colony diminished to about forty, among whom discontent had given birth to plans of crime; with no Europeans nearer than the river Panuco, no French nearer than Illinois, — he resolved to travel on foot to his countrymen at the north, and return from Canada to renew his colony in Texas.

Leaving twenty men at Fort St. Louis, in January, 1687, La Salle, with sixteen men, departed for Canada. Lading their baggage on the wild horses from the Cenis, which found their pasture everywhere in the prairies; in shoes made of green buffalo hides; for want of other paths, following the track of the buffalo, and using 1687. Jan. 12.

skins as the only shelter against rain; winning favor with the savages by the confiding courage of their leader, — they ascended the streams towards the first ridge of highlands, walking through beautiful plains and groves, among deer and buffaloes, — now fording clear rivulets, now building a bridge by felling a giant tree across a stream, — till they had passed the basin of the Colorado, and, in the upland country, had reached a branch of Trinity River. In the little company of wanderers, there were two men, Duhaut and L'Archevêque, who had embarked their capital in the enterprise. Of these, Duhaut had long shown a spirit of mutiny: disappointed avarice maddened by suffering, and impatient of control, awakened ungovernable hatred. Inviting Moranget to take charge of the fruits of a buffalo hunt, they quarrelled with him and murdered him. Wondering at the delay of his nephew's return, La Salle, on the twentieth of March, went to seek him. At the brink of the river, he observed eagles hovering as if over carrion; and he fired an alarm gun. Warned by the sound, Duhaut and L'Archevêque crossed the river; the former skulked in the prairie grass; of the latter, La Salle asked: "Where is my nephew?" At the moment of the answer, Duhaut fired; and, without uttering a word, La Salle fell dead. "You are down now, grand bashaw! you are down now!" shouted one of the conspirators, as they despoiled his remains, which were left on the prairie, naked and without burial, to be devoured by wild beasts. For force of will, and vast conceptions; for various knowledge, and quick adaptation to untried circumstances; for energy of purpose and unfaltering hope, — this daring adventurer had no superior among his countrymen. He won the affection of the governor of Canada, the esteem of Colbert, the confidence of Seignelay, the favor of Louis XIV. After beginning the occupation of Upper Canada, he perfected the discovery of the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to its mouth; and he is remembered as the father of colonization in the great central valley of the west.

1687. Mar. 17.

But avarice and passion were not calmed by the blood of La Salle. Duhaut and another of the assassins, grasping at

an unequal share in the spoils, were themselves murdered, while their reckless associates joined a band of savages. Joutel, with the brother and surviving nephew of La Salle, and others, in all but seven, obtained a guide to the Arkansas; and fording rivulets, crossing ravines, by rafts or boats of buffalo hides making a ferry over rivers, not meeting the cheering custom of the calumet till they reached the country above the Red River, leaving an esteemed companion in a wilderness grave on which the piety of an Indian matron heaped offerings of maize, — so many of them as survived came upon a branch of the Mississippi, and beheld on an island a large cross. Never did Christian gaze on that emblem with heartier joy. Near it stood a log hut, tenanted by two Frenchmen. Tonti had descended the river, and, full of grief at not finding La Salle, had established a post near the Arkansas. 1687. July 24.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FRANCE CONTENDS FOR THE FISHERIES AND THE GREAT WEST.

SUCH were the events which gave to the French not only New France and Acadia, Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland, but a claim to a moiety of Maine, of Vermont, and to more than a moiety of New York, to the valley of the Mississippi, and to Texas even, as far as the Rio Bravo del Norte. Throughout that wide region, it sought to introduce its authority, under the severest forms of the colonial system. That system was enforced, with equal eagerness, by England upon the sea-coast. Could France and England and Spain have amicably divided the American continent; could they have been partners, and not rivals, in oppression, I know not whence hope could have beamed upon the colonies.

But the aristocratic revolution of England was the signal for a war with France, growing out of "a root of enmity," which Marlborough described as "irreconcilable to the government and the religion" of Great Britain. Louis XIV. took up arms in defence of legitimacy; and England had the glorious office of asserting the right of a nation to reform its government. But, though the progress of the revolutionary principle was the root of the enmity, France could not, at once, obtain the alliance of every European power which was unfriendly to change. She had encroached on every neighbor; and fear, and a sense of wrong, made all of them her enemies. From regard to the integrity of its territory, the German empire, with Austria, joined with England; and, as the Spanish Netherlands, which constituted the barrier of Holland and Germany against France, and the path of England into the heart of the continent,

could be saved from conquest by France only through the interposition of England and Holland, an alliance followed between the Protestant revolutionary republic and monarchy, on the one side, and the bigoted defender of the Roman Catholic Church and legitimacy, on the other. Hence, also, in the first war of King William, the frontiers of Carolina, bordering on the possessions of Spain, were safe against invasion: Spain and England were allies.

Thus the war of 1689, in Europe, roused Louis XIV. in behalf of legitimacy, and, at the same time, rallied against him, not England only, but every power which dreaded his lawless ambition. William III. was not only the defender of the nationality of England, but of the territorial freedom of Europe.

In North America, the battle was for the fisheries, and for territory at the north and west. The idea of weakening an adversary, by encouraging its colonies to assert independence, did not, at that time, exist; the universal maxim of European statesmanship assumed the fact that they must have a master. In the contests that followed, religious faith and roving enterprise secured to Louis XIV. the active support of the French Canadians. The English colonists sided heartily with England: the English revolution was to them the pledge for freedom of mind as marked by Protestantism, for national freedom as illustrated in the exile of a tyrant and in the election of a constitutional king. Thus the strife in America was between 1689.
England and France for the possession of colonial monopolies; and, in that strife, England rallied her forces under the standard of advancing freedom.

If the issue had depended on the condition of the colonies, it could hardly have seemed doubtful. The French census for the North American continent, in 1688, showed but eleven thousand two hundred and forty-nine persons, scarcely a tenth part of the English population on its frontiers; about a twentieth part of English North America.

West of Montreal, the principal French posts, and 1688.
those but inconsiderable ones, were at Frontenac, at Mackinaw, and on the Illinois. At Niagara, there was a

wavering purpose of maintaining a post, but no permanent occupation. So weak were the garrisons, that English traders, with an escort of Indians, had ventured even to Mackinaw, and, by means of the Senecas, obtained a large share of the commerce of the lakes. French diplo-
1687. macy had attempted to pervade the west, and concert an alliance with all the tribes from Lake Ontario to the Mississippi. The traders were summoned even from the plains of the Sioux; and Tonti and the Illinois were, by way of the Ohio and the Alleghany, to precipitate themselves on the Senecas, while the French should come from Montreal, and the Ottawas and other Algonkins, under Durantaye, the vigilant commander at Mackinaw, should descend from Michigan. But the power of the Illinois was broken; the Hurons and Ottawas were almost ready to become the allies of the Senecas. The savages still
1688. held the keys of the great west; no intercourse existed but by means of the forest rangers, who penetrated the barren heaths round Hudson's Bay, the morasses of the north-west, the homes of the Sioux and Miamis, the recesses of every forest where there was an Indian with skins to sell. "God alone could have saved Canada this year," wrote Denonville, in 1688. But for the missions at the west, Illinois would have been abandoned, and the fort at Mackinaw lost.

Personal enterprise took the direction of the fur-
1689. trade: Port Nelson, in Hudson's Bay, and Fort Albany, were originally possessed by the French. The attention of the court of France was directed to the fisheries; and Acadia had been represented by De Meules as the most important settlement of France. To protect it, the Jesuits Vincent and James Bigot collected a village of Abenakis on the Penobscot; and a flourishing town now marks the spot where the Baron de Saint-Castin, a veteran officer of the regiment of Carignan, established a trading-fort. Would France, it was said, strengthen its post on the Penobscot, occupy the islands that command the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and send supplies to Newfoundland, she would be sole mistress of the fisheries for cod. Hence the

strife with Massachusetts, in which the popular mind was so deeply interested that, to this day, the figure of a cod-fish is suspended in the hall of its representatives.

Thus France, bounding its territory next New England by the Kennebec, claimed New England east of that river, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Hudson's Bay; and, to assert and defend this boundless region, Acadia and its dependencies counted but nine hundred French inhabitants. The missionaries, swaying the mind of the Abenakis, gave the hope of savage allies.

On the declaration of war by France against England, Count Frontenac, once more governor of Canada, was charged to recover Hudson's Bay; to protect Acadia; and, by a descent from Canada, to assist a fleet from France in making conquest of New York. Of that province De Callières was, in advance, appointed governor; the English Catholics were to be permitted to remain; other inhabitants, to be sent into Pennsylvania or New England. But, on reaching the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Frontenac learned the capture of Montreal. 1689. June 25. Sept. 25.

On the twenty-fifth of August, the Iroquois, fifteen hundred in number, reached the Isle of Montreal, at La Chine, at break of day, and, finding all asleep, set fire to the houses, and engaged in one general massacre. In less than an hour, two hundred people met death under forms too horrible for description. Approaching Montreal, they made an equal number of prisoners; and, though they never were masters of the city, they roamed unmolested over the island till the middle of October. In the moment of consternation, Denonville ordered Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, to be evacuated and razed. From Three Rivers to Mackinaw, there remained not one French town, and hardly even a post. Aug. 25.

In Hudson's Bay, a band of brothers — De Sainte Hélène and D'Iberville — sustained the honor of French arms. They were Canadians, sons of Charles Lemoine, an early emigrant from Normandy, whose numerous offspring gave to American history the name of Bienville. Passing across the ridge that divides the rivers of 1689.

Hudson's Bay from those of the St. Lawrence, amidst marvellous adventures, by hardy resolution and daring presence of mind, they had, in 1686, conquered the posts of the English from Fort Rupert to Albany River, leaving them no trading-house in the bay, except that of which, in 1685, they had dispossessed the French at Port Nelson. That post remained to the English; but the sons of Lemoine intercepted the forces which were sent to proclaim William of Orange monarch over jagged cliffs and deep ravines never warmed by a sunbeam, — over the glaciers and mountains, the rivers and trading-houses in Hudson's Bay. Exulting in their success, they returned to Quebec.

1689. June 27. In the east, blood was first shed at Cocheco, where, thirteen years before, an unsuspecting party of three hundred and fifty Indians had been taken prisoners, and shipped for Boston, to be sold into foreign slavery. The memory of the treachery was indelible; and the Indian emissaries of Castin easily excited the tribe of Penacook to revenge. On the evening of the twenty-seventh of June, two squaws repaired to the house of Richard Waldron, and the octogenarian magistrate bade them lodge on the floor. At night, they rise, unbar the gates, and summon their companions, who at once enter every apartment. "What now? what now?" shouted the brave old man; and, seizing his sword, he defended himself till he fell stunned by a blow from a hatchet. They then placed him in a chair on a table in his own hall: "Judge Indians again!" thus they mocked him; and, making sport of their debts to him as a trader, they drew gashes across his breast, and each one cried: "Thus I cross out my account!" At last, the mutilated man reeled from faintness, and died in the midst of tortures. The Indians, burning his house and others that stood near it, having killed three-and-twenty, returned to the wilderness with twenty-nine captives.

August comes. The women and children, at the Penobscot village of Canibas, have confessed their sins to the priest Thury, that so they may uplift purer hands, while their fathers and brothers proceed against the heretics; in the

little chapel, the missionary and his neophytes have established a perpetual rosary during the expedition, and even the hours of repast do not interrupt the edifying exercise. A hundred warriors, purified also by confession, in a fleet of bark canoes, steal out of the Penobscot, and paddle towards Pemaquid. Thomas Gyles and his sons are at work, in the sunny noontide, making hay: a volley whistles by them; a short encounter ends in their defeat. "I ask no favor," says the wounded father, "but leave to pray with my children." Pale with the loss of blood, he commends his children to God, then bids them farewell for this world, yet in the hope of seeing them in a better. The Indians, restless at delay, use the hatchet, and, for burial, heap boughs over his body. After a defence of two days, the stockade at Pemaquid capitulates; and the warriors return to Penobscot to exult over their prisoners. Other inroads were made by the Penobscot and St. John Indians, so that the settlements east of Falmouth were deserted.

In September, commissioners from New England held a conference with the Mohawks at Albany, soliciting an alliance. "We have burnt Montreal," said they; "we are allies of the English; we will keep the chain unbroken." But they refused to invade the Abenakis.

Had Frontenac never left New France, Montreal would probably have been safe. He now used every effort to win the Five Nations to neutrality or to friendship. To recover esteem in their eyes; to secure to Durantaye, the commander at Mackinaw, the means of treating with the Hurons and the Ottawas, it was resolved by Frontenac to make a triple descent into the English provinces.

From Montreal, a party of one hundred and ten, composed of French and of the Christian Iroquois, — having De Mantet and Sainte Hélène as leaders, and D'Iberville, the hero of Hudson's Bay, as a volunteer, — for two-and-twenty days waded through snows and morasses, through forests and across rivers, to Schenectady. The village had given itself calmly to slumber: at its open and unguarded gates the invaders entered silently, and having, just before midnight, reached its heart, the

1690. Jan.

Feb. 8.

war-whoop was raised — dreadful sound to the mothers of that place and their children! — and the dwellings set on fire. Of the inhabitants, some, half-clad, fled through the snows to Albany; sixty were massacred, of whom seventeen were children and ten were Africans. For such ends had the hardships of a winter's expedition, frost, famine, and frequent deaths, been encountered.

The party from Three Rivers, led by Hertel de Rouville, consisting of fifty-two persons, of whom three were his sons and two his nephews, surprised the settlement at Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, and, after a bloody engagement, burned houses, barns, and cattle in the stalls, and took fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children. The prisoners were laden by the victors with spoils from their own homes. Robert Rogers, rejecting his burden, was bound by the Indians to a tree, and dry leaves kindled about him, yet in such heaps as would burn but slowly. Mary Furguson, a girl of fifteen, burst into tears from fatigue, and was scalped forthwith. Mehetabel Goodwin lingered apart in the snow to lull her infant to sleep, lest its cries should provoke the savages: angry at her delay, her master struck the child against a tree, and hung it among the branches. The infant of Mary Plaisted was thrown into the river, that, eased of her burden, she might walk faster.

1690. Mar. 27.

Returning from this expedition, Hertel met the war-party, under Portneuf, from Quebec, and, with them and a re-enforcement from Castin, made a successful attack on the fort and settlement in Casco Bay.

Meantime, danger taught the colonies the necessity of union. In March, 1690, the idea of a colonial "congress," familiar from the times when wars with the Susquehannahs brought agents of Virginia and Maryland to New York, arose at Albany. On the eighteenth of that month, letters were despatched from the general court of Massachusetts "to the several governors of the neighboring colonies, desiring them to appoint commissioners to meet at Rhode Island on the last Monday in April next, there to advise and conclude on suitable methods in assisting each other for

the safety of the whole land, and that the governor of New York be desired to signify the same to Maryland, and parts adjacent." Leisler heartily favored the design; the place of meeting was changed to New York; and there, on the first day of May, commissioners from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York, each of which had at that time a self-constituted government, came together by their own independent acts. In that assembly, it was resolved to attempt the conquest of Canada by sending an army over Lake Champlain, against Montreal, while Massachusetts should attack Quebec with a fleet. Preparing the forms of independence and union, the colonies 1690. which were present in the meeting not only provided for order and tranquillity at home, but of themselves planned the invasion of Acadia and Canada.

Acadia was soon conquered: before the end of May, Sir William Phips sailed to Port Royal, which readily surrendered. New England became mistress of the coast to the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia, though the native hordes of that wilderness still retained their affection for the French.

While the people of New England and New York were concerting the grand enterprise of the reduction of Canada, the French had, by their successes, inspired the savages with respect, and renewed their intercourse with the west. But, in August, Montreal became alarmed. An Indian announces that an army of Iroquois and English was busy in constructing canoes on Lake George; and immediately Frontenac himself placed the hatchet in the hands of his allies, and, with the tomahawk in his own grasp, old as he was, chanted the war-song and danced the war-dance. On the twenty-ninth of August, it was said that an army had reached Lake Champlain; but, on the second of September, the spies could observe no trail. The projected attack by land was defeated by divisions; Leisler charging Winthrop of Connecticut with treachery, and the forces from Connecticut blaming Milborne, the commissary of New York, for the insufficiency of the supplies.

But just as Frontenac, in the full pride of security, Oct. 10. was preparing to return to Quebec, he heard that an

Abenaki, hurrying through the woods in twelve days from Piscataqua, had announced the approach of a hostile fleet from Boston. The little colony of Massachusetts had sent forth a fleet of thirty-four sail, under the command of the incompetent Phips, manned by two thousand of its citizens, who, as they now without pilots sounded their way up the St. Lawrence, anxious for the result of the expedition against Montreal, watched wistfully the course of the winds, and hoped in the efficacy of the prayers that went up, evening and morning, from every hearth in New England.

Had the excursion from Albany by land succeeded, — had pilots, or fair winds, or decision in the commander, conducted the fleet more rapidly but by three days, — the castle of St. Louis would have been surprised and taken. But, in the night of the fourteenth of October, Frontenac reached Quebec. The inhabitants of the vicinity were assembled; and the fortifications of the city had already been put in a tenable condition, when, on the sixteenth, at daybreak, the fleet from Boston came in sight, and soon cast anchor near Beauport, in the stream. It was too late. The herald from the ship of the admiral, demanding a surrender of the place, was dismissed with scoffs. What availed the courage of the citizen soldiers who effected a landing
1690. Oct. 8. at Beauport? Before them was a fortified town
Oct. 18. defended by a garrison far more numerous than the assailants, and protected by marshes and a river fordable only at low tide. The diversion against Montreal had
Oct. 11. utterly failed: the New England men re-embarked,
Oct. 21. and sailed for Boston. In Quebec there were great rejoicings. The church of Our Lady of Victory was built in the lower town in commemoration of the victory; and in France a medal was struck in honor of the successes of Louis XIV. in the New World. The New England ships, on their return, were scattered by storms: of one, bearing sixty men, wrecked on Anticosti, five of the few who did not perish from the cold, boldest of navigators, landed in Boston in the following May, after a voyage of forty-four days in a skiff. Sir William Phips reached home in Novem-

ber. The treasury was empty. "Considering the present poverty of the country, and, through scarcity of money, the want of an adequate measure of commerce," issues of bills of credit were authorized, in notes from five shillings to five pounds, to "be in value equal to money, and accepted in all public payments." But, as confidence wavered, the bills of the colony, which continued to be issued, were made in all payments a legal tender, and, instead of bearing interest, were received at the treasury at five per cent advance. 1690. Dec. 10.

Repulsed from Canada, the exhausted colonies attempted little more than the defence of their frontiers. Their borders were full of terror and sorrow, of captivity and death; but no designs of conquest were formed. If Schuyler made an irruption into the French settlements on the Sorel, it was only to gain successes in a skirmish, and to effect a safe retreat. A French ship anchoring in Port Royal, the red cross that floated over the town made way for the banner of France; and Acadia was once more a dependence on Canada. In January, 1692, a party of French and Indians, coming in snow-shoes from the east, burst upon the town of York, offering its inhabitants no choice but captivity or death. The fort which was rebuilt at Pemaquid was, at least, an assertion of English supremacy over the neighboring region. In England, the conquest of Canada was resolved on; but the fleet designed for the expedition, after a repulse at Martinique, sailed for Boston, freighted with the yellow fever, which destroyed two thirds of the mariners and soldiers on board. For a season, hostilities in Maine were suspended by a treaty of peace with the Abenakis; but in less than a year, solely through the influence of the Jesuits, they were again in the field, led by Villieu, the French commander on the Penobscot; and the village at Oyster River, in New Hampshire, was the victim of their fury. Ninety-four persons were killed and carried away. The young wife of Thomas Drew was taken to the tribe at Norridgewock: there, in midwinter, in the

1691 to 1696.

1691.

Nov. 26.

1692.

1693.

Aug. 11.

1694. July 18.

open air, during a storm of snow, she gave birth to her first-born, doomed by the savages to instant death. In Canada, the chiefs of the Micmacs presented to Frontenac the scalps of English killed on the Piscataqua. Nor did the thought occur that such inroads were atrocious. The Jesuit historian of France relates, with pride, that they had their origin in the counsels and influence of the missionaries Thury and Bigot; and, extolling the hardihood and the success of the foray, he passes a eulogy on the daring of Taxus, the bravest of the Abenakis. Such is self-love: it has but one root, with a thousand branches. The despot believed his authority from God and his own personality to constitute the state; the mistresses of kings were, without scruple, made by patent the mothers of hereditary legislators; the English monopolist had no self-reproach for prohibiting the industry of the colonists; Louis XIV., James II., and his successors, Queen Anne, Bolingbroke, and Lady Masham, thought it no harm to derive money from the slave-trade; and, in the pages of Charlevoix, the unavailing cruelties of midnight incendiaries, the murder and scalping of the inhabitants of peaceful villages, and the captivity of helpless women and children, are diffusely narrated as actions that were brave and beautiful.

1697. Mar. 15. Once, indeed, a mother achieved a startling revenge. Seven days after her confinement, the Indian prowlers raised their shouts near the house of Hannah Dustin, of Haverhill: her husband rode home from the field, but too late to provide for her rescue. He must fly, if he would save even one of his seven children, who had hurried before him into the forest. But, from the cowering flock, how could a father make a choice? With gun in his hand, he now repels the assault, now cheers on the innocent group of little ones, as they rustle through the dried leaves and bushes, till all reach a shelter. The Indians burned his home, and dashed his infant against a tree; and, after days of weary marches, Hannah Dustin and her nurse, with a boy from Worcester, find themselves on an island in the Merrimack, just above Concord, in a wigwam occupied by two Indian families. The mother planned

escape. "Where would you strike," said the boy, Samuel Leonardson, to his master, "to kill instantly?" and the Indian told him where, and how to scalp. At night, while the household slumbers, the captives, two women and a boy, each with a tomahawk, strike vigorously and fleetly, and with wise division of labor; and, of the twelve sleepers, ten lie dead; of one squaw the wound was not mortal; one child was spared from design. The love of glory next asserted its power; and the gun and tomahawk of the murderer of her infant, and a bag heaped full with scalps, were choicely kept as the trophies of the heroine. The streams are the guides which God has set for the stranger in the wilderness: in a bark canoe, the three descended the Merrimack to the English settlements, astonishing their friends by their escape, and filling the land with wonder at their daring deed.

Such scenes had no influence on the question of boundaries between Canada and New England. In the late summer of 1696, the fort of Pemaquid was taken by D'Iberville and Castin. The frontier of French dominion was extended into the heart of Maine; and Acadia was, for a season, secured to the countrymen of De Monts and Champlain.

In the west, after the hope of conquering Canada was abandoned by the English, Frontenac had little strife but with the Five Nations, whom he alternately by missions and treaties endeavored to win, and by invasions to terrify into an alliance. In February, 1692, three hundred French, with Indian confederates, were sent over the snows against the hunting-parties of the Senecas in Upper Canada, near the Niagara. In the following year, a larger party invaded the country of the Mohawks, bent on their extermination. The first castle, and the second also, fell easily, — for the war-chiefs were absent; at the third, a party of forty, who were dancing a war-dance, gave battle, and victory cost the invaders thirty men. The governor of Montreal had ordered no quarter to be given, unless to women and children; but the savage confederates insisted on showing mercy; and the French historian censures their humanity "as inexcusable;" for Schuyler, of Albany, col-

1693. Jan. and Feb.

lecting two hundred men, and pursuing the party as it retired, succeeded in liberating many of the captives.

1695. Nor did the Five Nations continue their control over western commerce. After many vacillations, the prudence of the memorable La Motte Cadillac, who had been appointed governor at Mackinaw, confirmed the friendship of the neighboring tribes; and a party of Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and Chippewas, surprised and routed a band of Iroquois, returning with piles of beaver and scalps as trophies.

1696. At this time, a messenger from Montreal brought tidings of extensive preparations for ravaging the whole country of the Five Nations; but the Indians of the west would not rally under the banner of France; and the French of Canada, aided only by their immediate allies, made their last invasion of Western New York. Frontenac, then seventy-four years of age, himself conducted the

July 28. army: from the fort which bore his name, they passed over to Oswego, and occupied both sides of that river; at night, they reached the falls three leagues above its mouth, and, by the light of bark torches, they dragged the canoes and boats above the portage. As they advanced, they found the savage defiance, in two bundles of reeds, suspended on a tree; a sign that fourteen hundred and thirty-four warriors (such was the number of reeds) defied them. As

Aug. they approached the great village of the Onondagas, that nation set fire to it, and, by night, the invaders beheld the glare of the burning wigwams. Early in

Aug. 3. August, the army encamped near the Salt Springs, while a party was sent to ravage the country of the Oneidas, with orders to cut up their corn, burn their villages, put to death all who should offer resistance,

Aug. 8. and take six chiefs as hostages. Meantime, an aged Onondaga captive, who had refused to fly, was abandoned to the fury of the allies of the French. All the tortures that more than four hundred savages could inflict on the decrepit old man extorted from him not one word of weakness: he scoffed always at his tormentors as the slaves of those whom he despised. On receiving mortal wounds,

his last words were: "You should have taken more time to learn how to meet death manfully! I die contented; for I have no cause for self-reproach." Such scenes were enacted at Salina.

After these successes against the Onondagas and Oneidas, it was proposed to go against the Cayugas, but Frontenac refused, as if uncertain of the result: "It was time for him to repose;" and the army returned to Montreal. He had humbled, but not subdued, the Five Nations, and left them to suffer from a famine, yet to recover their lands and their spirit; having pushed hostilities so far that no negotiations for peace could easily succeed.

The last year of the war was one of especial alarm, 1697. as rumor divulged the purpose of the French king to send out a powerful fleet to devastate the coast of New England, and to conquer New York. But nothing came of it; and the peace of Ryswick occasioned, at least, a suspension of hostilities, though not till the English exchequer had been recruited by means of a great change in the internal and the financial policy of England. It accepted from individuals a loan of one and a half million pounds sterling, paying for it eight per cent per annum, and constituting the subscribers to the loan an incorporated 1694. bank of circulation. The measure extorted a reluctant assent from the financial wants of the government; but, in its character, it was in harmony with the principles of the aristocratic revolution of England. The Bank of England, a privileged body, became the mediator between the government and the moneyed interest.

The peace of Ryswick was itself a victory of the 1697. Sept. spirit of reform; for Louis XIV., with James II. at his court, recognised the revolutionary sovereign of England; and the encroachments of France on the German empire were restrained. In America, France retained all Hudson's Bay, and all the places of which she was in possession at the beginning of the war; in other words, with the exception of the eastern moiety of Newfoundland, France retained the whole coast and adjacent islands, from Maine to beyond Labrador and Hudson's Bay, besides Can-

ada and the valley of the Mississippi. But the boundary lines were reserved as subjects for wrangling among commissioners.

1698. On the east, England claimed to the St. Croix, and France to the Kennebec; and, had peace continued, the St. George would have been adopted as a compromise.

The boundary between New France and New York was still more difficult of adjustment. Delius, the envoy from New York, included in that province all the country of the Five Nations, and declared openly, at Montreal, that the countries at the west, even Mackinaw, belonged to England. This extravagant assertion was treated with derision: the French, moreover, themselves laid claim to the lands of the Five Nations. In the negotiations for the restoration of prisoners, Bellomont sought to obtain an acknowledgment that the Iroquois were subject to England; but the Count de Frontenac referred the matter to the commissioners to be appointed under the treaty of Ryswick. "That the Five Nations were always considered subjects of England," said Bellomont, "can be manifested to all the world;"

1697. but De Callières, sending ambassadors directly to Onondaga to regulate the exchange of prisoners, avoided an immediate decision. The Iroquois were proud of their independence. Religious sympathies inclined them to the French, but commercial advantages brought them always into connection with the English. As the influence of the Jesuits gave to France its only power over the Five Nations, the legislature of New York, in 1700, made a law for hanging every popish priest that should come voluntarily into the province. "The law ought for ever to continue in force," is the commentary of an early historian of the province.

1700. After many collisions and acts of hostility between the Iroquois and the allies of the French, especially the Ottawas; after many ineffectual attempts, on the part of Lord Bellomont, to constitute himself the arbiter of peace, and thus to obtain an acknowledged ascendency, — the

July 18. four upper nations, in the summer of 1700, sent envoys to Montreal "to weep for the French who

had died in the war." After rapid negotiations, peace was ratified between the Iroquois, on the one side, and France and her Indian allies, on the other. The Rat, chief of the Hurons from Mackinaw, said: "I lay down the axe at my father's feet;" and the deputies of the four tribes of Ottawas echoed his words. The envoy of the Abenakis said: "I have no hatchet but that of my father, and, since my father has buried it, now I have none;" the Christian Iroquois, allies of France, assented. A written treaty was made, to which each nation placed for itself a symbol: the Senecas and Onondagas drew a spider; the Cayugas, a calumet; the Oneidas, a forked stick; the Mohawks, a bear; the Hurons, a beaver; the Abenakis, a deer; and the Ottawas, a hare. It was further declared that war should cease between the French allies and the Sioux; that peace should reach beyond the Mississippi. As to limits in Western New York, De Callières, becoming governor-general, proposed to the French minister to assert French jurisdiction over the land of the Iroquois, or at least to establish its neutrality.

The question remained undecided, and, through the Five Nations, England shared in the Indian trade of the west; but France kept the mastery of the great lakes, and De Callières resolved to secure it by establishing a post. The Five Nations, by their deputies, remonstrated, but in vain; and in the month of June, 1701, De la Motte Cadillac, with a Jesuit missionary and one hundred Frenchmen, was sent to take possession of Detroit. This is the oldest permanent settlement in Michigan. That commonwealth began to be colonized before Georgia, or any one of the inland states, except, perhaps, Illinois. The country on the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair charmed those who came from Lower Canada. Two numerous Indian villages gathered near the fort; here were the wigwams of the Hurons, who had fled from their old country, first to the Falls of St. Mary, and then to Mackinaw; and above, on the right, in Upper Canada, rose a settlement of the Ottawas, their inseparable companions.

1701. Mar. 2.

The military occupation of Illinois seems to have con-

1681. tinued, without interruption, from the time when La Salle returned from Fort Frontenac. Joutel found a garrison at Fort St. Louis in 1687; in 1689, La Hontan bears testimony that it still continued; in 1696, a public document proves its existence, and the wish of Louis XIV. to preserve it in good condition; and when, in 1700,
1700. Tonti again descended the Mississippi, he was attended by twenty Canadian residents in Illinois.

The oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Mississippi is the village of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, or Kaskaskia, the seat of a Jesuit mission. Marquette founded the mission of that name when the tribe dwelt on the upper waters of the Illinois. He had been followed by Alloüez, who, in 1684, may have been at Rock Fort, but who was chiefly a missionary to the Miamis, among whom he died. Gravier came after Alloüez, but in what year is unknown. Sebastian Rasles, after a short residence among the Abenakis, received orders to visit the west; and, from his own narrative, it is plain that, after passing a winter at Mackinaw, he, in the spring of 1693, repaired to Illinois, where he remained two years before exchanging its prairies for the borders of the Kennebec. Gravier is famed as having been the first to ascertain the principles of the Illinois language, and to reduce them to rules; and as having, in the midst of perpetual perils and opposition from sorcerers, succeeded in transferring the mission which Marquette had established among the Kaskaskias to the spot between the Illinois and the Mississippi, where it was destined to endure.

When the founder of Kaskaskia was recalled to Mackinaw, he was relieved by two missionaries: by Pinet, who became the founder of Cahokia, preaching with such success that his chapel could not contain the multitude that thronged to him; and Binnetau, who left his mission among the Abenakis to die on the plains of the Mississippi. Having followed the tribe to which he was attached, in their July ramble over their widest hunting-grounds, — now stifled amongst the tall grasses, now panting with thirst on dry prairies, all day tortured with heat, all night exposed

on the ground to chilling dews, — he was seized with a mortal fever, and left his bones on the wilderness range of the buffaloes.

Before his death, and before Tonti left Illinois, Gabriel Marest, the Jesuit, — who, after chanting an ave to the cross among the icebergs of Hudson's Bay, had been taken by the English, and, on his liberation at the peace, had returned by way of France to America, — joined the mission at Kaskaskia, and, for a season, after the death of Binnetau and Pinet, had the sole charge of it. Very early in the eighteenth century, he was joined by Mermet. It was Mermet who assisted the commandant Jucherau, from Canada, in collecting a village of Indians and Canadians, and thus founding the first French post on the Ohio, or, as the lower part of that river was then called, the Wabash. But a contagious disease invaded the mixed population; the Indians, with extravagant ceremonies, sacrificed forty dogs to appease their manitou; and, when they began to apprehend that the manitou of the French was more powerful than their own, the medicine men would walk round the fort in circles, crying out: "We are dead: gently, manitou of the French, strike gently; do not kill us all. Good manitou, master of life and death, leave death within thy coffer; give life." Thus they prayed; but the dreadful mortality broke up the settlement.

About the same time, Gravier returned to Illinois to plant a mission near Rock Fort, which had been abandoned by Tonti. Here he was unsuccessful, falling a victim to the assaults of the natives; but, on the banks of the Mississippi, the settlements slowly increased. The more hardy services of the mission fell to the lot of Marest. "Our life," he writes, "is passed in roaming through thick woods, in clambering over hills, in paddling the canoe across lakes and rivers, to catch a poor savage who flies from us, and whom we can tame neither by teachings nor by caresses."

In 1711, on Good Friday, Marest started for the Peorias, who desired a new mission. In two days he reached Cahokia. "I departed," he writes again, "having nothing about me but my crucifix and my breviary, being accompanied by

only three savages, who might abandon me from levity, or from fear of enemies might fly. The horror of these vast, uninhabited forest regions, where in twelve days not a soul was met, almost took away all courage. Here was a journey where there was no village, no bridge, no ferry, no boat, no house, no beaten path, and over boundless prairies, intersected by rivulets and rivers; through forests and thickets filled with briers and thorns; through marshes, where we plunged sometimes to the girdle. At night, repose was sought on the grass, or on leaves, exposed to wind and rain; happy if by the side of some rivulet, of which a draught might quench thirst. A meal was prepared from such game as was killed on the way, or by roasting ears of corn."

The gentle virtues and fervid eloquence of Mermet made him the soul of the mission at Kaskaskia. At early dawn, his pupils came to church, dressed neatly and modestly, each in a large deerskin, or in a robe stitched together from smaller peltry. After receiving lessons, they chanted canticles; mass was then said in presence of all the Christians in the place, the French and the converts, — the women on one side, the men on the other. From prayer and instruction, the missionaries proceeded to visit the sick and administer medicine; and their skill as physicians did more than all the rest to win confidence. In the afternoon, the catechism was taught, in presence of the young and the old, where every one, without distinction of rank or age, answered the questions of the missionary. At evening, all would assemble at the chapel for instruction, for prayer, and to chant the hymns of the church. On Sundays and festivals, even after vespers, a homily was pronounced; at the close of the day, parties would meet in the cabins to recite the chaplet in alternate choirs, and sing psalms into the night. Their psalms were often homilies, with the words set to familiar tunes. Saturday and Sunday were the days for confession and communion, and every convert confessed once in a fortnight. Marriages of the French emigrants were sometimes solemnized with the daughters of the Illinois according to the rites of the Catholic Church. The mission was a cantonment of Europeans among the native proprietors of the prairies.

Jesuits and fur-traders were the founders of Illinois; Louis XIV. and privileged companies were the patrons of Southern Louisiana; the honor of beginning the work of colonization in the south-west of our republic belongs to the illustrious Canadian, Lemoine d'Iberville. Present as a volunteer in the midnight attack upon Schenectady, where he was chiefly remembered for an act of clemency; at Port Nelson, calm amidst the crash of icebergs in which his vessels had become involved, and, though exceedingly moved by the loss of his young brother in a skirmish with the English, yet preserving his countenance without a sign of disquiet, putting his whole trust in God, and with tranquil daring making a conquest of the fort which controls the vast Indian commerce of the wide regions of Nelson River; the captor of Pemaquid; the successful invader of the English possessions on Newfoundland; and again, in 1697, in spite of icebergs and a shipwreck, victorious in naval contests on the gloomy waters of Hudson's Bay, and recognised as the most skilful naval officer in the service of France, — he, the idol of his Canadian countrymen, ever buoyant and brave, after the peace of Ryswick sought and obtained a commission for establishing direct maritime intercourse between France and the Mississippi.

On the seventeenth day of October, 1698, two frigates and two smaller vessels, with a company of marines and about two hundred settlers, including a few women and children, — most of the men being disbanded Canadian soldiers, — embarked for the Mississippi, which as yet had never been entered from the sea. Happier than La Salle, the leader of the enterprise won confidence and affection everywhere: the governor of St. Domingo gave him a welcome, and bore a willing testimony to his genius and his good judgment. A larger ship-of-war from that station joined the expedition, which, in January, 1699, caught a glimpse of the continent, and anchored before the Island St. Rose. On the opposite shore, the fort of Pensacola had just been established by three hundred Spaniards from Vera Cruz. This prior occupation is the reason why, afterwards, Pensacola

1698. Dec. 1699. Jan. 27.

remained a part of Florida, and the dividing line between that province and Louisiana was drawn between the Bays of Pensacola and Mobile. Obedient to his orders and to the maxims of the mercantile system, the governor of Pensacola would allow no foreign vessel to enter the harbor.

1699. Feb. 2. Sailing to the west, D'Iberville cast anchor south-south-east of the eastern point of Mobile, and landed on Massacre, or, as it was rather called, Dauphine Island. The water between Ship and Horn Islands being found too shallow, the larger ship from the station of St. Domingo returned, and the frigates anchored near the groups of the Chandeleur; while D'Iberville with his people erected huts on Ship Island, and made the discovery of the river Pascagoula and the tribes of Biloxi. The next day, a party of Bayagoulas from the Mississippi passed by: they were warriors returning from an inroad into the land of the Indians of Mobile.

Feb. 27. In two barges, D'Iberville and his brother Bienville, with a Franciscan who had been a companion to La Salle, and with forty-eight men, set forth to seek the Mississippi. Floating trees, and the turbid aspect of the waters, guided to its mouth. On the second day in March, they entered the mighty river, and ascended to the village of the Bayagoulas, — a tribe which then dwelt on its western bank, just below the river Iberville, worshipping, it was said, an opossum for their manitou, and preserving in their temple an undying fire. There they found a letter from Tonti to La Salle, written in 1684, and safely preserved by the wondering natives. The Oumas also were visited; and the party probably saw the great bend at the mouth of the Red River. A parish and a bayou, that bear the name of Iberville, mark the route of his return, through the lakes which he named Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the bay which he called St. Louis. At the head of the Bay of Biloxi, on a sandy shore, under a burning sun, he

May. erected the fort which, with its four bastions and twelve cannon, was to be the sign of French jurisdiction over the territory from near the Rio del Norte to the confines of Pensacola. While D'Iberville himself

sailed for France, his two brothers, Sauvolle and Bienville, were left in command of the station, round which the few colonists were planted. Thus began the commonwealth of Mississippi. Prosperity was impossible; hope could not extend beyond a compromise with the Spaniards on its flank, and the Indian tribes around, with the sands which it was vain to till, and the heat that may have made the emigrants sigh for the cool breezes of Hudson's Bay. Yet there were gleams of light: the white men from Carolina, allies of the Chickasaws, invaded the neighboring tribes of Indians, making it easy for the French to establish alliances. Missionaries, also, had already conciliated the good-will of remoter nations; and, from the Taensas and the Yazoos, Davion — whose name belonged of old to the rock now called Fort Adams — and Montigny floated down the Mississippi to visit their countrymen. Already a line of communication existed between Quebec and the Gulf of Mexico. The boundless southern region, made a part of the French empire by lilies carved on forest trees or crosses erected on bluffs, and occupied by French missionaries and forest rangers, was annexed to the command of the governor of Biloxi. 1699. May 9.

During the absence of D'Iberville, England showed jealousy of his enterprise. Hennepin had been taken into the pay of William III., and in 1698 had published a new work, in which, to bar the French claim of discovery, he had, with impudent falsehood, claimed to have himself first descended the Mississippi, and had interpolated into his former narrative a journal of his pretended voyage down the river. In 1699, an exploring expedition under the auspices of Coxe, a proprietor of New Jersey, sought for the mouths of the Mississippi. When Bienville, who passed the summer in exploring the forks below the site of New Orleans, descended the river, he met an English ship of sixteen guns, commanded by Barr; one of two vessels which had been sent to sound the passes of the majestic stream. Giving heed to the assertion of Bienville of French supremacy, as proved by French establishments, the English 1698. 1699. Sept. 16.

captain turned back; and the bend in the river where the interview was held is still called English Turn.

Thus failed the project of Coxe to possess what he styled the English province of Carolana. But Hennepin — who, had he but loved truth, would have gained a noble reputation, and who now is remembered, not merely as a light-hearted, ambitious, daring discoverer, but also as a boastful liar — had had an audience of William III.; a memorial from Coxe was presented to King William in council, and the members were unanimous in the opinion that the settling of the banks of the Mississippi should be encouraged. "I will leap over twenty stumbling-blocks rather than not effect it," said William of Orange; and he often assured the proprietor of his willingness to send over, at his own cost, several hundred Huguenot and Vaudois refugees. But England was never destined to acquire more than a nominal possession of the Mississippi; nor could Spain do more than protest against what it regarded as a dismemberment of the government of Mexico.

1699. At this time, Bienville received the memorial of French Protestants to be allowed, under French sovereignty, and in the enjoyment of freedom of conscience, to plant the banks of the Mississippi. "The king," answered Pontchartrain at Paris, "has not driven Protestants from France to make a republic of them in America;" and Dec. 7. D'Iberville returned from Europe with projects far unlike the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. First 1700. Jan. 17. came the occupation of the Mississippi by a fortress built on its bank, on a point elevated above the marshes, not far from the sea, soon to be abandoned. In February, Tonti came down from the Illinois; and, under his guidance, the brothers D'Iberville and Bienville ascended the Great River, and made peace between the Oumas and the Bayagoulas. Among the Natchez, the Great Sun, followed by a large retinue of his people, welcomed the strangers. His country seemed best suited to a settlement: a bluff, now known as Natchez, was selected for a town, and, in honor of the Countess of Pontchartrain, was called Rosalie.

While D'Iberville descended to his ships, soon to embark for France, his brother, in March, explored Western Louisiana, and, crossing the Red River, approached New Mexico. No tidings of exhaustless wealth were gleaned from the natives; no mines of unparalleled productiveness were discovered among the troublesome morasses; and Saint-Denys, with a motley group of Canadians and Indians, was sent to ramble for six months in the far west, that he might certainly find the land of gold. In April, Le Sueur led a company, in quest of mineral stores, to mountains in our northwestern territory. Passing beyond the Wisconsin, beyond the Chippewa, beyond the St. Croix, he sailed north till he reached the mouth of the St. Peter's, and, entering that river, he came to the confluence of the Blue Earth. There, in a fort among Iowas, he passed the winter, that he might take possession of a copper mine, and on the return of spring fill his boats with heaps of ore.

Le Sueur had not yet returned to Biloxi, when 1701. May 30.
news came from the impatient ministry of impoverished France that certainly there were gold mines on the Missouri. But bilious fevers sent death among the dreamers about veins of precious metals and rocks of emerald. Sauvolle was an early victim, leaving the chief July 22.
command to the youthful Bienville; and great havoc was made among the colonists, who were dependent on the Indians for baskets of corn, and were saved from famine by the chase and the net and line. The Choctaws and the Mobile Indians desired an alliance against the Chickasaws; and the French were too weak to act, except as mediators. In December, D'Iberville, arriving with re-enforcements, found but one hundred and fifty alive.

Early in 1702, the chief fortress of the French was 1702.
transferred from Biloxi to the western bank of the Mobile River, the first settlement of Europeans in Alabama; and during the same season, though Dauphine Island was flat, and covered with sands which hardly nourished a grove of pines, its excellent harbor was occupied as a convenient station for ships. Such was Louisiana in the days of its founder. Attacked by the yellow fever, D'Iberville escaped

with his life, but his health was broken; and, though he gained strength to render service to France in 1706, the effort was followed by a severe illness, which terminated in his death at the Havana. In him, the colonies and the French navy lost a hero worthy of their regret. But Louisiana, at his departure, was little more than a wilderness claimed in behalf of the French king, and occupied by scarcely thirty families.

1706. July 9.

1702.

The colonists were unwise in their objects, searching for pearls, for the wool of the buffalo, for productive mines. Their scanty number was scattered on discoveries, or among the Indians in quest of furs. There was no quiet agricultural industry. Of the lands that were occupied, the coast of Biloxi is as sandy as the deserts of Libya; the soil on Dauphine Island is meagre: on the delta of the Mississippi, where a fort had been built, Bienville and his few soldiers were insulated and unhappy, at the mercy of the rise of waters in the river; and the buzz and sting of mosquitoes, the hissing of snakes, the croakings of frogs, the cries of alligators, seemed to claim that the country should still, for a generation, be the inheritance of reptiles; while, at the fort of Mobile, the hopeless character of the barrens warned the emigrants to seek homes farther within the land.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

But, at least, the Spaniards at Pensacola were no longer hostile; Spain, as well as France, had fallen under the sovereignty of the Bourbons; and, after ineffectual treaties for a partition of the Spanish monarchy, all Europe was kindling into wars, to preserve the balance of power or to refute the doctrine of legitimacy. This is the period when Spain became intimately involved in our destinies; and she long remained, like France, the enemy to our fathers as subjects of England.

The liberties of the provinces, of the military corporations, of the cities of Spain, had gradually become merged in despotism. The position of the peninsula, separated from Europe by a chain of mountains, and intersected by high ridges, had not favored the spirit of liberal inquiry; and the inquisition had so manacled the national intelligence that the country of Cervantes and Calderon had relapsed into inactivity. The contest against the Arabs had been a struggle of Catholic Christianity against Moslem theism; and, as it had been continued for seven centuries with inexorable consistency, had given to Spanish character the aspect of exclusiveness, which was heightened by the pride consequent on success. France had amalgamated provinces; Spain had dealt with nations: France had triumphed over separate sovereignties; Spain over religions.

But Spain was not only deficient in active intelligence, and in toleration; she also had lost men. From Ferdinand the Catholic to Philip III., she had expelled three millions of Jews and Moors; her inferior nobility emigrated to America; in 1702, her census enumerated less than seven million souls. The nation that once would have invaded

England had no navy; and, possessing mines in Mexico and South America, it needed subscriptions for its defence. Foreigners, by means of loans and mortgages, gained more than seven eighths of the wealth from America, and furnished more than nine tenths of the merchandise shipped for the colonies. Spanish commerce had expired; Spanish manufactures had declined; even agriculture had fallen a victim to mortmains and privilege. Inactivity was followed by poverty; and the dynasty itself became extinct.

1701. Oct. 30.

If the doctrine of legitimacy were to be recognised as of divine origin, and therefore paramount to treaties, the king of France could claim for his own family the inheritance of Spain. That claim was sanctioned by the testament of the last Spanish king, and by the desire of the Spanish people, whose anger had been roused by the attempts at partition. The crown of Spain held the Low Countries, the Milanese, and the Two Sicilies, besides its world in the Indies; and the union of so many states in the family of the Bourbons seemed to threaten the freedom of Europe, and to secure to France colonial supremacy. William III. resolved on war. In the last year of his life, suffering from a mortal disease, — with swollen feet, voice extinguished; too infirm to receive visits; alone, separate from the world, at the castle of St. Loo, — he rallied new alliances, governed the policy of Europe, and, as to territory, shaped the destinies of America. In the midst of negotiations, James II. died at St. Germain; and Louis roused the nationality of England by recognising the son of the royal exile as the legitimate king of Great Britain. The war for the balance of power, for colonial territory, and for commercial advantages, became also a war of opinions.

1702.

1701. Sept. 18.

Louis XIV., "that wicked persecutor of God's people," as he was called in a Boston pulpit, was grown old; and the men of energy in his cabinet and his army were gone. There was no Colbert to put order into his finances, no Louvois to inspire terror; Luxembourg was dead, and the wise Catinat no more a favorite. Two years passed without reverses; but the battle of

1702.

1704.

Blenheim revealed the exhaustion of France. The armies of Louis XIV. were opposed by troops collected from England, the empire, Holland, Savoy, Portugal, Denmark, Prussia, and Lorraine, led on by Eugene and Marlborough, who, completing the triumvirate with the grand pensionary Heinsius, combined in their service money, numbers, forethought, and military genius.

The central colonies of our republic were undisturbed, except as they were invited to aid in defending the borders, or were sometimes alarmed at a privateer hovering off their coast. The Five Nations, at peace with both France and England, protected New York by a mutual compact of neutrality. South Carolina, bordering on Spanish Florida; New England, which had so often conquered Acadia, and coveted the fisheries, — were alone involved in the direct evils of war.

South Carolina began colonial hostilities. Its governor, James Moore, by the desire of the commons, placed himself at the head of an expedition for the reduction of St. Augustine. The town was easily ravaged; but the garrison retreated to the castle, and the besiegers waited the arrival of heavy artillery. To obtain it, a sloop was sent to Jamaica; but an emissary had already announced the danger to Bienville at Mobile, who conveyed the intelligence to the Spanish viceroy; and, when two Spanish vessels of war appeared near the mouth of the harbor, Moore abandoned his ships and stores, and retreated by land. The colony, burdened with debt, pleaded the precedent "of great and rich countries," and confident that "funds of credit have fully answered the ends of money, and given the people a quick circulation of their trade and cash," issued bills of credit to the amount of six thousand pounds. To Carolina, the first-fruits of war were debt and paper money. 1702. Sept.

This ill success diminished the terror of the Indians. The Spaniards had long occupied the country on the Bay of Appalachee; had gathered the natives into towns, built for them churches, and instructed them by missions of Franciscan priests. The traders of Carolina beheld with

alarm the continuous line of communication from St. Augustine to the incipient settlements in Louisiana; and, in the last weeks of 1705, a company of fifty volunteers, under the command of Moore, and assisted by a thousand savage allies, roamed through the woods by the trading path across the Ocmulgee, descended through the regions which none but De Soto had invaded, and came upon the Indian towns near the port of St. Mark's. There seems no reason to doubt that the inhabitants spoke a dialect of the language of the Muskohgees. They had already learned the use of horses and of beeves, which multiplied without care

1702. Dec. 14. in their groves. At sunrise, on the fourteenth of December, the adventurers reached the strong place of Ayavalla. Beaten back from the assault with loss, they succeeded in setting fire to the church, which adjoined the fort. A "barefoot friar," the only white man, came forward to beg mercy; more than a hundred women and children, and more than fifty warriors, were taken and kept as prisoners for the slave-market. On the next

Dec. 15. morning, the Spanish commander on the bay, with twenty-three soldiers and four hundred Indians, gave battle, and was defeated; but the Spanish fort was too strong to be carried by storm. The tawny chief of

Dec. 17. Ivitachma "compounded for peace with the plate of his church and ten horses laden with provisions." Five other towns submitted without conditions. Most of their people abandoned their homes, and were received as free emigrants into the jurisdiction of Carolina. Thus was St. Augustine insulated by the victory over its allies. The Creeks, that dwelt between Appalachee and Mobile, being friends to Carolina, interrupted the communication with the French. The English flag having been carried triumphantly through the wilderness to the Gulf of Mexico, the savages were overawed; and Great Britain established a new claim to the forests that were soon to be named Georgia.

1706. In the next year, a French squadron from the Havana attempted revenge by an invasion of Charleston; but the brave William Rhett and the governor, Sir

Nathaniel Johnson, inspired courage, and prepared defence. The Huguenots, also, panted for action. One of the French ships was taken; and, wherever a landing was effected, the enemy was attacked with such energy that, of eight hundred, three hundred were killed or taken prisoners. The colonists fought like brave men contending for their families and homes. Unaided by the proprietaries, South Carolina gloriously defended her territory, and, with very little loss, repelled the invaders. The result of the war at the south was an indefinite extension of the English boundary far into the territory that Spain had esteemed as a portion of Florida.

At the north, the province of Massachusetts alone was desolated: for her, the history of the war is but a catalogue of misery. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, now governor of Canada, made haste to conciliate the Iroquois. A treaty of neutrality with the Senecas was commemorated by two strings of wampum: to prevent the rupture of this happy agreement, he resolved to send no war-parties against the English on the side of New York.

The English were less successful in their plans of neutrality with the Abenakis. A congress of chiefs, from the Merrimack to the Penobscot, met Governor Dudley at Casco: "The sun," said they, "is not more distant from the earth than our thoughts from war;" and, giving the belt of wampum, they added new stones to the two piles which had been raised as memorials of friendship. Yet, within six weeks, the whole country from Casco to Wells was in a conflagration. On one and the same day, the several parties of the Indians, with the French, burst upon every house or garrison in that region, sparing, says the faithful chronicler, "neither the milk-white brows of the ancient, nor the mournful cries of tender infants." Cruelty became an art, and honor was awarded to the most skilful contriver of tortures. The prowling Indian seemed near every farm-house; many an individual was suddenly snatched away into captivity. If armed men, rousing for the attack, penetrated to the fastnesses of their roving enemy, they found nothing but solitudes.

1703. June 20.

Aug. 10.

1704. Death hung on the frontier. The farmers, that had built their dwellings on the bank just above the beautiful meadows of Deerfield, had surrounded with pickets an enclosure of twenty acres, the village citadel. There were separate dwelling-houses, also fortified by a circle of sticks of timber set upright in the ground. Their occupants knew, through the Mohawks, that danger was at hand. All that winter, there was not a night but the sentinel was abroad; not a mother lulled her infant to rest, without fearing that, before morning, the tomahawk might crush its feeble skull. The snow lay four feet deep, when the clear,
Feb. invigorating air of mid-winter cheered the war-party of about two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians, who, with the aid of snow-shoes, and led by Hertel de Rouville, had walked on the crust all the way from Canada. On the last night in February, a pine forest near Deerfield gave them shelter till after midnight. When, at the approach of morning, the unfaithful sentinels retired, the war-party entered within the palisades, which drifts of snow had made useless; and the war-whoop of the savages bade each family prepare for captivity or death. The village was set on fire, and all but the church and one dwelling-house were consumed. Of the inhabitants, but few escaped: forty-seven were killed; one hundred and
Mar. 1. twelve, including the minister and his family, were made captives. One hour after sunrise, the party began its return to Canada. But who would know the horrors of that winter march through the wilderness? Two men starved to death. Did a young child weep from fatigue, or a woman totter from anguish under the burden of her own offspring, the tomahawk stilled complaint, or the infant was cast out upon the snow. Eunice Williams, the wife of the minister, had not forgotten her Bible; and, when they rested by the wayside, or at night made their couch of branches of evergreen strown on the snow, the savages allowed her to read it. Having but recently recovered from confinement, her strength soon failed. To her husband, who reminded her of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," "she justified God in what

had happened." The mother's heart rose to her lips, as she commended her five captive children, under God, to their father's care; and then one blow from a tomahawk ended her sorrows. "She rests in peace," said her husband, "and joy unspeakable and full of glory." In Canada, no entreaties, no offers of ransom, could rescue his youngest daughter, then a girl of but seven years old. Adopted into the village of the praying Indians near Montreal, she became a proselyte to the Catholic faith, and the wife of a Cahnewaga chief. When, after long years, she visited her friends at Deerfield, she appeared in an Indian dress; and after a short sojourn, in spite of a day of fast of a whole village, which assembled to pray for her deliverance, she returned to the fires of her own wigwam, and to the love of her own Mohawk children.

There is no tale to tell but of rural dangers and sorrows. In the following years, the Indians stealthily approached towns in the heart of Massachusetts, as well as along the coast, and on the southern and western frontiers. Children, as they gambolled on the beach; reapers, as they gathered the harvest; mowers, as they rested from using the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household, — were victims to an enemy who disappeared the moment a blow was struck, and who was ever present where a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance. 1705 to 1707.

In 1708, at a war-council at Montreal, a grand expedition was resolved on by the French Indians against New England, to be led by French officers, and assisted by a hundred picked Canadians. The party of the French Mohawks and the Hurons failed; but the French under Des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, the destroyer of Deerfield, willing to continue murdering helpless women and children, when a part at least of the savages were weary of it, with Algonkin Indians as allies, ascended the St. Francis, and passing by the White Mountains, having travelled near one hundred and fifty leagues through almost impracticable paths, made their rendezvous at Winnipiseogee. There they failed to meet the expected aid from the 1708.

Abenakis, and in consequence were too feeble for an attack on Portsmouth; they therefore descended the Merrimack to the town of Haverhill, resolving to sack a remote village rather than return without striking a blow.

Haverhill was, at that time, a cluster of thirty cottages and log cabins, embosomed in the primeval forests, near the tranquil Merrimack. In the centre of the settlement stood a new meeting-house, the pride of the village. On the few acres of open land, the ripening Indian corn rose over the charred stumps of trees, and on the north and west bordered on the unbroken wilderness, which stretched to the White Mountains and beyond them, and by its very extent seemed a bulwark against invasion. On the twenty-ninth of August, evening prayers had been said in each family, and the village had resigned itself to sleep. That night, the band of invaders slept quietly in the near forest. At daybreak, they assumed the order of battle; Rouville addressed the soldiers, who, after their orisons, marched against the fort, raised the shrill yell, and dispersed themselves through the village to their work of blood. The rifle rang; the cry of the dying rose. Benjamin Rolfe, the minister, was beaten to death; one Indian sunk a hatchet deep into the brain of his wife, while another caught his infant child and dashed its head against a stone. Thomas Hartshorne and two of his sons, attempting a rally, were shot; a third son was tomahawked. John Johnston was shot by the side of his wife; she fled into the garden, bearing an infant; was caught and murdered; but, as she fell, she concealed her child, which was found, after the massacre, clinging to her breast. Simon Wainwright was killed at the first fire. Mary, his wife, fearlessly unbarred the door; with cheerful mien, bade the savages enter; procured for them what they wished; and, when they demanded money, she retired as if to "bring it," and, gathering up all her children save one, succeeded in escaping.

1708. Aug. 29.

All the attacks were made simultaneously. The English began to gather; the intrepid Davis sounded an alarm; and, as the destroyers retired, Samuel Ayer, ever to be remembered in village annals, with a force which equalled but a

thirteenth part of the invaders, hung on their rear, — himself a victim, yet rescuing several from captivity.

The day was advanced when the battle ended. 1708. The rude epitaph on the moss-grown stone tells where the interment was made in haste; Rolfe, his wife, and child, fill one grave; in the burial-ground of the village, an ancient mound marks the resting-place of the multitude of the slain.

Such were the sorrows of that generation. At daybreak, the villagers seemed secure: a little later in the morning, while the dew was hardly dry on the willows by the riverside, the smoke rose from smouldering ruins, and the sward was red with the blood of their pastor and brave men, of women and mangled babes. "I hold it my duty towards God and my neighbor," such was the message of the brave Peter Schuyler to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, "to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties. My heart swells with indignation, when I think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the exactest laws of honor and generosity, which their noble ancestors have illustrated by brilliant examples, is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery. These are not the methods for terminating the war. Would that all the world thought with me on this subject!"

Such fruitless cruelties inspired our fathers with a deep hatred of the French missionaries; they compelled the employment of a large part of the inhabitants as soldiers; so that there was one year, during this war, when even a fifth part of all who were capable of bearing arms were in active service. They gave birth, also, to a willingness to exterminate the natives. The Indians vanished when their homes were invaded; they could not be reduced by usual methods of warfare: hence a bounty was offered for every Indian scalp; to regular forces under pay, the grant was ten pounds; to volunteers in actual service, twice that sum: but if men would, of themselves, without pay, make up parties, and patrol the forests in search of Indians, as of old the woods were scoured for wild beasts, the chase was encouraged by the promise of "fifty pounds per scalp."

Meantime, the English had repeatedly made efforts to gain the French fortress on Newfoundland; and New England had desired the reduction of Acadia, for the security of its trade and fishery. In 1704, a fleet from Boston harbor had defied Port Royal; and, three years afterwards, under the influence of Dudley, Massachusetts attempted its conquest. The failure of that costly expedition, which was thwarted by the activity of Castin, created discontent in the colony, by increasing its paper money and its debts. But England was resolved on colonial acquisitions: in 1709, a fleet and an army were to be sent from Europe; from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, twelve hundred men were to aid in the conquest of Quebec; from the central provinces, fifteen hundred were to assail Montreal; and, in one season, Acadia, Canada, and Newfoundland were to be reduced under British sovereignty. The colonies kindled at the prospect: to defray the expenses of preparation, Connecticut and New York and New Jersey then first issued bills of credit; stores were collected; the troops levied from the hardy agriculturists. But no English fleet arrived; and the energies that had been roused were wasted in inactive expectation.

1710. At last, in 1710, the final successful expedition against Acadia took place. At the instance of Nicholson, who had been in England for that purpose, and under his command, six English vessels, joined by thirty of Sept. 18-29. New England, and four New England regiments, sailed in September from Boston. In six days, the fleet anchored before the fortress of Port Royal. The garrison of Subercase, the French governor, was weak and disheartened, and could not be rallied; murmurs and Oct. 1-12. desertions multiplied: the terms of capitulation were easily concerted; the tattered garrison, one hundred Oct. 5-16. and fifty-six in number, marched out with the honors of war, to beg food as alms. Famine would have soon compelled a surrender at discretion. The French were unwilling to abandon the hope of recovering possession. Vaudreuil, having appointed Castin his lieutenant for Acadia, in the winter of 1710 sent messengers over the snows

to the missionaries, to preserve the zeal and patriotism of the Indian allies and the inhabitants; but, from that day, the English flag has been safe at the town, which in honor of the queen was called Annapolis.

Flushed with victory, Nicholson repaired to England to urge the conquest of Canada. The tories, who were in power, desired peace; and colonial successes might conciliate the mercantile interest by the prospect of commercial advantages. The legislature of New York had unanimously appealed to the queen on the dangerous progress of French dominion at the west. "It is well known," said their address, "that the French can go by water from Quebec to Montreal. From thence they can do the like, through rivers and lakes, at the back of all your majesty's plantations on this continent as far as Carolina; and in this large tract of country live several nations of Indians who are vastly numerous. Among those, they constantly send emissaries and priests, with toys and trifles, to insinuate themselves into their favor. Afterwards they send traders, then soldiers, and at last build forts among them; and the garrisons are encouraged to intermarry, cohabit, and incorporate among them; and it may easily be concluded that, upon a peace, many of the disbanded soldiers will be sent thither for that purpose." At the same time, five sachems from the Iroquois had sailed with Schuyler for England. In London, amidst the gaze of crowds, dressed in English small-clothes of black, with scarlet ingrain cloth mantles edged with gold for their blankets, they were conducted in state in coaches to an audience with Queen Anne; and, giving her belts of wampum, they avowed their readiness to take up the hatchet and aid in the reduction of Canada. 1710.

At that time, the secretary of state was Saint-John, afterwards raised to the peerage as Viscount Bolingbroke, whom a keen observer described as "the greatest young man" of his day. He possessed wit, quickness of apprehension, good learning, and excellent taste. Though fond of pleasure, he was prompt, and capable of close and long-continued application. Winning friends by his good temper and admirable conversation, he was the best orator 1711.

in the house of commons; and the whole parliament, turned by his eloquence, would do nothing without him. But Saint-John had no faith, and therefore could keep none. He could be true in his attachment to a woman or a friend, but not to a principle or a people. "The rabble," he would say, "is a monstrous beast, that has passions to be moved, but no reason to be appealed to; . . . plain sense will influence half a score of men at most, while mystery will lead millions by the nose;" and, having no reliance in the power of the common mind to discern the right, or in the power of truth to resist opposition and guide through perils, he could give no fixedness to his administration, and no security to his fame. Pushing intellectual freedom even to libertinism, it was he who was author of the tax on newspapers. Indifferent not to the forms of religion only, but to religion itself, he was the unscrupulous champion of the high church, and supported the worst acts of its most intolerant policy, while he despised its priests and derided its doctrines. As he grew older, he wrote on patriotism and liberty, and became himself, from the dupe of the Pretender, the suitor for power through the king's mistress. Thus, though capable of great ideas, and catching glimpses of universal truth, his horizon was shut in by the selfishness of his ambition. Writing brilliant treatises on philosophy, he fretted at the bit which curbed his passions; and, from the unsettled character of his mind, though rapid in appropriating a scheme, he could neither inspire confidence, nor enjoy internal calm, nor arrange an enterprise with method. Capable of energy and present activity, he wanted soundness of judgment and power of combination. Such was the statesman who formed the whole design of the conquest of Canada.

1711. The fleet, consisting of fifteen ships-of-war and forty transports, was placed under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker; the seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, with a battalion of marines, were intrusted to Mrs. Masham's second brother, whom the queen had pensioned and made a brigadier-general; whom his bottle companions called honest Jack Hill; whom, when a tall, ragged

boy, the Duchess of Marlborough had, from charity, put to school; and whom the duke, refusing him a colonelcy, had properly described as good for nothing. In the preparations, the public treasury was defrauded for the benefit of favorites. "Improve to-day, instead of depending on to-morrow:" such was the secretary's admonition to his admiral. "The queen is very uneasy at the unaccountable loss of time in your stay at Portsmouth." The fleet did sail at last; and when Saint-John heard of its safe arrival at Boston, he wrote exultingly to the Duke of Orrery: "I believe you may depend on our being masters, at this time, of all North America."

From June twenty-fifth to the thirtieth day of July, 1711. the fleet lay at Boston, taking in supplies and the colonial forces. At the same time, an army of men from Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, Palatine emigrants, and about six hundred Iroquois, assembling at Albany, prepared to burst upon Montreal; while at the west, in Wisconsin, the English had, through the Iroquois, obtained allies in the Foxes, ever wishing to expel the French from Michigan.

The news of the intended expedition was seasonably received in Quebec; and the measures of defence began by a renewal of friendship with the Indians. To deputies from the Onondagas and Senecas, the governor spoke of the fidelity with which the French had kept their treaty; and he reminded them of their promise to remain quiet upon their mats.

A great war festival was next held, at which were present all the savages domiciliated near the French settlements, and all the delegates of their allies who had come down to Montreal. In the presence of seven or eight hundred warriors, the war-song was sung and the hatchet uplifted. The savages of the remote west were wavering, till twenty Hurons from Detroit took up the hatchet, and swayed all the rest by their example. The influence of the Jesuits had never been so manifest: by their power over the natives, an alliance extending to the Chippewas constituted the defence of Montreal.

Descending to Quebec, Vaudreuil found Abenaki volunteers assembling for his protection. Measures for resistance had been adopted with hearty earnestness; the fortifications were strengthened; Beauport was garrisoned; and the people were resolute and confiding, even women were ready to labor for the common defence.

1711. Aug. 25. The approach of the fleet was impatiently watched for. Towards the last of August, it was said that peasants at Matanes had descried ninety or ninety-six vessels with the English flag. Yet September came, and still from the heights of Cape Diamond no eye caught one sail of the expected enemy.

Aug. 14–20. The English squadron, leaving Boston on the thirtieth of July, after loitering near the Bay of Gaspé, at last began to ascend the St. Lawrence; while Sir Hovenden Walker puzzled himself with contriving how he should secure his vessels during the winter at Quebec. Fearing "the ice in the river, freezing to the bottom, would bilge them, as much as if they were to be squeezed between rocks," he could think of no way but to disencumber them, "and secure them on the dry ground, in frames and cradles, till the thaw." While ascending the river, which he took to be "a hundred fathom deep," on the evening of the twenty-second of August, a thick fog came on, with an easterly breeze. The pilots, with one accord, advised that the fleet should lie to, with the heads of the vessels to the southward: this was done, and, even so, the vessels were carried towards the northern shore. Just as Walker was going to bed, the captain of his ship came down to say that land could be seen; and, without going on deck, the admiral wantonly ordered the ships to head to the north. There was on the quarter-deck a man of sense,—Goddard, a captain in the land service: he rushed to the cabin in great haste, and importuned the admiral at least to come on deck; but the self-willed man laughed at his fears, and refused. A second time Goddard returned. "For the Lord's sake, come on deck," cried he, "or we shall certainly be lost; I see breakers all around us!" "Putting on my gown and slippers," writes Walker, "and coming up on deck, I found

what he told me to be true." Even then the blind admiral shouted, "I see no land to the leeward!" but the moon, breaking through the mists, gave him the lie. The fleet was close upon the north shore, among the Egg Islands. Now the admiral believed the pilots, and made sail immediately for the middle of the river; but morning showed that eight ships had been wrecked, and eight hundred and eighty-four men drowned. A council of war voted unanimously that it was impossible to proceed. "Had we arrived safe at Quebec," wrote the admiral, "ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger: by the loss of a part, Providence saved all the rest!" and he expected public honors for his retreat, which to him seemed as glorious as a victory.

Such was the issue of hostilities in the north-east. Their total failure left the expedition from Albany no option but to return, and Montreal was unmolested. Detroit, though not till the next year, almost fell before the valor of a party of the Ottagamies, or Foxes; a nation passionate and untamable, springing up into new life from every defeat, and though reduced in the number of their warriors, yet present everywhere by their ferocious daring. Resolving to burn Detroit, they pitched their lodgings near the fort, which Du Buisson, with but twenty Frenchmen, defended. Aware of their intention, he summoned his Indian allies from the chase; and, about the middle of May, Ottawas and Hurons and Pottawatomies, with one branch of the Sacs, Illinois, Menomonies, and even Osages and Missouris, each nation with its own ensign, came to his relief. So wide was the influence of the missionaries in the west. "Father," said they, "behold! thy children compass thee round. We will, if need be, gladly die for our father; only take care of our wives and our children, and spread a little grass over our bodies to protect them against the flies." The warriors of the Fox nation, far from destroying Detroit, were themselves besieged, and at last compelled to surrender at discretion. Those who bore arms were ruthlessly murdered; the rest distributed as slaves among the confederates, to be saved or massacred, at the will of their masters. Cherished 1712.

as the loveliest spot in Canada, the possession of Detroit secured for Quebec the great highways to the Mississippi and intercourse with the upper Indian tribes.

The Tuscaroras changed their dwelling-place during the war. Their chiefs had become indignant at the encroachments of the proprietaries of Carolina, who had assigned their lands to Palatines, fugitives from the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine. De Graffenried, who had undertaken the establishment of the exiles, accompanied by Lawson, the surveyor-general for the northern province, in September of 1711 ascended the Neuse River, to discover how far it was navigable and through what kind of country it flowed. Seized by a party of sixty well-armed Indians, they were taken to a village of the Tuscaroras. Before a council of the principal men from various towns of the tribe, complaint was made of the conduct of the English in Carolina, and especially of the severity of Lawson. He, who with his compass and chain had marked their territory into lots for settlers, was reproved as "the man who sold their land." After a discussion of two days, the death of the prisoners was decreed. The fire was kindled; the ring drawn round the victims, and strown with flowers. On the morning appointed for the execution, a council assembled anew. Round the white men sat the chiefs in two rows; behind them were three hundred of the people, engaged in dances. No reprieve was granted to Lawson; but Graffenried, on pledging his people to neutrality and promising to occupy no land without the consent of the tribe, was suffered after a captivity of five weeks to return through the woods on foot. He came back to desolated settlements. On the twenty-second of September, small bands of the Tuscaroras and Corees, acting in concert, approached the scattered cabins along the Roanoke and Pamlico Sound. As night came on, a whoop from a warrior called his associates from the woods, to commence the indiscriminate carnage. The Palatines now encountered a foe more fierce than Louvois and Louis XIV. At Bath, the Huguenot refugees, and the planters in their neighborhood, were struck down by aid of light

1711. Sept.

Sept. 22.

from their own burning cabins. In the three following days, the savages scoured the country on the Albemarle Sound.

Not all the Tuscaroras had joined in the conspiracy: Spotswood sought to renew with them an alliance; but, as the burgesses of Virginia engaged with him in a contest of power, no effectual aid came from the Old Dominion. The assembly of South Carolina promptly voted relief; and, defying the hardships of a long march through the wilderness, Barnwell, with Cherokees, Creeks, Catawbas, and Yamassees as allies, led a small detachment of militia to the banks of Neuse River. There, in the upper part of Craven county, the Indians were intrenched in a rude fort. With the aid of a few soldiers of North Carolina, the fort was besieged; but even imminent danger had not roused its inhabitants to harmonious action; they retained their hatred for the rule of the proprietaries, and Barnwell could only negotiate with the Indians a treaty of peace.

The troops of South Carolina, on their return, themselves violated the treaty, enslaving inhabitants of villages which should have been safe under its guarantees; and the massacres on Neuse River were renewed. The province was impoverished, the people dissatisfied with their government; in autumn, the yellow fever raged in its most malignant form; and the country south of Pamlico Sound seemed destined to become once more a wilderness. But Spotswood succeeded in dividing the Tuscaroras. Large re-enforcements of Indians from South Carolina arrived, with a few white men, under James Moore; the enemy were pursued to their fort, within the limits of the present Greene county, on the Neuse; and, on its surrender, eight hundred became captives. The legislature of North Carolina, assembling in May, under a new governor, issued its first bills of credit to the amount of eight thousand pounds; "the very refractory" among the people grew zealous to supply the forces with provisions; the enemy was chased across the lakes and swamps of Hyde county; the woods were patrolled by red allies, who hunted for prisoners to be sold as slaves, or

1712. Sept.

Nov. Dec.

1713. March.

took scalps for a reward. At last, the hostile part of
1713. June. the Tuscaroras abandoned their old hunting-grounds, and, migrating to the vicinity of the Oneida Lake, were welcomed by their kindred of the Iroquois as the sixth nation of their confederacy. Their humbled allies were estab-
1715. lished as a single settlement in the precincts of Hyde. The power of the natives of North Carolina was broken, and its interior made safe to the emigrant.

In the mean time, the preliminaries of a treaty had been signed between France and England; and the war, which had grown out of European changes and convulsions, was suspended by negotiations that were soon followed by the uncertain peace of Utrecht.

In 1706, the victories of Ramillies and of Turin were equally fatal; and France, driven from its outposts,
1708. was compelled to struggle for the defence of its own soil. The aged monarch was humbled in arms, reduced in power, chagrined by the visible decline of the prosperity of his kingdom, dejected at the loss of foreign provinces. His children, his grandchildren, all but
1709. Apr. 29. one infant, were swept away. For the sake of peace, he offered to "make a sacrifice of his glory," and assent to the dethronement of his grandson. The confederates demanded that he should himself expel his grandson from the Spanish throne. "If I must have war," he answered, "it shall not be with my children;" and he began to enlist on his side the sympathies of the dispassionate. From the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, his armies had been driven back into his own kingdom. France could not threaten England with a king, or Holland with conquest, or the emperor with rivalry in the empire. The party of peace grew every day. Besides, the archduke Charles, whom the allies had proposed as king of Spain, was, by the death of Joseph, become emperor. If the sovereign over the Austrian dominions, and head of the empire, should possess the undivided Spanish monarchy, the days of Charles V. would return.

The debility of France became its safety, and the accumulated power of the archduke was the prevailing motive

for neglecting his claims. Moreover, success in arms had, in 1710, under the auspices of the victorious Duke de Vendome and with the applause of the Spanish nation, conducted Philip V. to Madrid. His expulsion was become impossible. In England, where public opinion could reach the government, the tories came into power as the party of peace. Marlborough, who gave utterance to the sentiment that the enmity between England and France was irreconcilable, was dismissed.

The treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht closed the series of universal wars for the balance of power. 1713. Apr. 11. The Netherlands were the barrier against French encroachment; they were severed from Spain, and assigned to Austria, as the second land power on the continent. The house of Savoy was raised to the rank of royalty; and Sicily at first, afterwards, instead of Sicily, the Island of Sardinia, was added to its sceptre. The kingdom of Naples, at first divided between the houses of Savoy and Austria, soon became united, and was constituted a secundogeniture of Spain. These subordinate changes were not inconsistent with the policy of the peace of Utrecht, and were therefore, at a later day, effected without a general conflagration of Europe. For the house of Brandenburg, as for that of Savoy, a monarchy was established. We shall presently see its intimate relation to the fortunes of our country. The balance of power, as far as France and England were interested on the continent, was arranged in a manner that might have permitted between the two neighbors a perpetual peace.

The war between England and France had been not only a contest for the balance of power on the continent, but a conflict of opinions; and this, also, was amicably settled. France assented to the emancipation of England from the maxims of legitimacy, and not only recognised the reigning queen, but the succession to the crown, as vested in the house of Hanover by act of parliament. For Spain, it compromised the question, vindicating the right of succession for the family of the Bourbons, but agreeing that the two crowns should never be united. On the other hand, England

took no interest in any question of freedom agitated on the continent, and never in a single instance asserted, or was suspected of asserting, any increase of popular power. Its faithful allies, the Catalonians, had maintained their liberties inherited from the middle age: the abolition of these liberties was their punishment from the Bourbons for having joined the opposition to legitimacy; and, in the treaty of peace, England mocked them by a clause which promised them "the privileges of Castile,"—that is, the loss of all their own liberties. The absolute monarchy of the continent had no dread of Great Britain as the supporter in arms of revolutionary principles. The principles which were springing into activity on the borders of the wilderness were not considered; European revolutions and European wars for opinion seemed for ever at an end.

1713. And yet the treaty of peace at Utrecht scattered the seeds of war broadcast throughout the globe. The world had entered on the period of mercantile privilege. Instead of establishing equal justice, England sought commercial advantages; and, as the mercantile system was identified with the colonial system of the great maritime powers of Europe, the political interest, which could alone kindle universal war, was to be sought in the colonies. Hitherto, the colonies were subordinate to European politics: henceforward, the question of trade on our borders, of territory on our frontier, involved an interest which could excite the world to arms. For about two centuries, the wars of religion had prevailed; the wars for commercial advantages were now prepared. The interests of commerce, under the narrow point of view of privilege and of profit, regulated diplomacy, swayed legislation, and marshalled revolutions.

First, then, by the peace of Utrecht, Spain lost all her European provinces and retained all her colonies. The mother country, being thus left with a population of but six or seven millions, had no strength proportionate to the vast extent of her colonial possessions. She held them not by physical force, but by the power of established interests, usages, and religion; and in some measure on sufferance, at

the will of the maritime powers which aspired to the dominion of the seas. Great Britain, moreover, remained in possession of Gibraltar, her strongest fortress, the key to the Mediterranean. By insisting on the cession of the Spanish Netherlands to Austria, England lost its only hold on Spain; and, by taking Gibraltar, made her its implacable enemy.

Again, by the peace of Utrecht, Belgium was compelled to forego the advantages with which she had been endowed by the God of nature; to gratify commercial jealousy, Antwerp was denied the use of the deep waters that flowed by her walls; and the Austrian efforts at trade with the East Indies were suffocated in their infancy. This policy was an open violation of international justice; a fraud upon humanity; a restriction, by covenant, of national industry and prosperity. It was a pledge that Belgium would look beyond treaties, and grow familiar with natural rights.

With regard to France, one condition of the treaty was still worse. England extorted the covenant that the port of Dunkirk should be filled up. A treaty of peace contained a stipulation for the ruin of a harbor!

On the opening of the contest with France, William III., though bearing the standard of freedom, was false to the principle of the liberty of the seas, prohibiting all commerce with France; and to the protest of Holland he gave no other reply than that it was his will, and that he had power to make it good. To the tory ministry of Queen Anne belongs the honor of having inserted in the treaties of peace a principle which, but for England, would in that generation have wanted a vindicator. But truth, once elicited, never dies. As it descends through time, it may be transmitted from state to state, from monarch to commonwealth; but its light is never extinguished, and never permitted to fall to the ground. A great truth, if no existing nation would assume its guardianship, has power — such is God's providence — to call a nation into being, and live by the life it imparts. What Holland asserted, England kept alive, and Prussia received, till it was safe against any possible combination. The idea which Grotius promulgated, Bolingbroke

1689. Aug. 22.

1713.

fostered, till the great Frederic could become its champion, and the continent of Europe invoke America to secure its triumph. "Free ships," such was international law, as interpreted by England at Utrecht, "free ships shall also give a freedom to goods." The name of contraband was narrowly defined, and the right of blockade severely limited. Sailors, in those days, needed no special protections; for it was covenanted that, with the exception of soldiers in the actual service of the enemy, the flag shall protect the persons that sail under it.

But the assiento, as the agreement respecting the slave-trade was called, was, for English America, the most weighty result of the negotiations at Utrecht. It was demanded by Saint-John, in 1711; and Louis XIV. promised his good offices to procure this advantage for the English. "Her Britannic majesty did offer and undertake," such are the words of the treaty, "by persons whom she shall appoint, to bring into the West Indies of America belonging to his Catholic majesty, in the space of thirty years, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred in each of the said thirty years;" paying, on four thousand of them, a duty of thirty-three and a third dollars a head. The assientists might introduce as many more as they pleased, at the less rate of duty of sixteen and two thirds dollars a head; only, no scandal was to be offered to the Roman Catholic religion! Exactest care was taken to secure a monopoly. No Frenchman, nor Spaniard, nor any other persons, might introduce one negro slave into Spanish America. For the Spanish world in the Gulf of Mexico, on the Atlantic, and along the Pacific, as well as for the English colonies, her Britannic majesty, by persons of her appointment, was the exclusive slave-trader. England extorted the privilege of filling the New World with negroes. As great profits were anticipated from the trade, Philip V. of Spain took one quarter of the common stock, agreeing to pay for it by a stock-note; Queen Anne reserved to herself another quarter; and the remaining moiety was to be divided among her subjects. The sovereigns of England and Spain became the largest slave-merchants in the

world. Lady Masham promised herself a share of the profits; but Harley, who had good sense and was most free from avarice, advised the assignment of the queen's portion of the stock to the South Sea company.

Controlling the trade in slaves, who cost nothing but trinkets and toys and refuse arms, England gained, by the sale of the children of Africa into bondage in America, the capital which built up and confirmed a British empire in Hindostan. The political effects of this traffic were equally perceptible in the West Indies. The mercantile system, of which the colonial system was the essential branch, culminated in the slave-trade and the commercial policy adopted with regard to the chief produce of slave-labor. The statesmen who befriended the system of colonial monopoly showed their highest favor to the sugar colonies.

Further, England, guarding with the utmost strictness the monopoly of her own colonial trade, encroached by treaty on the colonial monopoly of Spain. There shall be trade, it was said, between Great Britain and Spain, and their respective plantations and provinces, "where hitherto trade and commerce have been accustomed;" so that a prescriptive right might spring from the continued successes of British smugglers. Besides, as England gained the assiento, it was agreed that the agents of the assientists might enter all the ports of Spanish America; might send their factors into inland places; might, for their own supplies, establish warehouses, safe against search until after proof of fraudulent importations; might send yearly a ship of five hundred tons, laden with merchandise, to be entered free of all duties in the Indies, and to be sold at the annual fair; might send the returns of this traffic, whether bars of silver, ingots of gold, or the produce of the country, directly to Europe in English vessels. The hope was further expressed that, from Europe and the North American colonies, direct supplies might be furnished to the assientists in small vessels; that is, in vessels best fitted to engage in smuggling. Here, also, lay the seeds of war: the great colonial monopolists were divided against each other; and England sought to engross, if possible, every advantage. Many were the con-

sequences to our fathers from these encroachments: they opened trade between our colonies and the Spanish islands; they stimulated England to aggressions which led to a war; they incensed Spain, so that she could wish to see the great colonial system impaired, if by that means she could revenge herself on England.

Finally, England, by the peace of Utrecht, obtained from France large concessions of territory in America. The assembly of New York had addressed the queen against French settlements in the west; William Penn advised to establish the St. Lawrence as the boundary on the north, and to include in our colonies the valley of the Mississippi. It "will make a glorious country:" such were his prophetic words. Spotswood of Virginia, again and again, directed the attention of the English ministry to the progress of the French in the west. The colony of Louisiana excited in Saint-John "apprehensions of the future undertakings of the French in North America." The occupation of the Mississippi valley had been proposed to Queen Anne; yet, at the peace, that immense region remained to France. But England obtained the entire possession of the Bay of Hudson and its borders; of Newfoundland, subject to the rights of France in its fisheries; and of all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries. It was agreed, also, that "France should never molest the Five Nations subject to the dominion of Great Britain." But Louisiana, according to French ideas, included the whole basin of the Mississippi. Did the treaty of Utrecht assent to such an extension of French territory? And what were the ancient limits of Acadia? Did it include all that is now New Brunswick? or had France still a large territory on the Atlantic between Acadia and Maine? And what were the bounds of the territory of the Five Nations, which the treaty appeared to recognise as a part of the English dominions? These were questions which were never to be adjusted amicably.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE ABORIGINES EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

On the surrender of Acadia to England, the lakes, the rivulets, the granite ledges of Cape Breton, of which the irregular outline is guarded by reefs of rocks, and notched and almost rent asunder by the constant action of the sea, were immediately occupied as a province of France; and, in 1714, fugitives from Newfoundland and Acadia built their huts along its coasts wherever safe inlets invited fishermen to spread their flakes, and the soil to plant fields and gardens. In a few years, the fortifications 1720. of Louisburg began to rise, the key to the St. Lawrence, the bulwark of the French fisheries, and of French commerce in North America. From Cape Breton, the dominion of Louis XIV. extended up the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, and from that lake through the whole course of the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico and the Bay of Mobile. Just beyond that bay began the posts of the Spaniards, which continued round the shores of Florida to the fortress of St. Augustine. The English colonies skirted the Atlantic, extending from Florida to the eastern verge of Nova Scotia. Thus, if on the east the Strait of Canso divided France and England, if on the south a narrow range of forests intervened between England and Spain, everywhere else the colonies of the rival nations were separated from each other by tribes of the natives. The Europeans had encompassed the aborigines that dwelt east of the Mississippi by a circle of posts; and, however eager might now be the passion of the intruders for carving their emblems on trees and designating their lines of anticipated empire on maps, their respective settlements were

kept asunder by an unexplored wilderness, of which savages were the occupants. The great strife of France and England for American territory could not, therefore, but involve the ancient possessors of the continent in a series of conflicts, which have at last banished the Indian tribes from the earlier limits of our republic. If a melancholy interest attaches to the fall of a hero who is overpowered by superior force, shall we not have compassion for nations whose defeat foreboded the exile, if it did not indeed shadow forth the decline and ultimate extinction, of a race?

The earliest books on America contained tales as wild as fancy could invent or credulity repeat. The land was peopled with pygmies and with giants; the tropical forests were said to conceal tribes of negroes; and tenants of the hyperborean regions were white, like the polar bear or the ermine. Jaques Cartier had heard of a nation that did not eat; and the pedant Lafitau believed, if not in a species of headless men, at least that there were men with the head not rising above the shoulders.

Yet the first aspect of the original inhabitants of the United States was uniform. Between the Indians of Florida and Canada, the difference was scarcely perceptible. Their manners and institutions, as well as their organization, had a common physiognomy; and, before their languages began to be known, there was no safe method of grouping the nations into families. But, when the vast variety of dialects came to be compared, there were found east of the Mississippi not more than eight radically distinct languages, of which five still constitute the speech of powerful communities, and three are known only as memorials of tribes that have disappeared.

I. The primitive language which was the most widely diffused, and the most fertile in dialects, received from the French the name of ALGONKIN. It was the mother tongue of those who greeted the colonists of Raleigh at Roanoke, of those who welcomed the pilgrims to Plymouth. It was heard from the Bay of Gaspé to the valley of the Des Moines; from Cape Fear, and, it may be, from the Savannah, to the land of the Esquimaux; from the Cumberland

River of Kentucky to the southern bank of the Missinipi. It was spoken, though not exclusively, in a territory that extended through sixty degrees of longitude and more than twenty degrees of latitude.

The Micmacs, who occupied the east of the continent, south of the little tribe that dwelt round the Bay of Gaspé, held possession of Nova Scotia and the adjacent isles, and probably never much exceeded three thousand in number. They were known to our fathers only as the active allies of the French; they often invaded, but never inhabited, New England.

The Etchemins, or Canoemen, dwelt not only on the St. John's River, the Ouygondy of the natives, but on the St. Croix, which Champlain always called from their name, and extended as far west, at least, as Mount Desert.

Next to these came the Abenakis, of whom one tribe has left its name to the Penobscot, and another to the Androscoggin; while a third, under the auspices of Jesuits, had its chapel and its fixed abode in the fertile fields of Norridgewock.

The clans that disappeared from their ancient hunting-grounds did not always become extinct; they often migrated to the north and west. Of the Sokokis, who appear to have dwelt near Saco, and to have had an alliance with the Mohawks, many, at an early day, abandoned 1646. the region where they first became known to European voyagers, and placed themselves under the shelter of the French in Canada. The example of emigration was often followed; the savage shunned the vicinity of the civilized: among the tribes of Texas, there are warriors who are said to trace their lineage to Algonkins on the Atlantic; and descendants from the New England Indians now roam over western prairies.

The forests beyond the Saco, New Hampshire, and the country as far as Salem, constituted the sachemship of Penacook, or Pawtucket, and often afforded a refuge to the remnants of feebler nations around them. The tribe of the Massachusetts, even before the colonization of the country, had almost disappeared from the shores of the bay that

bears its name; and the villages of the interior resembled insulated and nearly independent bands, that had lost themselves in the wilderness.

Of the Pokanokets, who dwelt round Mount Hope, and were sovereigns over Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a part of Cape Cod; of the Narragansetts, who dwelt between the bay that bears their name and the present limits of Connecticut, holding dominion over Rhode Island and its vicinity, as well as a part of Long Island, — the most civilized of the northern nations; of the Pequods, the branch of the Mohegans that occupied the eastern part of Connecticut, and ruled a part of Long Island, — earliest victims to the Europeans, — I have already related the overthrow. The country between the banks of the Connecticut and the Hudson was possessed by independent villages of the Mohegans, kindred with the Manhattans, whose few "smokes" once rose amidst the forests on New York Island.

The Lenni-Lenape, in their two divisions of the Minsi and the Delawares, occupied New Jersey, the valley of the Delaware far up towards the sources of that river, and the entire basin of the Schuylkill. Like the benevolent William Penn, the Delawares were pledged to a system of peace; but, while Penn forbore retaliation voluntarily, the passiveness of the Delawares was the degrading confession of their defeat and submission to the Five Nations. Their conquerors had stripped them of their rights as warriors, and compelled them to endure taunts as women.

Beyond the Delaware, on the eastern shore, dwelt the Nanticokes, who disappeared without glory, or melted imperceptibly into other tribes; and the names of Accomack and Pamlico are the chief memorials of tribes that made dialects of the Algonkin the mother tongue of the natives along the sea-coast as far south, at least, as Cape Hatteras. It is probable, also, that the Corees, or Coramines, who dwelt to the southward of the Neuse River, spoke a kindred language; thus establishing Cape Fear as the southern limit of the Algonkin speech.

In Virginia, the same language was heard throughout

the whole dominion of Powhatan, which had the tribes of the eastern shore as its dependencies, and included all the villages west of the Chesapeake, from the most southern tributaries of James River to the Patuxent. The power of the little empire was entirely broken in the days of Opechancanough; and, after the insurrection of Bacon, the confederacy disappears from history.

The Shawnees connect the south-eastern Algonkins with the west. The basin of the Cumberland River is marked by the earliest French geographers as the home of this restless nation of wanderers. A part of them afterwards had their "cabins" and their "springs" in the neighborhood of Winchester. Their principal band removed from their hunting-fields in Kentucky to the head-waters of one of the great rivers of South Carolina; and, at a later day, an encampment of four hundred and fifty of them, who had been straggling in the woods for four years, was found not far north of the head-waters of the Mobile River, on their way to the country of the Muskohgees. It was about the year 1698 that three or four score of their families, with the consent of the government of Pennsylvania, removed from Carolina, and planted themselves on the Susquehannah. Sad were the fruits of that hospitality. Others followed; and when, in 1732, the number of Indian fighting men in Pennsylvania was estimated to be seven hundred, one half of them were Shawnee emigrants. So desolate was the wilderness, that a vagabond tribe could wander undisturbed from Cumberland River to the Alabama, from the head-waters of the Santee to the Susquehannah.

The Miamis were more stable, and their own traditions preserve the memory of their ancient limits. "My forefather," said the Miami orator Little Turtle, at Greenville, "kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head-waters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. These are the boundaries within which the prints of my ancestor's houses are everywhere to be seen." And the early French narratives confirm his words. The forests

beyond Detroit were at first found unoccupied, or, it may be, roamed over by bands too feeble to attract a trader or win a missionary; the Ottawas, Algonkin fugitives from the basin of the magnificent river whose name commemorates them, fled to the Bay of Saginaw, and took possession of the whole north of the peninsula as of a derelict country; yet the Miamis occupied its southern moiety, and their principal mission was founded by Allouëz on the banks of the St. Joseph, within the present state of Michigan.

The Illinois were kindred to the Miamis, and their country lay between the Wabash, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. Marquette found a village of them on the Des Moines, but its occupants soon withdrew to the east of the Mississippi; and Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Peoria, still preserve the names of the principal bands, of which the original strength has been greatly exaggerated. The vague tales of a considerable population vanished before the accurate observation of the missionaries, who found in the wide wilderness of Illinois scarcely three or four villages. On the discovery of America, the number of the scattered tenants of the territory which now forms the states of Ohio and Michigan, of Indiana, and Illinois, and Kentucky, could hardly have exceeded eighteen thousand.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, the Pottawatomies had crowded the Miamis from their dwellings at Chicago: the intruders came from the islands near the entrance of Green Bay, and were a branch of the great nation of the Chippewas. That nation, or, as some write, the Ojibways, — the Algonkin tribe of whose dialect, mythology, traditions, and customs, we have the fullest accounts, — held the country from the mouth of Green Bay to the head-waters of Lake Superior, and were early visited by the French at Sault St. Mary and Chegoimegon. They adopted into their tribes many of the Ottawas from Upper Canada, and were themselves often included by the early French writers under that name.

Ottawa is but the Algonkin word for "trader;" and Mascoutins are but "dwellers in the prairie." The latter hardly implies a band of Indians distinct from other nations; but

history recognises, as a separate Algonkin tribe near Green Bay, the Menomonies, who were found there in 1669, who retained their ancient territory long after the period of French and of English supremacy, and who prove their high antiquity as a nation by the singular character of their dialect.

South-west of the Menomonies, the restless Sacs and Foxes, ever dreaded by the French, held the passes from Green Bay and Fox River to the Mississippi, and with insatiate avidity roamed defiantly over the whole country between the Wisconsin and the upper branches of the Illinois. The Shawnees are said to have an affinity with this nation; that the Kickapoos, who established themselves by conquest in the north of Illinois, are but a branch of it, is demonstrated by their speech.

So numerous and so widely extended were the tribes of the Algonkin family. They were scattered over a moiety, or perhaps more than a moiety, of the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence, and constituted about one half of the original population of that territory.

II. North-west of the Sacs and Foxes, west of the Chippewas, bands of the SIOUX, or DAKOTAS, had encamped on prairies east of the Mississippi, vagrants between the headwaters of Lake Superior and the Falls of St. Anthony. They were a branch of the great family which, dwelling for the most part west of the Mississippi and the Red River, extended from the Saskatchawan to lands south of the Arkansas. French traders discovered their wigwams in 1659; Hennepin was among them, on his expedition to the north; Joseph Marest and another Jesuit visited them in 1687, and again in 1689. There seemed to exist a hereditary warfare between them and the Chippewas. Their relations to the colonists, whether of France or England, were, at this early period, accidental, and related chiefly to individuals. But one little community of the Dakota family had penetrated the territory of the Algonquins: the Winnebagoes, dwelling between Green Bay and the lake that bears their name, preferred rather to be environed by Algonkins than to stay in the dangerous vicinity of

their own kindred. Like other western and southern tribes, their population appears of late to have greatly increased.

III. The nations which spoke dialects of the HURON-IROQUOIS, or, as it has also been called, of the WYANDOT, were, on the discovery of America, found powerful in numbers, and diffused over a wide territory. The peninsular enclosed between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, had been the dwelling-place of the five confederated tribes of the Hurons. After their defeat by the Five Nations, a part descended the St. Lawrence, and their progeny may still be seen near Quebec; a part were adopted, on equal terms, into the tribes of their conquerors; the Wyandots fled beyond Lake Superior, and hid themselves in the dreary wastes that divided the Chippewas from their western foes. In 1671, they retreated before the powerful Sioux, and made their home first at St. Mary's and at Michilimackinac, and afterwards near the post of Detroit. Thus the Wyandots within our borders were emigrants from Canada. Having a mysterious influence over the Algonkin tribes, and making treaties with the Five Nations, they spread along Lake Erie; and, leaving to the Miamis the country beyond the Miami of the lakes, they gradually acquired a claim to the territory from that river to the western boundary of New York.

The immediate dominion of the Iroquois — where the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, were first visited by the trader, the missionary, or the war-parties of the French — stretched, as we have seen, from the borders of Vermont to Western New York, from the lakes to the head-waters of the Ohio, the Susquehannah, and the Delaware. The number of their warriors was declared by the French, in 1660, to have been two thousand two hundred; and, in 1677, an English agent, sent on purpose to ascertain their strength, confirmed the precision of the statement. Their geographical position made them umpires in the contest of the French for dominion in the west. Besides, their political importance was increased by their conquests. Not only did they claim some supremacy in Northern New England as far as the Kennebec,

and to the south as far as New Haven, and were acknowledged as absolute lords over the conquered Lenape,—the peninsula of Upper Canada was their hunting-field by right of war; they had exterminated or reduced the Eries and the Conestogas, both tribes of their own family, the one dwelling to the south of Lake Erie, the other on the banks of the Susquehannah; they had triumphantly invaded the tribes of the west as far as Illinois; their warriors had reached the soil of Kentucky and Western Virginia; and England, to whose alliance they steadily inclined, availed itself of their treaties for the cession of territories, to encroach even on the empire of France in America.

But the labors of the Jesuit missionaries had not been fruitless. The few families of the Iroquois who migrated to the north of Lake Ontario, and raised their huts round Fort Frontenac, remained in amity with the French; and two villages of Iroquois converts, the Cahnewagas of New England writers, were established near Montreal, a barrier against their heathen countrymen and against New York.

The Huron tribes of the north were environed by Algonkins. At the south, the Chowan, the Meherrin, the Nottoway, villages of the Wyandot family, have left their names to the rivers along which they dwelt; and the Tuscaroras, kindred with the Five Nations, were the most powerful tribe in North Carolina. In 1708, its fifteen towns still occupied the upper country on the Neuse and the Tar.

IV. South of the Tuscaroras, the midlands of Carolina sheltered the CATAWBAS. Its villages included the Woccons, and the nation spoke a language of its own: that language is now almost extinct, being known only to less than one hundred persons, who linger on the banks of a branch of the Santee. Imagination never assigned to the Catawbas, in their proudest days, more than twelve hundred and fifty warriors; the oldest enumeration was made in 1743, and gives but four hundred. It may therefore be inferred that, on the first appearance of Europeans, their language was in the keeping of not more than three thousand souls. History knows them chiefly as the hered-

itary foes of the Iroquois tribes, before whose prowess and numbers they dwindled away.

V. The mountaineers of aboriginal America were the CHEROKEES, who occupied the upper valley of the Tennessee River as far west as Muscle Shoals, and the highlands of Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, — the most picturesque and most salubrious region east of the Mississippi. Their homes were encircled by blue hills rising beyond hills, of which the lofty peaks would kindle with the early light, and the overshadowing ridges envelop the valleys like a mass of clouds. There the rocky cliffs, rising in naked grandeur, defy the lightning, and mock the loudest peals of the thunder-storm; there the gentler slopes are covered with magnolias and flowering forest trees, decorated with roving climbers, and ring with the perpetual note of the whip-poor-will; there the wholesome water gushes profusely from the earth in transparent springs; snow-white cascades glitter on the hillsides; and the rivers, shallow but pleasant to the eye, rush through the narrow vales, which the abundant strawberry crimsons, and coppices of rhododendron and flaming azalea adorn. At the fall of the leaf, the fruit of the hickory and the chestnut is thickly strown on the ground. The fertile soil teems with luxuriant herbage, on which the roebuck fattens; the vivifying breeze is laden with fragrance; and daybreak is ever welcomed by the shrill cries of the social night-hawk and the liquid carols of the mocking-bird. Through this lovely region were scattered the villages of the Cherokees, nearly fifty in number, each consisting of but a few cabins, erected where the bend in the mountain stream offered at once a defence and a strip of alluvial soil for culture. Their towns were always by the side of some creek or river, and they loved their native land; above all, they loved its rivers, the Keowee, the Tugeloo, the Flint, and the beautiful branches of the Tennessee. Running waters, inviting to the bath, tempting the angler, alluring wild fowl, were necessary to their paradise. Their language, like that of the Iroquois, abounds in vowels, and is destitute of the labials. Its organization has a common character, but etymology has not yet been

able to discover conclusive analogies between the roots of words. The "beloved" people of the Cherokees were a nation by themselves. Who can say for how many centuries, safe in their undiscovered fastnesses, they had decked their war-chiefs with the feathers of the eagle's tail, and listened to the counsels of their "old beloved men"? Who can tell how often the waves of barbarous migrations may have broken harmlessly against their cliffs, where nature was the strong ally of the defenders of their land?

VI. South-east of the Cherokees dwelt the UCHEES. They claimed the country above and below Augusta, and, at the earliest period respecting which we can surmise, seem not to have extended beyond the Chattahoochee; yet they boast to have been the oldest inhabitants of that region. They now constitute an inconsiderable band in the Creek confederacy, and are known as a distinct family, not from political organization, but from their singularly harsh and guttural language. When first discovered, they were but a remnant, favoring the conjecture that, from the north and west, tribe may have pressed upon tribe; that successions of nations may have been exterminated by invading nations; that even languages, which are the least perishable monument of the savages, may have become extinct.

VII. The NATCHEZ, also, are now merged in the same confederacy; but they, with the Taensas, were known to history as a distinct nation, residing in scarcely more than four or five villages, of which the largest rose near the banks of the Mississippi. That they spoke but a dialect of the Mobilian is an inference which the memoirs of Dumont would have warranted, and which more recent travellers have confirmed without reservation; while the diffuse Du Pratz represents them as using at once the Mobilian and a radically different speech of their own. The missionary station among them was assigned to Franciscans; and the Jesuits who have written of them are silent respecting the tongue, which they themselves had no occasion to employ. The opinion of the acute Vater was in favor of its original character; and, by the persevering curiosity of Gallatin, it is at last

known that the Natchez were distinguished from the tribes around them less by their customs and the degree of their civilization than by their language, which, as far as comparisons have been instituted, has no etymological affinity with any other whatever. Here, again, the imagination too readily kindles to invent theories; and the tradition has been widely received that the dominion of the Natchez once extended even to the Wabash; that they are emigrants from Mexico; that they are the kindred of the Incas of Peru. The close observation of the state of the arts among them tends to dispel these illusions; and history knows them only as a feeble and inconsiderable nation, the occupants of a narrow territory round the spot, where the Christian church and the dwellings of emigrants from Europe and from Africa have displaced the rude abode of their Great Sun and the artless cabin of the guardians of the sacred fire, which they vainly hoped should never die.

VIII. With these exceptions of the Uchees and the Natchez, the whole country south-east, south, and west of the Cherokees, to the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, to the Mississippi and the confluence of the Tennessee and Ohio, was in the possession of one great family of nations, of which the language was named by the French the MOBILIAN, and is described by Gallatin as the MUSKOHGEE-CHOCTAW. It included three considerable confederacies, each of which still exists, and perhaps even with some increase of numbers.

The country bounded on the Ohio at the north, on the Mississippi at the west, on the east by a line drawn from the bend in the Cumberland River to the Muscle Shoals of the Tennessee, and extending at the south into the territory of the state of Mississippi, was the land of the cheerful, brave Chickasaws, the faithful, the invincible allies of the English. Marquette found them already in possession of guns, obtained probably through Virginia; La Salle built Fort Prudhomme on one of their bluffs; but their chosen abodes were on the upland country, which gives birth to the Yazoo and the Tombigbee, the finest and most fruitful on the continent, — where the grass is verdant in mid-

winter, the blue-bird and the robin are heard in February; the springs of pure water gurgle up through the white sands, to flow through natural bowers of evergreen holly; and, if the earth be but carelessly gashed to receive the kernel of maize, the thick corn springs abundantly from the fertile soil. The region is as happy as any beneath the sun; and the love which it inspired made its occupants, though not numerous, yet the most intrepid warriors of the south.

Below the Chickasaws, between the Mississippi and the Tombigbee, was the land of the Choctaws, who were gathered on the eastern frontier into compact villages, but elsewhere were scattered through the interior of their territory. Dwelling in plains or among gentle hills, they excelled every North American tribe in their agriculture, subsisting chiefly on corn, and placing little dependence on the chase. Their country was healthful, abounding in brooks. The number of their warriors perhaps exceeded four thousand. Their dialect of the Mobilian so nearly resembles that of the Chickasaws, that they almost seemed but one nation. The Choctaws were allies of the French, yet preserving their independence: their love for their country was intense, and, in defending it, they utterly contemned danger.

The ridge that divided the Tombigbee from the Alabama was the line that separated the Choctaws from the groups of tribes which were soon united in the confederacy of the Creeks or Muskohgees. Their territory, including all Florida, reached, on the north, to the Cherokees; on the northeast and east, to the country on the Savannah and to the Atlantic. Along the sea, their northern limit seems to have extended almost to Cape Fear; at least, the tribes with which the settlers at Charleston first waged war are enumerated by one writer as branches of the Muskohgees. Their population, spread over a fourfold wider territory, did not exceed that of the Choctaws in number. Their towns were situated on the banks of beautiful creeks, in which their country abounded; the waters of their bold rivers, from the Coosa to the Chattahoochee, descended rapidly, with a clear current, through healthful and fertile

regions; they were careful in their agriculture, and, before going to war, assisted their women to plant. In Florida, they welcomed the Spanish missionaries; and, throughout their country, they derived so much benefit from the arts of civilization that their numbers soon promised to increase; and, being placed between the English of Carolina, the French of Louisiana, the Spaniards of Florida, — bordering on the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees, — their political importance made them esteemed as the most powerful Indian nation north of the Gulf of Mexico. They readily gave shelter to fugitives from other tribes; and their speech became so modified that, with radical resemblances, it has the widest departure from its kindred dialects. The Yamassees, on the Savannah, seem certainly to have been one of their bands; and the Seminoles of Florida are but "wild men," lost from their confederacy, and abandoning agriculture for the chase.

Such is a synopsis of the American nations east of the Mississippi. It is not easy to estimate their probable numbers at the period of their discovery. Many of them — the Narragansetts, the Illinois — boasted of the superior strength of their former condition; and, from wonder, from fear, from the ambition of exciting surprise, early travellers often repeated the exaggerations of savage vanity. The Hurons of Upper Canada were thought to number many more than thirty thousand, perhaps even fifty thousand, souls; yet, according to the more exact enumeration of 1639, they could not have exceeded ten thousand. In the heart of a wilderness, a few cabins seemed like a city; and to the pilgrim, who had walked for weeks without meeting a human being, a territory would appear densely peopled where, in every few days, a wigwam could be encountered. Vermont and North-western Massachusetts and much of New Hampshire were solitudes; Ohio, a part of Indiana, the largest part of Michigan, remained open to Indian emigration long after America began to be colonized by Europeans. From the portage between the Fox and the Wisconsin to the Des Moines, Marquette saw neither the countenance nor the footstep of man. In Illinois, so friendly to the habits of

savage life, the Franciscan Zenobe Mambré, whose journal is preserved by Le Clercq, describes the "only large village" as containing seven or eight thousand souls; Father Rasles imagined he had seen in one place twelve hundred fires, kindled for more than two thousand families: other missionaries who made their abode there describe their appalling journeys through absolute solitudes; they represent their vocation as a chase after a savage, that was scarce ever to be found; and they could establish hardly five, or even three, villages in the whole region. Kentucky, after the expulsion of the Shawnees, remained the park of the Cherokees. The banished tribe easily fled up the valley of the Cumberland River, to find a vacant wilderness in the highlands of Carolina; and a part of them for years roved to and fro in wildernesses west of the Cherokees. On early maps, the low country from the Mobile to Florida is marked as vacant. The oldest reports from Georgia exult in the entire absence of Indians from the vicinity of Savannah, and will not admit that there were more than a few within four hundred miles. There are hearsay and vague accounts of Indian war-parties composed of many hundreds: those who wrote from knowledge furnish the means of comparison and correction. The population of the Five Nations could not have varied much from ten thousand; and their warriors strolled as conquerors from Hudson's Bay to Carolina, from the Kennebec to the Tennessee. Very great uncertainty must indeed attend any estimate of the original number of Indians east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence and the chain of lakes. The diminution of their population is far less than is usually supposed: they have been exiled, but not exterminated. The use of iron, of gunpowder, of the horse, has given to the savage dominion over the beasts of the forest, and new power over nature. The Cherokee and Mobilian families of nations are more numerous now than ever. We shall approach, and perhaps exceed, a just estimate of their numbers two hundred years ago, if to the various tribes of the Algonkin race we allow about ninety thousand; of the eastern Sioux less than three thousand; of the Iroquois, including their southern kin-

dred, about seventeen thousand; of the Catawbas, three thousand; of the Cherokees, twelve thousand; of the Mobilian confederacies and tribes,—that is, of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Muskohgees,—fifty thousand; of the Uchees, one thousand; of the Natchez, four thousand: in all, it may be, not far from one hundred and eighty thousand souls.

The study of the structure of the dialects of the red men sheds light on the inquiry into their condition. Language is their oldest monument, and the record and image of their experience. No savage horde has been caught with it in a state of chaos, or as if just emerging from the rudeness of undistinguishable sounds. No American language bears marks of being an arbitrary aggregation of separate parts; but each is possessed of an organization, having unity of character, and controlled by exact rules. Each appears not as a slow formation by painful processes of invention, but as a perfect whole, springing directly from the powers of man. A savage physiognomy is imprinted on the dialect of the dweller in the wilderness; but each dialect is still not only free from confusion, but is almost absolutely free from irregularities, and is pervaded and governed by undeviating laws. As the bee builds his cells regularly, yet without the recognition of the rules of geometry, so the unreflecting savage, in the use of words, had rule and method. His speech, like every thing else, underwent change; but human pride errs in believing that the art of cultivated man was needed to resolve it into its elements, and give to it new forms, before it could fulfil its office. Each American language was competent, of itself, without improvement from scholars, to exemplify every rule of the logician, and give utterance to every passion. Each dialect that has been analyzed has been found rich in derivatives and compounds, in combinations and forms. As certain as every plant which draws juices from the earth has roots and sap-vessels, bark and leaves, so certainly each language has its complete organization; including the same parts of speech, though some of them may lie concealed in mutual coalitions. Human consciousness and human speech exist everywhere, indissolubly

united. A tribe has no more been found without an organized language than without eyesight or memory.

The American savage has tongue and palate and lips and throat; the power to utter flowing sounds, the power to hiss: hence the primitive sounds are essentially the same. The savage had, indeed, never attempted their analysis; but the analogies are so close that they may almost all be expressed by the alphabet of European use. The tribes vary in their capacity or their custom of expressing sounds; the Oneidas always changed the letter *r*; the rest of the Iroquois tribes rejected the letter *l*. The Algonkins have no *f*; the whole Iroquois family never use the semivowel *m*, and want the labials entirely. The Cherokees, employing the semivowels, are in like manner destitute of the labials. Of the several dialects of the Iroquois, that of the Oneidas is the most soft, being the only one that admits the letter *l*; that of the Senecas is rudest and most energetic. The Algonkin dialects, especially those of the Abenakis, heap up consonants with prodigal harshness; the Iroquois abound in a concurrence of vowels; in the Cherokee, every syllable ends with a vowel, and the combinations with consonants are so few and so simple that the "old beloved speech," like the Japanese, admits a syllabic alphabet, of which the signs need not exceed eighty-five.

Quickened by conversation with Europeans, Sequoah, an ingenious Cherokee, recently completed an analysis of the syllables of his language, and invented symbols to express them. But, before acquaintance with Europeans, no red man had discriminated the sounds which he articulated: in all America, there was no alphabet; and, to the eye, knowledge was conveyed only by rude imitations. In a picture of an animal drawn on a sheet of birch bark, or on a smooth stone, or on a blazed tree, an Indian will recognise the symbol of his tribe; and the figures that are sketched around will give him a message from his friends. Pictorial hieroglyphics were met with in all parts of America, in Southern Louisiana, and in the land of the Wyandots, among Algonkins and Mohawks. The rudest painting, giving its story at a glance, constituted the only writing of the Indian.

As his mode of writing was by imitation of visible objects, so his language itself was held in bonds by the external world. Abounding in words to designate every object of experience, it had none to express a spiritual conception; materialism reigned in it. The individuality of the barbarian and of his tribe stamps itself upon his speech. Nature creates or shapes expressions for his sensations and his desires, and his vocabulary was always copious in words for objects within his knowledge, for ideas derived from the senses; but for "spiritual matters" it was poor; it had no name for continence or justice, for gratitude or holiness. That each American tongue has been successfully used by Christian missionaries comes not from an original store of words expressing moral truth, but from the reciprocal pliability of ideas and their signs. It required, said Loskiel, the labor of years to make the Delaware dialect capable of expressing abstract thought; it was necessary to forge a new nomenclature out of existing terms by circumlocutions and combinations; and it was the glory of Eliot that his benevolent simplicity intuitively caught the analogies by which moral truth could be conveyed to nations whose power of expression had not yet emancipated itself from material objects.

In another point of view, this materialism contributed greatly to the picturesque brilliancy of American discourse. Prosperity is as a bright sun or a cloudless sky; to establish peace is to plant a forest tree or to bury the tomahawk; to offer presents as a consolation to mourners is to cover the grave of the departed; and, if the Indian from the prairies would speak of griefs and hardships, it is the thorns of the prickly pear that penetrate his moccasons. Especially the style of the Six Nations was adorned with noble metaphors, and glowed with allegory.

If we search for the distinguishing traits of our American languages, we shall find the synthetic character pervading them all, and establishing their rules. The American does not separate the component parts of the proposition which he utters; he never analyzes his expressions; his thoughts rush forth in a troop. The picture is presented at once

and all together. His speech is as a kindling cloud, not as radiant points of light. This absence of all reflective consciousness, and of all logical analysis of ideas, is the great peculiarity of American speech. Every complex idea is expressed in a group. Synthesis governs every form; it pervades all the dialects of the Iroquois and the Algonkin, and equally stamps the character of the language of the Cherokee.

This synthetic character is apparent in the attempt to express, in the simplest manner, the name of any thing. The Algonkin, the Iroquois, did not say *father;* they made use of a more definite expression. Their nouns implying relation, says Brebeuf, always include the signification of one of the three persons of the possessive pronoun. They do not say *father*, *son*, *master*, separately; the noun is limited by including within itself the pronoun for the person to whom it relates. The missionaries, therefore, did not know how to translate the doxology literally, but chanted among the Hurons, and doubtless at Onondaga: "Glory be to our Father, and to his Son, and to their Holy Ghost."

Just so the savage did not say *tree* or *house;* the word was always accompanied by prefixes defining its application, though "there is something of our prejudice," says Whitney, in describing them as "deficient in the power of abstraction." The only pronoun which can, with any plausibility, be called an article, is always blended with the noun.

In like manner, the languages are defective in terms that express generalizations. Our forests abound, for example, in various kinds of oak: the Algonkins have special terms for each kind of oak, but no generic term including them all. The same is even true of the verb. No activity is generalized; and hence come multitudes of words to express the same action, as modified by changes of its object. So, too, they have no noun expressing the abstract idea of being; the idea is always blended with locality. Not one of the families of languages of which we treat possessed the simple substantive verb. As the idea of being, when expressed by a noun, was always blended with that of place, so the verb *to be* was never used abstractly, but included

within itself the idea of place and time. Thus arises a marvellous fertility of expression, and a wonderful precision; and yet this very copiousness is a defect, springing from the want of reflection and analysis.

The same synthetic character appears in the formation of words. The noun receives into itself not only the affixed forms designating relation, but those also which express a quality. The noun and the adjective are, with the pronoun, blended into one word. The power of combination, common to every original language, is possessed in an unlimited degree; and, as a new object is presented to an Indian, he will inquire its use, and promptly give it a name, including within itself, perhaps, an entire definition. The Indian never kneels; so, when Eliot translated *kneeling*, the word which he was compelled to form fills a line, and numbers eleven syllables. As in early days books were written in unbroken lines without any division of the parts of a sentence, so the savage, in his speech, runs word into word, till at last a single one appears to include the whole proposition. By this process of aggregation, a simple root is often buried beneath its environments; rapidity of movement and grace are lost; and speech is encumbered with the expressive masses which it has heaped together. The words that enter into the compound are not melted into each other; nothing resembling a chemical affinity takes place; but the compound word is like patchwork; the masses that are joined together remain heterogeneous. The union resembles clumsy mechanism, where the contrivance lies bare, and forces itself upon the eye. The cultivated man, with select instruments, expresses every idea; the savage is for ever coining words; and the original character of his language permits him to multiply them at will.

Still more is the character of synthesis observable in the pronoun. That part of speech hardly existed in a separate form; at least, in a separate form, was rarely in use. Its principal office, in the Algonkin dialects, is to define the relations of the noun and the verb. The pronoun knows no distinction of genders for male and female; one form is common to both; another form is for the neuter, as in Latin

there is sometimes a common gender, in contradistinction to the neuter. Hence, as nouns are always used in connection with pronouns, there is in the form no distinction between masculine and feminine, but only between the form common to both genders on the one hand, and the form applied to the neuter on the other; in a word, between the animate and the inanimate. The plural of animate nouns appears to be formed by an amalgamation with the pronoun of the third person, and the plural of inanimate words by an amalgamation with the corresponding neuter pronoun.

The use of the pronoun is, therefore, to modify nouns and verbs. The ideas which we imply by case, with the exception of the possessive, are not ideas having relation to pronouns: the Indian languages have, therefore, all the modifications of the noun that can come from the use of pronouns; but, with the exception of the genitive, as expressing possession, and marked, as in the Hebrew, by a pronominal affix, they have no series of cases. The relations of case are expressed by pronouns affixed to the verb.

The use of the adjective is in a still greater degree synthetical. There is no such separate word, in an Algonkin dialect, as a simple adjective. As the noun is used only in its relation, so the adjective is used with reference to that which it qualifies. Its form, when it stands alone, is that of an impersonal verb.

The peculiar economy of the American languages is best illustrated in their verbs. Though destitute of the substantive verb, of which feeble and uncertain traces only can be found in the Chippewa, and perhaps in the Muskohgee, and those only after the presence of Europeans, yet the verb is the dominant part of speech, swallowing up, as it were, and including within itself, the pronoun, the substantive, and the adjective. Declension, cases, articles, are deficient; but every thing is conjugated. The adjective assumes a verbal termination, and is conjugated as a verb; the idea expressed by a noun is clothed in verbal forms, and at once does the office of a verb.

Here, also, the synthetic character predominates. Does

an adjective assume a verbal form, it takes to itself also the person or thing which it qualifies; and the adjective, the pronoun representing the subject, and the verbal form, are included in one word. Thus far the American dialects have analogies with the Greek and Latin. But the American go farther. The accessory idea of case is represented in a form of the verb by means of a pronominal affix. An Algonkin, when he says *I love* or *I hate*, simultaneously, though, as Trumbull reasons, not necessarily, expresses the object of his love or hatred. As each noun is blended with a pronominal prefix, as each adjective amalgamates with the subject which it qualifies, so each active verb includes in one and the same word one pronoun representing its subject, and another representing its object. Nor does the synthetic tendency stop here. An adjective may first be melted into the substantive, and the compound word may then assume verbal forms, and receive all the changes, and include within itself all the relations, which those forms can express.

There are in the American dialects no genuine declensions; it is otherwise with conjugations. The verbs have true grammatical forms, as fixed and as regular as those of Greek or Sanscrit. The relations of number and person, both with regard to the agent and the object, are included in the verb by means of significant pronominal syllables, which are prefixed, inserted, or annexed. The relations of time are expressed by the insertion in part of unmeaning, in part, it may be, of significant, syllables; and, as many supplementary syllables may not always be easily piled one upon another, changes of consonants, as well as, in a slight degree, changes of vowels, and elisions take place; and sometimes unmeaning syllables are inserted for the sake of euphony. Inflection, agglutination, and euphonic changes, all take place in the conjugation of the Chippewa verb. Of varieties of terminations and forms, the oldest languages and those in the earliest stage of development have the most.

But not only does the Algonkin verb admit the number of forms required for the diversity of time and mode;

it has numerous conjugations. An action may be often repeated, and a frequentative conjugation follows. The idea of causation, which the Indian does not express abstractly, but only synthetically, makes a demand, as in the Hebrew, for a new conjugation. Every verb may be used negatively as well as positively; it may include in itself an animate object, or the object may be inanimate; and whether it expresses a simple action, or, again, is a frequentative, it may have a reflex signification, like the middle voice of a Greek verb; and every one of these accidents gives birth to a series of new forms. Then, since the Indian verb includes within itself the agent and the object, it may pass through as many transitions as the persons and numbers of the pronouns will admit of different combinations; and each of these combinations may be used positively or negatively, with a reflex or a causative signification. In this manner, changes are so multiplied that the number of possible forms of a Chippewa verb is said to amount to five or six thousand: in other words, the number of possible variations is indefinitely great.

Such are the cumbersome processes by which synthetical languages express thought. For the want of analysis, the savage obtains no mastery over the forms of his language; nay, the forms themselves are used in a manner which to us would seem anomalous, and to the Indian can appear regular only because his mind receives the complex thought without analysis. To a verb having a nominative singular and an accusative plural, a plural termination is often affixed. The verb, says Eliot, is thus changed to an adnoun. Again, if with a verb which is qualified by an adverb the idea of futurity is to be connected, the sign of futurity is attached promiscuously either to the verb or the adverb; the Indian is satisfied on finding the expression of futurity somewhere in the group.

From these investigations, two momentous conclusions follow. The grammatical forms which constitute the organization of a language are not the work of civilization, but of nature. It is not writers, nor arbitrary conventions, that give laws to language: the forms of grammar, the

power of combinations, the possibility of inversions, spring from within us, and are a consequence of our own organization. If language is a human invention, it was the invention of savage man; and this creation of barbarism would be a higher trophy to human power than any achievement of civilization. The study of these rudest dialects tends to prove, if it does not conclusively prove, that it was not man who made language, but He who made man gave him utterance. Speech in copiousness, and with abundance and regularity of forms, belongs to the American savage, because it belongs to man. From the country of the Esquimaux to the Oronoco, and from the burning climes on the borders of that stream to the ice of the Straits of Magellan, the primitive American languages, entirely differing in their roots, have, with slight exceptions, one and the same physiognomy. Remarkable analogies of grammatical structure pervade the most refined as well as the most gross. Idioms as unlike as Sclavonic and Celtic resemble each other in their internal mechanism. In the Esquimaux, there is an immense number of forms, derived from the regimen of pronouns. The same is true of the Basque language in Spain and of the Congo in Africa. Here is a marvellous coincidence in the structure of languages, at points so remote, among three races so different as the white man of the Pyrenees, the black man of Congo, and the copper-colored tribes of North America. Now a characteristic so extensive is to be accounted for only on some general principle. It pervades languages of different races and different continents: it must, then, be the result of a law. As nature, when it rose from the chaos of its convulsions and its deluges, appeared with its mountains, its basins, and its valleys, all so fashioned that man could cultivate and adorn them, but not shape them anew at his will, so language, in its earliest period, has a fixed character, which culture, by weeding out superfluities, inventing happy connections, teaching the measure of ellipsis, and, through analysis, perfecting the mastery of the mind over its instruments, may polish, enliven, and improve, but cannot essentially change. Men have admired the magnificence displayed



in the mountains, the rivers, the prolific vegetation of the New World; in the dialect of the wildest tribe, it can show a nobler work, of a Power higher than that of man.

Another and a more certain conclusion may be drawn. It has been asked if our Indians are not the wrecks of more civilized nations. Their language refutes the hypothesis; every one of its forms is a witness that their ancestors were, like themselves, not yet disinthralled from nature. The character of each Indian language is one continued, universal, all-pervading synthesis. They to whom these languages were the mother tongue were still in that earliest stage of intellectual culture where reflection and analysis have not begun.

Meantime, from the first visit of Europeans, a change has been preparing in the American tongues. The stage of progress, in the organic structure of a language, is that of intermixture. To the study of the American dialects the missionaries carried the habit of analysis, and enriched the speech of the barbarians with the experience of civilization. Hence new ideas are gaining utterance, and new forms are springing up. The half-breeds grow unwilling to indulge in diffuse combinations, but are ready to employ each word distinctly and by itself; and the wild man understands, if he does not approve, the innovation. Already the cultivated Chippewa is gaining the power of expressing a noun of relation, independent of its relations; and the substantive verb begins to glimmer in various tongues from Lake Superior to the homes of the Choctaws.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ABORIGINES: THEIR MANNERS, POLITY, AND RELIGION.

"THE sociableness of the nature of man appears in the wildest of them." To Indians returning to their family no one would offer hinderance, "thus confessing the sweetness of their homes." They love society, and the joining together of houses and towns. With long poles fixed in the ground, and bent towards each other at the top, covered with birch or chestnut bark, and hung on the inside with embroidered mats, having no door but a loose skin, no hearth but the ground, no chimney but an opening in the roof, the wigwam is quickly constructed and easily removed. Its size, whether it be round or oblong, is in proportion to the number of families that are to dwell together; and there, in one smoky cell, the whole clan — men, children, and women — are huddled together, careless of cleanliness, and making no privacy of actions of which some irrational animals seem ashamed.

As the languages of the American tribes were limited by the material world, so, in private life, the senses held dominion. The passion of the savage was liberty; he demanded license to gratify his animal instincts. To act out himself, to follow the propensities of his nature, seemed his system of morals. The supremacy of conscience, the rights of reason, were not subjects of reflection to those who had no name for continence. The idea of chastity, as a social duty, was but feebly developed among them; and the observer of their customs would, at first, believe them to have been ignorant of restraint. If "the kindly flames of nature burned in wild humanity," their love never became a frenzy or a devotion; for indulgence destroyed its energy and its purity.

And yet no nation has ever been found without some

practical confession of the duty of self-denial. "God hath planted in the hearts of the wildest of the sonnes of men a high and honorable esteem of the marriage bed, insomuch that they universally submit unto it, and hold its violation abominable." Neither might marriages be contracted between kindred of near degree; the Iroquois might choose a wife of the same tribe with himself, but not of the same cabin; the Algonkin must look beyond those who used the same *totem*, or family symbol; the Cherokee would marry at once a mother and her daughter, but would never marry his own immediate kindred.

On forming an engagement, the bridegroom, or, if he were poor, his friends and neighbors, made a present to the bride's father, of whom no dowry was expected. The acceptance of the presents perfected the contract; the wife was purchased; and, for a season at least, the husband, surrendering his gains as a hunter to her family, had a home in her father's lodge.

But, even in marriage, the Indian abhorred constraint; and, from Florida to the St. Lawrence, polygamy was permitted, though at the north it was not common. In a happy union, affection was fostered and preserved; and the wilderness could show wigwams where "couples had lived together thirty, forty years." Yet Love did not always light his happiest torch at the nuptials of the children of nature, and marriage among the forests had its sorrows and its crimes. The infidelities of the husband sometimes drove the helpless wife to suicide: the faithless wife had no protector; her husband insulted or disfigured her at will; and death for adultery was unrevenged. Divorce, also, was permitted, even for occasions beside adultery; it took place without formality, by a simple separation or desertion, and, where there was no offspring, was of easy occurrence. Children were the strongest bond; for, if the mother was discarded, it was the unwritten law of the red man that she should herself retain those whom she had borne or fostered.

The sorrows of child-bearing were mitigated to the Indian mother, and her travail was comparatively easy and

speedy. "In one quarter of an hour, a woman would be merry in the house, and delivered, and merry againe; and within two days, abroad; and after four or five dayes, at worke." Energy of will surmounted the pangs of childbirth. The woman who uttered complaints or groans was esteemed worthy to be but the mother of cowards. Yet death sometimes followed. The pregnant woman continued her usual toils, bore her wonted burdens, followed her family even in its winter rambles. How helpless the Indian infant, born, without shelter, amidst storms and ice! But fear nothing for him: God has placed near him a guardian angel, that can triumph over the severities of nature; the sentiment of maternity is by his side; and, so long as his mother breathes, he is safe. The squaw loves her child with instinctive passion; and, if she does not manifest it by lively caresses, her tenderness is real, wakeful, and constant. No savage mother ever trusted her babe to a hireling nurse; no savage mother ever put away her own child to suckle that of another. To the cradle, consisting of thin pieces of light wood, and gayly ornamented with quills of the porcupine, and beads, and rattles, the nursling is firmly attached, and carefully wrapped in furs; and the infant, thus swathed, its back to the mother's back, is borne as the topmost burden, — its dark eyes now cheerfully flashing light, now accompanying with tears the wailings which the plaintive melodies of the carrier cannot hush. Or, while the squaw toils in the field, she hangs her child, as spring does its blossoms, on the boughs of a tree, that it may be rocked by breezes from the land of souls, and soothed to sleep by the lullaby of the birds. Does the mother die, the nursling — such is Indian compassion — shares her grave.

On quitting the cradle, the children are left nearly naked in the cabin, to grow hardy, and learn the use of their limbs. Juvenile sports are the same everywhere; children invent them for themselves; and the traveller, who finds everywhere in the wide world the same games, may rightly infer that the Father of the great human family himself instructs the innocence of childhood in its amusements. There is no domestic government; the young do as they

will. They are never earnestly reproved, injured, or beaten; a dash of cold water in the face is their heaviest punishment. If they assist in the labors of the household, it is as a pastime, not as a charge. Yet they show respect to the chiefs, and defer with docility to those of their cabin. The attachment of savages to their offspring is extreme; and they cannot bear separation from them. Hence every attempt at founding schools for their children was a failure; a missionary would gather a little flock about him, and of a sudden, writes Le Jeune, "my birds flew away." From their insufficient and irregular supplies of clothing and food, they learn to endure hunger and rigorous seasons; of themselves they become fleet of foot, and skilful in swimming; their courage is fed by tales respecting their ancestors, till they burn with a love of glory to be acquired by valor and address. So soon as the child can grasp the bow and arrow, they are in his hand; and, as there was joy in the wigwam at his birth, and his first cutting of a tooth, so a festival is kept for his earliest success in the chase. The Indian young man is educated in the school of nature. The influences by which he is surrounded kindle within him the passion for war: as he grows up, he, in his turn, takes up the war-song, of which the echoes never die away on the boundless plains of the west; he travels the war-path in search of an encounter with an enemy, that he, too, at the great war-dance and feast of his band, may boast of his exploits; may enumerate his gallant deeds by the envied feathers of the war eagle that decorate his hair; and keep the record of his wounds by shining marks of vermilion on his skin.

The savages are proud of idleness. At home, they do little but cross their arms and sit listlessly; or engage in games of chance, hazarding all their possessions on the result; or meet in council; or sing, and eat, and play, and sleep. The greatest toils of the men were to perfect the palisades of the forts; to manufacture a boat out of a tree by means of fire and a stone hatchet; to repair their cabins; to get ready instruments of war or the chase; and to adorn their persons. Woman is the laborer; woman bears the

burdens of life. The food that is raised from the earth is the fruit of her industry. With no instrument but a wooden mattock, a shell, or a shoulder-blade of the buffalo, she plants the maize and the beans. She drives the blackbirds from the cornfield, breaks the weeds, and, in due season, gathers the harvest. She pounds the parched corn, dries the buffalo meat, and prepares for winter the store of wild fruits; she brings home the game which her husband has killed; she carries the wood, and draws the water, and spreads the repast. If the chief constructs the keel of the canoe, it is woman who stitches the bark with split ligaments of the pine root, and sears the seams with resinous gum. If the men prepare the poles for the wigwam, it is woman who builds it, and, in times of journeyings, transports it on her shoulders. The Indian's wife was his slave; and the number of his slaves was a criterion of his wealth.

The Indians of our republic had no calendar of their own; their languages have no word for *year*, and they reckon time by the return of snow or the springing of the flowers; their months are named from that which the earth produces in them; and their almanac is kept in the sky by the birds, whose flight announces the progress of the seasons. The brute creation gives them warning of the coming storm; the motion of the sun marks the hour of the day; and the distinctions of time are noted, not in numbers, but in words that breathe the grace and poetry of nature.

The aboriginal tribes of the United States depended for food on the chase, fisheries, and agriculture. They kept no herds; they never were shepherds. The bison is difficult to tame, and its female yields little milk, of which the use was unknown to the red man: water was his only drink. The moose, the bear, the deer, and at the west the buffalo, besides smaller game and fowl, were pursued with arrows tipped with hart's-horn or eagles' claws, or pointed stones. With nets and spears fish were taken, and, for want of salt, were cured by smoke. Wild fruits and abundant berries were a resource in their season; and troops of girls, with baskets of bark, would gather the native strawberry. But all the tribes south of the St. Lawrence, except remote

ones on the north-east and the north-west, cultivated the earth. Unlike the people of the Old World, they were at once hunters and tillers of the ground. The contrast was due to the character of their grain. Wheat or rye would have been a useless gift to the Indian, who had neither plough nor sickle. The maize springs luxuriantly from a warm, new field, and in the rich soil, with little aid from culture, outstrips the weeds; bears, not thirty, not fifty, but a thousand fold; if once dry, is hurt neither by heat nor cold; may be preserved in a pit or a cave for years, ay, and for centuries; is gathered from the field by the hand, without knife or reaping-hook; and becomes nutritious food by a simple roasting before a fire. A little of its parched meal, with water from the brook, was often a dinner and supper; and the warrior, with a small supply of it in a basket at his back, or in a leathern girdle, and with his bow and arrows, is ready for travel at a moment's warning. Tobacco was not forgotten; and the cultivation of beans, and the trailing plant which we have learned of them to call the squash, completed their husbandry.

During the mild season, there may have been little suffering. But thrift was wanting; the stores collected by the industry of the women were squandered in festivities. The hospitality of the Indian has rarely been questioned. The stranger enters his cabin, by day or by night, without asking leave, and is entertained as freely as a thrush or a blackbird that regales himself on the luxuries of the fruitful grove. He will take his rest abroad, that he may give up his own skin or mat of sedge to his guest. Nor is the traveller questioned as to the purpose of his visit; he chooses his own time freely to deliver his message. Festivals, too, were common, at some of which it was the rule to eat every thing that was offered; and the indulgence of appetite surpassed belief. But what could be more miserable than the tribes of the north and north-west, in the depth of winter, suffering from an annual famine; driven by the intense cold to sit indolently in the smoke round the fire in the cabin, and to fast for days together; and then, again, compelled, by faintness for want of sustenance, to

reel into the woods, and gather moss or bark for a thin decoction, that might at least relieve the extremity of hunger?

Famine gives a terrible energy to the brutal part of our nature. A shipwreck will make cannibals of civilized men; a siege changes the refinements of urbanity into excesses at which humanity shudders; a retreating army abandons its wounded. The hunting tribes have the affections of men; but, among them, extremity of want produces like results. The aged and infirm meet with little tenderness; the hunters, as they roam the wilderness, abandon their old men; if provisions fail, the feeble drop down, and are lost, or life is shortened by a blow.

The fate of the desperately ill was equally sad. Diseases were believed to spring, in part, from natural causes, for which natural remedies were prescribed. Of these, the best was the vapor bath, prepared in a tent covered with skins, and warmed by means of hot stones; or decoctions of bark, or roots, or herbs, were used. Graver maladies were inexplicable, and their causes and cures formed a part of their religious superstitions; but those who lingered with them, especially the aged, were sometimes neglected, and sometimes put to death.

The clothing of the natives was, in summer, but a piece of skin, like an apron round the waist; in winter, a bear-skin, or, more commonly, robes made of the skins of the fox and the beaver. Their feet were protected by soft moccasons; and to these were bound the broad snow-shoes, on which, though cumbersome to the novice, the Indian hunter could leap like the roe. Of the women, head, arms, and legs were uncovered; a mat or a skin, neatly prepared, tied over the shoulders, and fastened to the waist by a girdle, extended from the neck to the knees. They glittered with tufts of elk hair, brilliantly dyed in scarlet; and strings of the various kinds of shells were their pearls and diamonds. The summer garments, of moose and deer skins, were painted of many colors; and the fairest feathers of the turkey, fastened by threads made from wild hemp and nettle, were curiously wrought into mantles. The claws of the

grisly bear formed a proud collar for a war-chief; a piece of an enemy's scalp, with a tuft of long hair, painted red, glittered on the stem of their war-pipes; the wing of a red-bird, or the beak and plumage of a raven, decorated their locks; the skin of a rattlesnake was worn round the arm of their chiefs; the skin of the polecat, bound round the leg, was their order of the garter, emblem of noble daring. A warrior's dress was often a history of his deeds. His skin was tattooed with figures of animals, of leaves, of flowers, and painted with lively and shining colors.

Some had the nose tipped with blue, the eyebrows, eyes, and cheeks tinged with black, and the rest of the face red; others had black, red, and blue stripes drawn from the ears to the mouth; others had a broad, black band, like a ribbon, drawn from ear to ear across the eyes, with smaller bands on the cheeks. When they made visits, and when they assembled in council, they painted themselves gloriously, delighting especially in vermilion.

There can be no society without government; but, among the Indian tribes on the soil of our republic, there was not only no written law, there was no traditionary expression of law; government rested on opinion and usage, and the motives to the usage were never imbodied in language; they gained utterance only in the fact, and power only from opinion. No ancient legislator believed that human society could be maintained with so little artifice. Unconscious of political principles, they remained under the influence of instincts. Their forms of government grew out of their passions and their wants, and were therefore everywhere nearly the same. Without a code of laws, without a distinct recognition of succession in the magistracy by inheritance or election, government was conducted harmoniously by the influence of native genius, virtue, and experience.

Prohibitory laws were hardly sanctioned by savage opinion. The wild man hates restraint, and loves to do what is right in his own eyes. "The Illinois," writes Marest, "are absolute masters of themselves, subject to no law." The Delawares, it was said, "are, in general, wholly unacquainted with civil laws and proceedings, nor have any kind of notion

of civil judicatures, of persons being arraigned and tried, condemned or acquitted." As there was no commerce, no coin, no promissory notes, no employment of others for hire, there were no contracts. Exchanges were but a reciprocity of presents, and mutual gifts were the only traffic. Arrests and prisons, lawyers and sheriffs, were unknown. Each man was his own protector; and, as there was no public justice, each man issued to himself his letter of reprisals, and became his own avenger. In case of death by violence, the departed shade could not rest till appeased by a retaliation. His kindred would "go a thousand miles, for the purpose of revenge, over hills and mountains; through large cane-swamps, full of grape-vines and briers; over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, to hunger and thirst." And, blood being once shed, the rule of reciprocity involved family in the mortal strife against family, tribe against tribe, often continuing from generation to generation. Yet mercy could make itself heard even among barbarians; and peace was restored by atoning presents, if they were enough to cover up the graves of the dead.

The acceptance of the gifts pacified the families of those who were at variance. In savage life, which admits no division of labor, and has but the same pursuit for all, the bonds of relationship are widely extended. Families remain undivided, having a common emblem, which designates all their members as effectually as with us the name. The limit of the family is the limit of the interdicted degrees of consanguinity for marriage. They hold the bonds of brotherhood so dear, that a brother commonly pays the debt of a deceased brother, and assumes his revenge and his perils. There are no beggars among them, no fatherless children unprovided for. The families that dwell together, hunt together, roam together, fight together, constitute a tribe. Danger from neighbors, favoring union, leads to alliances and confederacies, just as pride, which is a pervading element in Indian character, and shelters itself in every lodge, leads to subdivision. Of national affinity, as spring-

ing from a common language, the Algonkin, the Wyandot, the Dakota, the Mobilian, each was ignorant. They did not themselves know their respective common lineage, and neither of them had a name embracing all its branches.

As the tribe was but a union of families, government was a consequence of family relations, and the head of the family was its chief. The succession depended on birth, and was inherited through the female line. Even among the Narragansetts, the colleague of Canonicus was his nephew. This rule of descent, which sprung from the general licentiousness, and was known throughout various families of tribes, was widely observed, but most of all among the Natchez. Elsewhere, the hereditary right was modified by opinion. Opinion could crowd a civil chief into retirement, and could dictate his successor. Nor was assassination unknown. The organization of the savage communities was like that which with us takes place at the call of a spontaneous public meeting, where opinion in advance designates the principal actors; or, as with us, at the death of the head of a large family, opinion within the family selects the best fitted of its surviving members to settle its affairs. Doubtless the succession appeared sometimes to depend on the will of the surviving matron; sometimes to have been consequent on birth; sometimes to have been the result of the free election of the wild democracy, and of silent preferences. There have even been chiefs who could not tell when, where, or how, they obtained the sway.

In like manner, the different accounts of the power of the chief are contradictory only in appearance. Its limit would be found in his personal character. The humiliating subordination of one will to another was everywhere unknown. The Indian chief has no crown or sceptre or guards; no outward symbols of supremacy, or means of giving validity to his decrees. The bounds of his authority float with the current of opinion in the tribe; he is not so much obeyed as followed with the alacrity of free volition; and therefore the extent of his power depends on his personal character. There have been chiefs whose com-

manding genius could so overawe and sway the common mind as to gain, for a season, an almost absolute rule; while others had little authority, and, if they used menaces, were abandoned.

Each village governed itself as if independent, and each after the same analogies, without variety. If the observer had regard to the sachems, the government seemed monarchical: but as, of measures that concerned all, "they would not conclude aught unto which the people were averse," and every man of due age was admitted to council, it might also be described as a democracy. In council, the people were guided by the eloquent, were carried away by the brave; and this influence, which was recognised and regular in its action, appeared to constitute an oligarchy. The governments of the aborigines scarcely differed from each other, except as accident gave a predominance to one or the other of these elements. It is of the Natchez that the most wonderful tales of despotism and aristocratic distinctions have been promulgated. Their chiefs, who, like those of the Hurons, were esteemed descendants of the sun, had greater power than could have been established in the colder regions of the north, where the severities of nature compel the savage to rely on himself and to be free; yet as the Natchez, in exterior, resembled the tribes by which they were surrounded, so their customs and institutions were but more marked developments of the same characteristics. Everywhere at the north, there was the same distribution into families, and the same order in each separate town. The affairs relating to the whole nation were transacted in general council, and with such equality and such zeal for the common good that, while any one might have dissented with impunity, the voice of the tribe would yet be unanimous in its decisions.

Their delight was in assembling together, and listening to messengers from abroad. Seated in a semicircle on the ground, in double or triple rows, with the knees almost meeting the face; the painted and tattooed chiefs adorned with skins and plumes, with the beaks of the red-bird or the claws of the bear; each listener perhaps with a pipe

in his mouth, and preserving deep silence, — they would give solemn attention to the speaker, who, with great action and energy of language, delivered his message; and, if his eloquence pleased, they esteemed him as a god. Decorum was never broken; there were never two speakers struggling to anticipate each other; they did not express their spleen by blows; they restrained passionate invective; the debate was never disturbed by an uproar; questions of order were unknown.

The record of their treaties was kept by strings of wampum; these were their annals. When the envoys of nations met in solemn council, gift replied to gift, and belt to belt; by these the memory of the speaker was refreshed; or he would hold in his hand a bundle of little sticks, and for each of them deliver a message. To do this well required capacity and experience. Each tribe had, therefore, its heralds or envoys, selected with reference only to their personal merit, and because they could speak well; and often an orator, without the aid of rank as a chief, by the brilliancy of his eloquence, swayed the minds of a confederacy. That the words of friendship might be transmitted safely through the wilderness, the red men revered the peace-pipe. The person of him that travelled with it was sacred. He could disarm the young warrior as by a spell, and secure himself a fearless welcome in every cabin. Each village also had its calumet, which was adorned by the chief with eagles' feathers, and consecrated in the general assembly of the nation. The envoys from those desiring peace or an alliance would come within a short distance of the town, and, uttering a cry, seat themselves on the ground. The great chief, bearing the peace-pipe of his tribe, with its mouth pointing to the skies, goes forth to meet them, accompanied by a long procession of his clansmen, chanting the hymn of peace. The strangers rise to receive them, singing also a song, to put away all wars and to bury all revenge. As they meet, each party smokes the pipe of the other, and peace is ratified. The strangers are then conducted to the village; the herald goes out into the street that divides the wigwams, and makes repeated proclama-

tion that the guests are friends; and the glory of the tribe is advanced by the profusion of bear's meat, and flesh of dogs, and hominy, which give magnificence to the banquets in honor of the embassy.

But, if councils were their recreation, war alone was the avenue to glory. All other employment seemed unworthy of human dignity; in warfare against the brute creation, but still more against man, they sought liberty, happiness, and renown; thus was gained an honorable appellation, while the mean and the obscure among them had not even a name. Hence to ask an Indian his name was an offence; a chief would push the question aside with scorn; for it implied that his deeds, and the titles conferred by them, were unknown.

The code of war of the red men attests the freedom of their life. No war-chief was appointed on account of birth, but was, in every case, elected by opinion; and every war-party was but a band of volunteers, enlisted for one special expedition, and for no more. Any one who, on chanting the war-song, could obtain volunteer followers, became a war-chief. This was true of the Algonkins, and true of the Natchez.

Solemn fasts and religious rites precede the departure of the warriors; the war-dance must be danced, and the war-song sung. They express in their melodies a contempt of death, a passion for glory; and the chief boasts that "the spirits on high shall repeat his name." A belt painted red, or a bundle of bloody sticks, sent to the enemy, is a declaration of defiance. As the war-party leave the village, they address the women in a farewell hymn: "Do not weep for me, loved woman, should I die; weep for yourself alone. I go to revenge our relations fallen and slain: our foes shall lie like them; I go to lay them low." And, with the pride which ever marks the barbarian, each one adds: "If any man thinks himself a great warrior, I think myself the same."

The wars of the red men were terrible, not from their numbers; for, on any one expedition, they rarely exceeded *forty men*: it was the parties of six or seven which were

the most to be dreaded. Skill consisted in surprising the hostile braves. They follow their trail, to kill them when they sleep; or they lie in ambush near a village, and watch for an opportunity of suddenly dashing on a single foeman, or, it may be, a woman and her children; and, with three strokes to each, the scalps of the victims being suddenly taken off, the brave flies back with his companions, to hang the trophies in his cabin, to go from village to village in exulting procession, to hear orators recount his deeds to the elders and the chief people, and, by the number of scalps taken with his own hand, to gain the high war titles of honor. War-parties of but two or three were not uncommon. Clad in skins, with a supply of red paint, a bow and quiver full of arrows, they would roam through the wide forest as a bark would over the ocean; for days and weeks they would hang on the skirts of their enemy, waiting the moment for striking a blow. From the heart of the Five Nations, two young warriors would thread the wilderness of the south; would go through the glades of Pennsylvania, the valleys of Western Virginia, and steal within the mountain fastnesses of the Cherokees. There they would hide themselves in the clefts of rocks, and change their places of concealment, till, provided with scalps enough to astonish their village, they would bound over the ledges, and hurry home. It was the danger of such inroads that, in time of war, made every English family on the frontier insecure.

The Romans, in their triumphal processions, exhibited captives to the gaze of the Roman people; the Indian conqueror compels them to run the gauntlet through the children and women of his tribe. To inflict blows that cannot be returned is proof of full success, and the entire humiliation of the enemy; it is, moreover, an experiment of courage and patience. Those who show fortitude are applauded; the coward becomes an object of scorn.

Fugitives and suppliants were often incorporated into a victorious tribe, which had waged an unrelenting warfare against their nation. The Creek confederacy was recruited by emigrants from friends and foes; the Iroquois welcomed the defeated Hurons. Sometimes a captive was saved, to

be adopted in place of a warrior who had fallen. In that event, the allegiance, and as it were the identity, of the captive, the current of his affections and his duties, became changed. The children and the wife whom he had left at home are to be blotted from his memory: he is to be the departed chieftain, resuscitated and brought back from the dwelling-place of shadows, to cherish those whom he cherished; to hate those whom he hated; to rekindle his passions; to retaliate his wrongs; to hunt for his cabin; to fight for his clan. And the foreigner thus adopted is esteemed to stand in the same relations of consanguinity, and to be bound by the same restraints in regard to marriage.

More commonly, it was the captive's lot to endure torments and death, in the forms which Brebeuf has described. On the way to the cabins of his conquerors, the hands of an Iroquois prisoner were crushed between stones, his fingers torn off or mutilated, the joints of his arms scorched and gashed, while he himself preserved his tranquillity, and sang the songs of his nation. Arriving at the homes of his conquerors, all the cabins regaled him; and a young girl was bestowed on him, to be the companion of his captivity and the object of his last loves. At one village after another, he was present at festivals which were given in his name, and at which he was obliged to sing. The old chief, who might have adopted him in place of a fallen nephew, chose rather to gratify revenge, and pronounced the doom of death. "That is well," was his reply. The sister of the fallen warrior, into whose place it had been proposed to receive him, still treated him with tenderness as a brother, offering him food, and serving him with interest and regard; her father caressed him as though he had become his kinsman, gave him a pipe, and wiped the thick drops of sweat from his face. His last entertainment, made at the charge of the bereaved chief, began at noon. To the crowd of his guests he declared: "My brothers, I am going to die; make merry around me with good heart: I am a man; I fear neither death nor your torments;" and he sang aloud. The feast being ended, he was conducted to the cabin of blood. They place him on a mat, and bind his hands; he rises, and

dances round the cabin, chanting his death-song. At eight in the evening, eleven fires which had been kindled are hedged in by files of spectators. The young men selected to be the actors are exhorted to do well, for their deeds would be grateful to Areskoui, the powerful war-god. A war-chief strips the prisoner, shows him naked to the people, and assigns their office to the tormentors. Then ensued a scene the most horrible: torments lasted till after sunrise, when the wretched victim, bruised, gashed, mutilated, half-roasted, and scalped, was carried out of the village, and hacked in pieces. A festival upon his flesh completed the sacrifice. Such were the customs that Europeans have displaced.

The solemn execution of the captive seems to have been, in part at least, an act of faith and a religious sacrifice. The dweller in the wilderness is conscious of his dependence; he feels the existence of relations with the universe by which he is surrounded and an invisible world; he recognises a nature higher than his own. His language, which gave him no separate word for causation, could give him no expression for a first cause; and, since he had no idea of existence except in connection with space and time, he could have no idea of an Infinite and Eternal Being. But, as the ideas of existence and causation were blended with words expressing action or quality, so the idea of divinity was blended with nature, and yet not wholly merged in the external world. So complete was this union, many travellers denied that they had any religion. "As to the knowledge of God," says Joutel, of the south-west, "it did not seem to us that they had any definite notion about it. True, we found upon our route some who, as far as we could judge, believed that there was something exalted, which is above all; but they have neither temples, nor ceremonies, nor prayers, marking a divine worship. That they have no religion, can be said of all whom we saw." "The northern nations," writes Le Caron, "recognise no divinity from motives of religion; they have neither sacrifice, nor temple, nor priest, nor ceremony of worship." Le Jeune also affirms: "There is among them very little superstition; they think

only of living and of revenge; they are not attached to the worship of any divinity." And yet they believed that some powerful genius had created the world; that unknown agencies had made the heavens above them and the earth on which they dwelt. The god of the savage was what the metaphysician endeavors to express by the word *substance*. The red man, unaccustomed to generalization, obtained no conception of an absolute substance, of a self-existent being, but saw a divinity in every power. Wherever there was being, motion, or action, there to him was a spirit; and, in a special manner, wherever there appeared singular excellence among beasts or birds, or in the creation, there to him was the presence of a divinity. When he feels his pulse throb or his heart beat, he knows that it is a spirit. A god resides in the flint, to give forth the kindling, cheering fire; in the mountain cliff; in the cool recesses of the grottoes which nature has adorned; in each "little grass" that springs miraculously from the earth. "The woods, the wilds, and the waters respond to savage intelligence; the stars and the mountains live; the river, and the lake, and the waves have a spirit." Every hidden agency, every mysterious influence, is personified. A god dwells in the sun, and in the moon, and in the firmament; the spirit of the morning reddens in the eastern sky; a deity is present in the ocean and in the fire; the crag that overhangs the river has its genius; there is a spirit to the waterfall; a household god makes its abode in the Indian's wigwam, and consecrates his home; spirits climb upon the forehead, to weigh down the eyelids in sleep. Not the heavenly bodies only, the sky is filled with spirits that minister to man. To the savage, divinity, broken, as it were, into an infinite number of fragments, fills all place and all being. The idea of unity in the creation may have existed contemporaneously; but it existed only in the germ, or as a vague belief derived from the harmony of the universe. Yet faith in the Great Spirit, when once presented, was promptly seized and appropriated, and so infused itself into the heart of remotest tribes that it came to be often considered as a portion of their original faith. Their shadowy aspirations and

creeds assumed, through the reports of missionaries, a more complete development; and a religious system was elicited from the pregnant but rude materials.

It is not fear which generates this belief in the existence of higher powers. The faith attaches to every thing, but most of all to that which is excellent; it is the undefined consciousness of the existence of inexplicable relations towards powers of which the savage cannot solve the origin or analyze the nature. His gods are not the offspring of terror; universal nature seems to him instinct with divinity. The Indian venerates what excites his amazement or interests his imagination. "The Illinois," writes the Jesuit Marest, "adore a sort of genius, which they call *manitou:* to them it is the master of life, the spirit that rules all things. A bird, a buffalo, a bear, a feather, a skin, — that is their manitou."

No tribe worshipped its prophets, or deified its heroes; no Indian adored his fellow-man, or paid homage to the dead. He turns from himself to the inferior world, which he believes also to be animated by spirits. The bird, that mysteriously cleaves the air, into which he cannot soar; the fish, that hides itself in the depths of the clear, cool lakes, which he cannot fathom; the beasts of the forest, whose unerring instincts, more sure than his own intelligence, seem like revelations, — these enshrine the deity whom he adores. On the Ohio, Mermet questioned a medicine man, who venerated the buffalo as his manitou. He confessed that he did not worship the buffalo, but the invisible spirit which is the type of all buffaloes. "Is there such a manitou to the bear?" "Yes." "To man?" "Nothing more certain; man is superior to all." "Why do you not, then, invoke the manitou of man?" And the juggler knew not what to answer. It has been said by speculative philosophy that no Indian ever chose the manitou of a man for his object of adoration, because he adored only the unknown, and man is the being most intimately known to him. It seems that the very instinct which prompted the savage to adore was an instinct which prompted him to recognise his closer connection with the world. To have worshipped the

manitou of a man would have been to put himself only in nearer relations with his own kind; the gulf between him and the universe would have remained as wide as ever. The instincts towards man led to marriage, society, and political institutions. The sentiment of devotion sought to pass beyond the region of humanity, and enter into intimate communion with nature and the beings to whom imagination intrusted its control, — with the sun and moon, the forests, the rivers, the lakes, the fishes, the birds, — all which has an existence independent of man, and manifests a power which he can neither create nor destroy.

Nor did the savage distrust his imaginations. Something within him affirmed with authority that there was more in them than fancies which he had called into being. Infidelity never clouded his mind; the shadows of skepticism never darkened his faith.

The piety of the savage was not merely a sentiment of passive resignation: he strove to propitiate the unknown, to avert their wrath, to secure their favor. If, at first, no traces of religious feeling were discerned, closer observation showed that, everywhere among the red men, even among the roving tribes of the north, they had some kind of sacrifice and of prayer. If the harvest was abundant, if the chase was successful, they saw in their success the influence of a manitou; and they would ascribe even an ordinary accident to the wrath of the god. "O manitou!" exclaimed an Indian, at daybreak, with his family about him, lamenting the loss of a child, "thou art angry with me; turn thine anger from me, and spare the rest of my children." Canonicus, the great sachem of the Narragansetts, when bent with age, having buried his son, "burned his own dwelling, and all his goods in it, in part as a humble expiation to the god who, as they believe, had taken his sonne from him." At their feasts, they were careful not to profane the bones of the elk, the beaver, and other game, lest the spirits of these animals should pass by and behold the indignity; and then the living of the same species, instructed of the outrage, would ever after be careful to escape the toils and the *arrows* of the hunter. There were also occasions on which

nothing of the flesh was carried forth out of the wigwam, though a part might be burnt as food for the dead, and when, of the beasts which were consumed, it was the sacred rule that not a bone should be broken. On their expeditions, they keep no watch during the night, but pray earnestly to their fetiches; and the band of warriors sleep securely under the safeguard of the sentinels whom they have invoked. They throw tobacco into the fire, on the lake or the rapids, into the crevices in the rocks, on the war-path, to secure the good-will of the genius of the place. The evil that is in the world they also ascribe to spirits, that are the dreaded authors of their woes. The demon of war was to be propitiated only by acts of cruelty; yet they never sacrificed their own children or their own friends. The Iroquois, when Jogues was among them, sacrificed an Algonkin woman in honor of Areskoui, their war-god, exclaiming: "Areskoui, to thee we burn this victim; feast on her flesh, and grant us new victories;" and her flesh was eaten as a religious rite. Hennepin found a beaver robe hung on an oak, as an oblation to the spirit that dwells in the Falls of St. Anthony. The guides of Joutel in the south-west, on killing a buffalo, offered several slices of the meat as a sacrifice to the unknown spirit of that wilderness. As they passed the Ohio, the favor of its beautiful stream was sought by gifts of tobacco and dried meat; and worship was paid to the rock just above the Missouri.

Even now, in the remote west, evidence may be found of the same homage to the higher natures, which the savage divines, but cannot fathom. Nor did he seek to win their favor by gifts alone; he made a sacrifice of his pleasures; he chastened his passions. To calm the rising wind, when the morning sky was red, he would repress his activity, and give up the business of the day. To secure success in the chase, by appeasing the tutelary spirits of the animals to be pursued, severe fasts were kept; and happy was he to whom they appeared in his dreams, for it was a sure augury of abundant returns. The warrior, preparing for an expedition, often sought the favor of the god of battle by separating himself from woman, and mortifying the body by

continued penance. The security of female captives was, in part, the consequence of the vows of chastity, by which he was bound till after his return. Detesting restraint, he was perpetually imposing upon himself extreme hardships, that by penance and suffering he might atone for his offences, and by acts of self-denial might win for himself the powerful favor of the invisible world.

Nor is he satisfied with paying homage to the several powers whose aid he may invoke in war, in the chase, or on the river; he seeks a special genius to be his companion and tutelary angel through life. On approaching maturity, the young Chippewa, anxious to behold God, blackens his face with charcoal, and building a lodge of cedar-boughs, it may be on the summit of a hill, there begins his fast in solitude. The fast endures, perhaps, ten days, sometimes even without water, till, excited by the severest irritation of thirst, watchfulness, and famine, he beholds a vision of God, and knows it to be his guardian spirit. That spirit may assume fantastic forms, as a skin or a feather, as a smooth pebble or a shell; but the fetich, when obtained, and carried by the warrior in his pouch, is not the guardian angel himself, but rather the token of his favor, and the pledge of his presence in time of need. A similar probation was appointed for the warriors of Virginia, and traces of it are discerned beyond the Mississippi. That man should take up the cross, that sin should be atoned for, are ideas that dwell in human nature; they were so diffused among the savages, that Le Clercq believed some of the apostles must have reached the American continent.

The gifts to the deities were made by the chiefs, or by any one of the tribe for himself. In this sense, each Indian was his own priest; the right of offering sacrifices was not reserved to a class; any one could do it for himself, whether the sacrifice consisted in oblations or acts of self-denial. But the red man had a consciousness of man's superiority to the powers of nature, and sorcerers sprung up in every part of the wilderness. They were prophets whose prayers would *be heard*. "They are no other," said the Virginian Whit-

aker, "but such as our English witches;" and, as their agency was most active in healing disease, they are now usually called *medicine men*.

Here, too, the liberty of the desert appears. As the war-chief was elected by opinion, and served voluntarily, so the medicine men were self-appointed. They professed an insight into the laws of nature, and power over those laws; but belief was free; there was no monopoly of science, no close priesthood. He who could inspire confidence might come forward as a medicine man. The savage puts his faith in auguries; he casts lots, and believes nature will be obedient to the decision, he puts his trust in the sagacity of the sorcerer, who comes forth from a heated, pent-up lodge, and, with all the convulsions of enthusiasm, utters a confused medley of sounds as oracles.

The medicine man boasts of his power over the elements; he can call water from above, and beneath, and around; he can foretell a drought, or bring rain, or guide the lightning; by his spells, he can give attraction and good fortune to the arrow or the net; he conjures the fish, that dwell in the lakes or haunt the rivers, to suffer themselves to be caught; he can pronounce spells which will infallibly give success in the chase, which will compel the beaver to rise up from beneath the water, and overcome the shyness and cunning of the moose; he can, by his incantations, draw the heart of woman; he can give to the warrior vigilance like the rising sun, and power to walk over the earth and through the sky victoriously. If an evil spirit has introduced disease into the frame of a victim, the medicine man can put it to flight; and, should his remedies chance to heal, he exclaims: "Who can resist my spirit? Is he not, indeed, the master of life?" Or disease, it was believed, might spring from a want of harmony with the outward world. If some innate desire has failed to be gratified, life can be saved only by the discovery and gratification of that secret longing of the soul; and the medicine man reveals the momentous secret. Were he to assert that the manitou orders the sick man to wallow naked in the snow, or to scorch himself with fire, he would do it. But let not the wisdom

of civilization wholly deride the savage: the same superstition long lingered in the cities and palaces of Europe; and, in the century after the Huron missions began, the English moralist Johnson was carried, in his infancy, to the British sovereign, to be cured of scrofula by the great medicine of her touch.

Little reverence was attached to time or place. It could not be perceived that the savages had any set holidays; only in times of triumph, at burials, at harvests, the nation assembled for solemn rites. Each Choctaw town had a house in which the bones of the dead were deposited for a season previous to their final burial. The Natchez, like their kindred the Taensas, kept a perpetual fire in a rude cabin, in which the bones of their great chiefs were said to be preserved. The honest Charlevoix, who entered it, writes: "I saw no ornaments, absolutely nothing, which could make me know that I was in a temple;" and, referring to the minute relations which others had fabricated of an altar, and a dome, of cones wrapped in skins, and the circle of the bodies of departed chiefs, he adds: "I saw nothing of all that; if things were so formerly, they must have changed greatly." And Adair confidently insinuates that the Koran does not more widely differ from the Gospels, than the romances respecting the Natchez from the truth. The building was probably a charnel-house, not a place of worship. No tribes whatever, east of the Mississippi, or certainly none except those of the Natchez family, had a consecrated spot, or a temple, where there was believed to be a nearer communication between this world and that which is unseen.

Dreams are to the wild man the avenue to the invisible world; he reveres them as divine revelations, and believes he shall die unless they are carried into effect. The capricious visions in a feverish sleep are obeyed by the village or the tribe; the whole nation would contribute its harvest, its costly furs, its belts of beads, the produce of its chase, rather than fail in their fulfilment; the dream must be obeyed, even if it required the surrender of women to a public embrace. The faith in the spiritual world, as re-

vealed by dreams, was universal. On Lake Superior, the nephew of a Chippewa squaw having dreamed that he saw a French dog, the woman travelled four hundred leagues, in midwinter, over ice and through snows, to obtain it. Life itself was hazarded, rather than fail to listen to the message conveyed through sleep; and, if it could not be fulfilled, at least some semblance would be made. Happy was the hunter who, as he went forth to the chase, obtained a vision of the great spirit of the animal which he was to pursue; the sight was a warrant of success. But, if the dream should be threatening, the savage would rise in the night or prevent the dawn with prayer; or he would call around him his friends and neighbors, and himself keep waking and fasting, with invocations, for many days and nights.

The Indian invoked the friendship of spirits, and sought the mediation of medicine men; but he never would confess his fear of death. To him intelligence was something more than a transitory accident; and he was unable to conceive of a cessation of life. His faith in immortality was like that of the child, who weeps over the dead body of its mother, and believes that she yet lives. At the bottom of an open grave, the melting snows had left a little water; and the sight of it chilled and saddened his imagination. "You have had no compassion for my poor brother:" such was the reproach of an Algonkin; "the air is pleasant and the sun cheering, and yet you do not remove the snow from his grave to warm him a little;" and he knew no contentment till this was done.

The same motive prompted them to bury with the warrior his pipe and his manitou, his tomahawk, quiver, and bow ready bent for action, and his most splendid apparel; to place by his side his bowl, his maize, and his venison, for the long journey to the country of his ancestors. Festivals in honor of the dead were also frequent, when a part of the food was given to the flames, that so it might serve to nourish the departed. The traveller would find in the forests a dead body placed on a scaffold erected upon piles, carefully wrapped in bark for its shroud, and

attired in warmest furs. If a mother lost her babe, she would cover it with bark, and envelop it anxiously in the softest beaver-skins; at the burial-place, she would put by its side its cradle, its beads, and its rattles; and, as a last service of maternal love, would draw milk from her bosom in a cup of bark, and burn it in the fire, that her infant might still find nourishment on its solitary journey to the land of shades. Yet the new-born babe would be buried, not, as usual, on a scaffold, but by the wayside, that so its spirit might secretly steal into the bosom of some passing matron, and be born again under happier auspices. On burying her daughter, the Chippewa mother adds not snow-shoes and beads and moccasons only, but — sad emblem of woman's lot in the wilderness! — the carrying-belt and the paddle. "I know my daughter will be restored to me," she once said, as she clipped a lock of hair as a memorial; "by this lock of hair I shall discover her, for I shall take it with me;" alluding to the day when she, too, with her carrying-belt and paddle, and the relic of her child, should pass through the grave to the dwelling-place of her ancestors.

It was believed even that living men had visited the remote region where the shadows have their home; and that once, like Orpheus of old, a brother, wandering in search of a cherished sister, but for untimely curiosity, would have drawn her from the society of the dead, and restored her to the cabin of her fathers. In the flashes of the northern lights, men believed they saw the dance of the dead. But the south-west is the great subject of traditions. There is the court of the Great God; there is the paradise where beans and maize grow spontaneously; there are the shades of the forefathers of the red men.

This form of faith in immortality had also its crimes. It is related that the chief within whose territory De Soto died selected two young and well-proportioned Indians to be put to death, saying the usage of the country was, when any lord died, to kill Indians to wait on him and serve him by the way. Traces of an analogous superstition may be found among Algonkin tribes and among the Sioux; the Winnebagoes are said to have observed the

usage within the memory of persons now living; it is affirmed of the Natchez, and doubtless with truth, though the details of the sacrifice are described with wild exaggeration. Even now, the Dakotas will slay horses on the grave of a warrior: news has come from the Great Spirit that the departed chief is still borne by them in the land of shades; and the spirits of the mighty dead have sometimes been seen, as they ride, in the night-time, through the sky.

The savage believed that to every man there is an appointed time to die; to anticipate that period by suicide was detested as the meanest cowardice. For the dead he abounds in his lamentations, mingling them with words of comfort to the living: to him, death is the king of terrors. He never names the name of the departed; to do so is an offence justifying revenge. To speak generally of brothers to one who has lost her own would be an injury, for it would make her weep because her brothers are no more; and to orphans the missionary could not discourse of the Father of man without kindling indignation. And yet they summon energy to announce their own approaching death with tranquillity. "Full happy am I," sings the warrior, "full happy am I to be slain within the limits of the land of the enemy!" While yet alive, the dying chief sometimes arrayed himself in the garments in which he was to be buried, and, giving a farewell festival, calmly chanted his last song, or made a last harangue, glorying in the remembrance of his deeds, and commending to his friends the care of those whom he loved; and, when he had given up the ghost, he was placed by his wigwam in a sitting posture, as if to show that, though life was spent, the principle of being was not gone; and in that posture he was buried. Everywhere in America this posture was adopted at burials. From Canada to Patagonia, it was the usage of every nation; an evidence that some common sympathy pervaded the continent, and struck a chord which vibrated through the heart of a race. The narrow house, within which the warrior sat, was often hedged round with a light palisade; and for six months the women would

repair to it thrice a day to weep. He that should despoil the dead was accursed.

The faith as well as the sympathies of the savage descended also to inferior beings. Of each kind of animals they say there exists one standard example, of a vast size, the original of the whole class. From the immense invisible beaver come all the beavers, by whatever run of water they are found; the same is true of the elk and buffalo, of the eagle and the robin, of the meanest quadruped of the forest, of the smallest insect that buzzes in the air. For each class there lives this invisible type, or elder brother. Thus the savage established his right to be ranked by philosophers among realists; and his chief effort at generalization was a reverent exercise of the religious sentiment. Where these elder brothers dwell they do not exactly know; yet it may be that the giant manitous, which are brothers to beasts, are hid beneath the waters, and that those of the birds make their homes in the blue sky. The Indian was moreover persuaded that each individual animal possesses the mysterious, indestructible principle of life: there is not a breathing thing but has its shade, which never can perish. Regarding himself, in comparison with other animals, but as the first among co-ordinate existences, he respects the brute creation, and assigns to it, as to himself, a perpetuity of being. "The ancients of these lands" believed that the warrior, when released from life, renews the passions and activity of this world; is seated once more among his friends; shares again the joyous feast; walks through shadowy forests, that are alive with the spirits of birds; and there,

By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews,
In vestments for the chase arrayed,
The hunter still the deer pursues,
The hunter and the deer a shade.

The Indian would not give up the prospect of his own hereafter. "We raise not our thoughts," they would say to the missionaries, "to your heaven; we desire only the paradise of our ancestors." To the doctrine of a future life they listened readily. The idea of retribution, as far as it

has found its way among them, was derived from Europeans. The future life was to the Indian, like the present, a free gift; some, it was indeed believed, from feebleness or age, did not reach the paradise of shades; but no red man was so proud as to believe that its portals were opened to him by his own good deeds.

Their notion of immortality was, as we have seen, a faith in the continuance of life; they did not expect a general resurrection; nor could they be induced, in any way, to believe that the body will be raised up. Yet no nations paid greater regard to the remains of their ancestors. Everywhere among the Choctaws and the Wyandots, Cherokees and Algonkins, they were carefully wrapped in choicest furs, and preserved with affectionate veneration. Once every few years, the Hurons collected from their scattered cemeteries the bones of their dead, and, in the midst of great solemnities, cleansed them from every remainder of flesh, and deposited them in one common grave: these are their holy relics. Other nations possess, in letters and the arts, enduring monuments of their ancestors; the savage red men, who can point to no obelisk or column, whose rude implements of agriculture could not even raise a furrow on the surface of the earth, excel all races in veneration for the dead. The grave is their only monument, the bones of their fathers the only pledges of their history.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ABORIGINES, THEIR NATURE AND ORIGIN.

A DEEP interest belongs to the question of the natural relation of the aborigines of America to those before whom they have fled. "We are men," said the Illinois to Marquette. After illustrating the weaknesses of the Wyandots, Brebeuf adds: "They are men." The natives of America were men and women of like endowments with their more cultivated conquerors; they have the same affections, and the same powers; are chilled with an ague, and burn with a fever. We may call them savage, just as we call fruits wild; natural right governs them. They revere unseen powers; they respect the nuptial ties; they are careful of their dead: their religion, their marriages, and their burials show them possessed of the habits of humanity, and bound by a federative compact to the race. They had the moral faculty which can recognize the distinction between right and wrong; nor did their judgments of relations bend to their habits and passions more decidedly than those of the nations whose laws justified, whose statesmen applauded, whose sovereigns personally shared, the invasion of a continent to steal its sons. If they readily yielded to the impetuosity of selfishness, they never made their own personality the centre of the universe. They were faithless treaty-breakers; but, at least, they did not exalt falsehood into the dignity of a political science, or scoff at the supremacy of justice as the delusive hope of fools; and, if they made every thing yield to self-preservation, they never avowed their interest to be the first law of international policy. They had never risen to the conceptions of a spiritual religion; but, as between the French and the natives, the latter — such is the assertion of St. Mary of the *Incarnation* — had even a greater tendency to devotion.

Under the instructions of the Jesuits, they learned to swing censers and to chant aves. Gathering round Eliot, in Massachusetts, the tawny choir sang the psalms of David, in Indian, "to one of the ordinary English tunes, melodiously;" and, in the school of Brainerd, thirty Lenape boys could answer all the questions in the Westminster Assembly's Catechism. There were examples among them of men who, under the guidance of missionaries, became anxious for their salvation, having faith enough for despair, if not for conversion; of the submission of warriors to the penance imposed by the Roman church; and the sanctity of a Mohawk maiden, — the American Geneveva, — who preserved her vows of chastity, is celebrated in the early histories of New France. They recognised the connection between the principles of Christian morals and faint intuitions of their own; and, even in the doctrine of the divine unity, they seemed to find not so much a novelty as the revival of a slumbering reminiscence. They were not good arithmeticians; their tales of the number of their years, or of the warriors in their clans, are little to be relied on; and yet everywhere they counted like Leibnitz and Laplace, and, from the influence of some law that pervades humanity, they began to repeat at ten. They could not dance like those trained to attitudes of grace; they could not sketch light ornaments like Raphael; yet, under every sky, they delighted in a rhythmic repetition of forms and sounds, would move in cadence to wild melodies, and, with elegance and imitative power, they would tattoo their skins with harmonious arabesques. We call them cruel; yet they never invented the thumb-screw, or the boot, or the rack, or broke on the wheel, or exiled bands of their nations for opinion's sake; and never protected the monopoly of a medicine man by the gallows or the block, or by fire. There is not a quality belonging to the white man, which did not also belong to the American savage; there is not among the aborigines a rule of language, a custom, or an institution, which, when considered in its principle, has not a counterpart among their conquerors. The unity of the human race is established by the exact correspondence

between their respective powers; the Indian has not one more, has not one less, than the white man; the map of the faculties is for both identical.

When, from the general characteristics of humanity, we come to the comparison of powers, the existence of degrees immediately appears. The red man has aptitude at imitation rather than invention; he learns easily; his natural logic is correct and discriminating, and he seizes on the nicest distinctions in comparing objects. But he is deficient in the power of imagination to combine and bring unity into his floating fancies, and in the faculty of abstraction to lift himself out of the dominion of his immediate experience. He is nearly destitute of abstract moral truth, of general principles; and, as a consequence, equalling the white man in the sagacity of the senses, and in judgments resting on them, he is inferior in reason and the moral qualities. Nor is this inferiority simply attached to the individual: it is connected with organization, and is the characteristic of the race.

This is the inference from history. Benevolence has, everywhere in our land, exerted itself to ameliorate the condition of the Indian; above all, to educate the young. Jesuit, Franciscan, and Puritan, the church of England, the Moravian, the benevolent founders of schools, academies, and colleges, all have endeavored to change the habits of the rising generation among the Indians; and the results, in every instance, varying in the degree of influence exerted by the missionary, have varied in little else. Woman, too, with her gentleness, and the winning enthusiasm of her self-sacrificing benevolence, has attempted their instruction, and has attempted it in vain. St. Mary of the Incarnation succeeded as little as Jonathan Edwards or Brainerd. The Jesuit Stephen de Carheil, revered for his genius as well as for his zeal, was for more than sixty years, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a missionary among the Huron-Iroquois tribes; he spoke their dialects with as much facility and elegance as though they had been his mother tongue; yet the fruits of his diligence were inconsiderable. Neither *John* Eliot nor Roger Williams was able to change essen-

tially the habits and character of the New England tribes. The Quakers came among the Delawares in the spirit of peace and brotherly love, and with sincerest wishes to benefit the Indian; but the Quakers succeeded no better than the Puritans, not nearly so well as the Jesuits. Brainerd awakened in the Delawares a perception of the unity of Christian morals; and yet his account of them is gloomy and desponding: "They are unspeakably indolent and slothful; they discover little gratitude; they seem to have no sentiments of generosity, benevolence, or goodness." The Moravian Loskiel could not change their character; and, like other tribes, its fragments at last migrated to the west. The condition of the little Indian communities, that are enclosed within the European settlements in Canada, in Massachusetts, in Carolina, is hardly cheering to the philanthropist. In New Hampshire and elsewhere, schools for Indian children were established; but, as they became fledged, they all escaped, refusing to be caged. Harvard College enrolls the name of an Algonkin youth among her pupils; but the college parchment could not close the gulf between the Indian character and the Anglo-American. The copper-colored men are characterized by a moral inflexibility, a rigidity of attachment to their hereditary customs and manners. The birds and the brooks, as they chime forth their unwearied canticles, chime them ever to the same ancient melodies; and the Indian child, as it grows up, displays a propensity to the habits of its ancestors.

This determinateness of moral character is marked in the organization of the American savage. He has little flexibility of features or transparency of skin; and therefore, if he depicts his passions, it is by strong contortions, or the kindling of the eye, that seems ready to burst from its socket. With rare exceptions, he cannot blush; the movement of his blood does not visibly represent the movement of his affections; for him, the domain of animated beauty is circumscribed; he cannot paint to the eye the emotions of moral sensibility.

This effect is heightened by a uniformity of intellectual culture and activity. Youth and manhood to all have but

one character; and where villages were scattered only at wide distances in the wilderness, where marriage, interdicted indeed between members of the same family badge, was yet usually limited to people of the same tribe, ties of blood united the nation, and the purity of the race increased the uniformity of organization. Each individual was marked not so much by personal peculiarities as by the physiognomy of his tribe.

Nature in the wilderness is true to her type, and deformity is almost unknown. How rare is it to find the red man squint-eyed, or with a diseased spine, halt or blind, or with any deficiency or excess in the organs! It is not merely that, in the savage state of equality, deformity would never perpetuate itself by winning through the aid of fortune what it cannot win from love; it is not merely that among barbarians the feeble and the misshaped perish from neglect or fatigue; the most refined nation is most liable to produce varieties and to degenerate; when the habits of uncivilized simplicity have been fixed for thousands of years, the hereditary organization is safe against monstrous deviations.

This inflexibility of organization will not even yield to climate: there is the same general resemblance of feature among all the aboriginal inhabitants, from the Terra del Fuego to the St. Lawrence; all have some shade of the same dull vermilion, or cinnamon, or reddish-brown, or copper color, carefully to be distinguished from the olive,—the same dark and glossy hair, coarse, and never curling. They have beards, but generally of feeble growth; their eye is elongated, having an orbit inclining to a quadrangular shape; the cheek-bones are prominent; the nose is broad; the jaws project; the lips are large and thick, giving to the mouth an expression of indolent insensibility; the forehead, as compared with Europeans, is narrow. The facial angle of the European is assumed to be eighty-seven; that of the American, by induction from many admeasurements, is declared to be seventy-five. The mean internal capacity of the skull of the former is eighty-seven cubic *inches*; of the barbarous tribes of the latter, it is found to *be, at least*, eighty-two.

And yet the inflexibility of organization is not so absolute as to forbid hope. The color of the tribes differs in its hue; and some have been found of so fair a complexion that the blood could be seen as it mantled to the cheek: the stature and form vary, so that not only are some nations tall and slender, but in the same nation there are contrasts.

Improvement, too, has pervaded every clan in North America. The Indian of to-day excels his ancestors in skill, in power over nature, and in knowledge; the gun, the knife, and the horse, of themselves, made a revolution in his condition and the current of his ideas: that the wife of the white man is cherished as his equal has already been dimly noised about in the huts of the Comanches; the idea of the Great Spirit, who is the master of life, has reached the remote prairies. How slowly did the condition of the common people of Europe make advances! For how many centuries did the knowledge of letters remain unknown to the peasant of Germany or France! How languidly did civilization pervade the valleys of the Pyrenees! How far is intellectual culture from having reached the peasantry of Hungary! Within the century and a half during which the Cherokees have been acquainted with Europeans, they have learned the use of the plough and the axe, of herds and flocks, of the printing-press and water-mills; they have gained a mastery over the fields, and have taught the streams to run for their benefit. And finally, in proof of progress, that nation, like the Choctaws, the Creeks, the Chippewas, the Winnebagoes, and other tribes, has increased, not in intelligence only, but in numbers.

"Whence was America peopled?" was the anxious inquiry that followed its discovery. "Whence came its trees and its grasses?" was asked, by way of excuse for indifference. But we keep the record of the introduction of many trees and grasses; and, though this continent was peopled before it became known to history, it is yet reasonable to search after traces of connection between the nations of America and those of the Old World.

To aid this inquiry, the country east of the Mississippi has no monuments. The numerous mounds which have been

discovered in the alluvial valleys of the west have by some been regarded as the works of an earlier and a more cultivated race of men, whose cities have been laid waste, whose language and institutions have been destroyed or driven away; but the study of the structure of the earth strips this imposing theory of its marvels. Where imagination sometimes fashions relics of artificial walls, geology sees but crumbs of decaying sandstone, clinging like the remains of mortar to blocks of greenstone that rested on it; it discovers in parallel intrenchments a trough, that subsiding waters have ploughed through the centre of a ridge; it explains the tessellated pavement to be but a layer of pebbles aptly joined by water; and on finding mounds, composed of different strata of earth, arranged horizontally to their very edge, it ascribes their creation to the Power that shaped the globe into vales and hillocks. When the waters had gently deposited their alluvial burden on the bosom of the earth, it is not strange that, of the fantastic forms shaped by the eddies, some should resemble the ruins of a fortress; that the channel of a torrent should seem even like walls that connected a town with its harbor; that natural cones should be esteemed monuments of inexplicable toil. But the elements, as they crumble the mountain and scatter the decomposed rocks, do not measure their action as men measure the labor of their hands. The hunters of old, as more recently the monks of La Trappe, may have selected a mound as the site of their dwellings, the aid to their rude fortifications, their watch-tower for gaining a vision of God, or, more frequently than all, as their burial-places. Most of the northern tribes, perhaps all, preserved the bones of their fathers; and the festival of the dead was the greatest ceremony of western faith. The explorations of good geologists and other careful observers confirm the belief that, in prehistoric times, native mound-builders have raised artificial earthworks, some of which are of large extent; but, when nature has taken to herself her share in the construction of the symmetrical hillocks, nothing will remain to warrant the inference of a high civilization that has left its abodes or died away, or of an earlier acquaintance with the arts of the Old World.

That there have been successive irruptions of rude tribes may be inferred from the insulated fragments of nations, which are clearly distinguished by their language. The mounds in the valley of the Mississippi have been used, some of them, perhaps, have been constructed, as burial-places of a race, of which the peculiar organization, as seen in the broader forehead, the larger facial angle, the less angular form of the orbits of the eye, the more narrow nose, the less evident projection of the jaws, the smaller dimensions of the palatine fossa, the flattened occiput, bears a surprisingly exact resemblance to that of the race of nobles who sleep in the ancient tombs of Peru. Retaining the general characteristics of the red race, they differ obviously from the present tribes of Miamis and Wyandots. These mouldering bones, from hillocks which are crowned by trees that have defied the storms of many centuries, raise bewildering visions of migrations, of which no tangible traditions exist; but the graves of earth from which they are dug, and the feeble fortifications that are sometimes found in their vicinity, afford no special evidence of early connection with other continents. "Among the more ancient works," says a careful observer, who is not disposed to undervalue the significancy of these silent monuments, near which he dwells, and which he has carefully explored, "there is not a single edifice nor any ruins which prove the existence in former ages of a building composed of imperishable materials. No fragment of a column, nor a brick, nor a single hewn stone large enough to have been incorporated into a wall, has been discovered. The only relics which remain to inflame curiosity are composed of earth." Some of the tribes had vessels made of clay; near Natchez, an image was found, of a substance not harder than clay dried in the sun. These few memorials of other days may indicate revolutions among the barbarous hordes of the Americans themselves; they cannot solve for the inquirer the problem of their origin.

Nor is it safe to place implicit reliance on tradition. The ideas of uncultivated nations are vaguely connected; and pressing want compels the mind to be indifferent to the

past, not less than careless of the future. Time obliterates facts, or introduces confusion of memory, or buries one tradition beneath another. Yet it is the tradition of the Delawares that tribes of the Algonkin and Wyandot families expelled from the basin of the Ohio its ancient tenants, and that the fugitives descended the Mississippi to renew their villages under a warmer sun. Vague indeed as must be the shadows that glimmer across the silent darkness of intervening centuries, physiologists have yet convinced themselves that they can trace, in the bones which time has not wholly crumbled, evidence of the extent of the Toltecan family from the heart of North America to the Andes. The inference has no natural improbability. We know the wide range of the Indian brave; the kindred of the Athapasca race spread from the Kinaïzian Gulf to Hudson's Bay; the Algonkin was spoken from the Missinipi to Cape Fear; the Dakotas extend from the Saskatchawan beyond the basin of the Arkansas. It would not be strange if, in the thousands of years from which no echo is to reach us, men of one American family had bowed to the sun in the southern valley of the Mississippi and within the tropics. The Chitimechas of Louisiana, improperly confounded with the Natchez, were on the same low stage of civilization with the Chechemecas, who are described as having entered Mexico from the north. But comparative anatomy, as it has questioned the graves, and compared its deductions with the traditions and present customs of the tribes, has not even led to safe inferences respecting the relations of the red nations among themselves; far less has it succeeded in tracing their wanderings from continent to continent.

Neither do the few resemblances that have been discovered between the roots of words in American languages on the one hand, and those of Asia or Europe on the other, afford historical evidence of any connection. The human voice articulates hardly twenty distinct, primitive sounds or letters: would it not be strange, then, were there no accidental resemblances? Of all European languages, the Greek is the most flexible; and it is that which most easily furnishes roots analogous to those of America. Not one

clear coincidence has been traced beyond accident. Hard by Pamlico Sound dwelt, and apparently had dwelt for centuries, branches of the Algonkin, the Huron-Iroquois, and the Catawba families. But though these nations were in the same state of civilization, were mingled by wars and captures, by embassies and alliances; though they had a common character in the organization of their language, as well as in their customs, government, and pursuits, yet each was found employing a language of its own. If resemblances cannot be traced between two families that have dwelt side by side apparently for centuries, who will hope to recover the traces of the mother tongue in Siberia or China? The results of comparison have thus far rebuked, rather than satisfied, curiosity.

It is still more evident that similarity of customs furnishes no basis for satisfactory conclusions. The same kinds of knowledge may have been reached independently; the same habits are naturally formed under similar circumstances. The manifest recurrence of artificial peculiarities would prove a connection among nations; but all the usages consequent on the regular wants and infirmities of the human system would be likely of themselves to be repeated; and, as for arts, they only offer new sources for measuring the capacity of human invention in its barbarous or semi-civilized state.

It is chiefly on supposed analogies of customs and of language that the lost tribes of Israel, "who took counsel to go forth into a farther country, where never mankind dwelt," have been discovered, now in the bark cabins of North America, now in the secluded valleys of the Tennessee, and again, as the authors of culture, on the plains of the Cordilleras. We cannot tell the origin of the Goths and Celts; proud as we are of our lineage, we cannot trace our own descent; and we strive to identify, in the most western part of Asia, the very hills and valleys among which the ancestors of our red men had their dwellings! Humanity has a common character. The ingenious scholar may find analogies in language, customs, institutions, and religion, between the aborigines of America and any nation what-

ever of the Old World: the pious curiosity of Christendom, and not a peculiar coincidence, has created a special disposition to discover a connection between them and the Hebrews. Inquirers into Jewish history, observing faint resemblances between their own religious faith and that of the American, have sought to trace the origin of common ideas to tradition from the same nation and the same sacred books, when they should not have rested in their pursuit of a common source, till they had reached the Fountain of all knowledge and the Author of all being.

The Egyptians used hieroglyphics; so did the Mexicans, and the Pawnees, and the Five Nations. Among the Algonkins now, a man is represented by a rude figure of a body, surmounted by the head of the animal which gives a badge to his family; on the Egyptian pictures, men are found designated in the same way. But did North America, therefore, send its envoys to the court of Sesostris?

The Carthaginians, of all ancient nations, cultivated the art of navigation with highest success. If they rivalled Vasco da Gama, why may they not have anticipated Columbus? And men have seen on rocks in America Phœnician inscriptions and proofs of Phœnician presence; but these disappear before an honest skepticism. Besides, the Carthaginians were historians also; and a Latin poet has preserved for us the testimony of Himilco, "that the abyss beyond the Columns of Hercules was to them interminable; that no mariner of theirs had ever guided a keel into that boundless deep."

On a rock by the side of a small New England stream, where even by the aid of the tides small vessels can hardly pass, a rude inscription has been made in a natural block of gray granite. By unwarranted interpolations and bold distortions, in defiance of countless improbabilities, the plastic power of fancy transformed the rude etching into a Runic monument; a still more recent theory insists on the analogy of its forms with the inscriptions of Fezzan and the Atlas. Calm observers, in the vicinity of the sculptured rock, see nothing in the design beyond the capacity of the red men of New England; and, to one intimately acquainted with the skill and manners of the barbarians, the character of the

drawing suggests its Algonkin origin. Scandinavians may have reached the shores of Labrador; the soil of the United States has not one vestige of their presence.

An ingenious writer on the maritime history of the Chinese finds traces of their voyages to America in the fifth century, and thus opens an avenue for Asiatic science to pass into the kingdom of Anahuac; but the theory refutes itself. If Chinese traders or emigrants came so recently to America, there would be customs and language to give evidence of it. Nothing is so indelible as speech: sounds that, in ages of unknown antiquity, were spoken among the nations of Hindostan, still live in their significancy in the language which we daily utter. The winged word cleaves its way through time, as well as through space. If Chinese came to civilize, and came so recently, the shreds of Asiatic civilization would be still clinging visibly to all their works.

Nor does the condition of astronomical science in aboriginal America prove a connection with Asia. The red men could not but observe the pole-star; and even their children could give the names and trace the motions of the more brilliant groups of stars, of which the return marked the seasons; but they did not divide the heavens, nor even a belt in the heavens, into constellations. It is a curious coincidence that, among the Algonkins of the Atlantic and of the Mississippi, alike among the Narragansetts and the Illinois, the north star was called the *bear*. This accidental agreement with the widely spread usage of the Old World is far more observable than the imaginary resemblance between the signs of the Mexicans for their days and the signs on the zodiac for the month in Thibet. The American nation had no zodiac, and could not therefore, for the names of its days, have borrowed from Central Asia the symbols that marked the path of the sun through the year. Nor had the Mexicans either weeks or lunar months; but, after the manner of barbarous nations, they divided the days in the year into eighteen scores, leaving the few remaining days to be set apart by themselves. This division may have sprung directly from their system of enumeration;

it need not have been imported. It is a greater marvel that the indigenous inhabitants of Mexico had a nearly exact knowledge of the length of the year, and, at the end of one hundred and four years, made their intercalation more accurately than the Greeks, the Romans, or the Egyptians. The length of their tropical year was almost identical with the result obtained by the astronomers of the caliph Almamon; but let no one derive this coincidence from intercourse, unless he is prepared to believe that, in the ninth century of our era, there was commerce between Mexico and Bagdad. The agreement favors clearly the belief that Mexico did not learn of Asia; for, at so late a period, intercourse between the continents would have left its indisputable traces. No inference is warranted, except that, in the clear atmosphere of the table-lands of Central America, the observers may have watched successfully the progress of the seasons; that the sun ran his career as faithfully over the heights of the Cordilleras as over the plains of Mesopotamia.

When to this is added that, alone of mankind, the American nations universally were ignorant of the pastoral state; that they kept neither sheep nor kine; that they knew not the use of the milk of animals for food; that they had neither wax nor oil; that they had no iron, — it becomes nearly certain that the imperfect civilization of America is its own.

Yet the original character of American culture does not insulate the American race. It would not be safe to reject the possibility of an early communication between South America and the Polynesian world. Nor can we know what changes time may have wrought on the surface of the globe, what islands may have been submerged, what continents divided. But, without resorting to the conjectures or the fancies which geologists may suggest, everywhere around us there are signs of migrations, of which the boundaries cannot be set; and the movement seems to have been towards the east and south.

The number of primitive languages increases near the Gulf of Mexico; and, as if one nation had crowded upon

another, in the canebrakes of the state of Louisiana there are more independent languages than are found from the Arkansas to the pole. In like manner, they abounded on the plateau of Mexico, the natural highway of wanderers. On the western shore of America, there are more languages than on the east; on the Atlantic coast, as if to indicate that it had never been a thoroughfare, one extended from Cape Fear to the Esquimaux; on the west, between the latitude of forty degrees and the Esquimaux, there were at least four or five. The Californians derived their ancestors from the north; the Aztecs preserve a narrative of their northern origin, which their choice of residence in a mountain region confirmed.

At the north, the continents of Asia and America nearly meet. In the latitude of sixty-five degrees fifty minutes, a line across Behring's Straits, from Cape Prince of Wales to Cape Tschowkotskoy, would measure a fraction less than forty-four geographical miles; and three small islands divide the distance.

But, within the latitude of fifty-five degrees, the Aleutian Isles stretch from the great promontory of Alaska so far to the west, that the last of the archipelago is but three hundred and sixty geographical miles from the east of Kamtschatka; and that distance is so divided by the Mednoi Island and the group of Behring, that, were boats to pass from islet to islet from Kamtschatka to Alaska, the longest navigation in the open sea would not exceed two hundred geographical miles, and at no moment need the mariner be more than forty leagues distant from land; and a chain of thickly set isles extends from the south of Kamtschatka to Corea. Now the Micmac on the north-east of our continent would, in his frail boat, venture thirty or forty leagues out at sea: a Micmac savage then, steering from isle to isle, might in his birch-bark canoe have made the voyage from North-west America to China.

Water, ever a favorite highway, is especially the highway of uncivilized man: to those who have no axes, the thick jungle is impervious; canoes are older than wagons, and ships than chariots; a gulf, a strait, the sea intervening

between islands, divide less than the matted forest. Even civilized man emigrates by sea and by rivers, and he ascended two thousand miles above the mouth of the Missouri, while interior tracts in New York and Ohio were still a wilderness. To the uncivilized man, no path is free but the sea, the lake, and the river.

The American and the Mongolian races of men, on the two sides of the Pacific, have a near resemblance. Both are alike strongly and definitely marked by the more capacious palatine fossa, of which the dimensions are so much larger that a careful observer could, out of a heap of skulls, readily separate the Mongolian and American from the Caucasian, but could not distinguish them from each other. Both have the orbit of the eye quadrangular, rather than oval; both, especially the American, have comparatively a narrowness of the forehead; the facial angle in both, but especially in the American, is comparatively small; in both, the bones of the nose are flatter and broader than in the Caucasian, and in so equal a degree, and with apertures so similar, that, on indiscriminate selections of specimens from the two, an observer could not, from this feature, discriminate which of them belonged to the old continent; both, but especially the Americans, are characterized by a prominence of the jaws. The elongated occiput is common to the American and the Asiatic; and there is to each very nearly the same obliquity of the face. Between the Mongolian of Southern Asia and of Northern Asia there is a greater difference than between the Mongolian Tâtar and the North American. The Iroquois is more unlike the Peruvian than he is unlike the wanderer on the steppes of Siberia. Physiology has not succeeded in defining the qualities which belong to every well-formed Mongolian, and which never belong to an indigenous American; still less can geographical science draw a boundary line between the races. The Athapascas cannot be distinguished from Algonkin Knisteneaux on the one side, or from Mongolian Esquimaux on the other. The dwellers on the Aleutian Isles melt into resemblances with the inhabitants of each continent; and, at points of remotest distance, the difference

is still so inconsiderable that Ledyard, whose curiosity filled him with the passion to circumnavigate the globe and cross its continents, as he stood in Siberia, with men of the Mongolian race before him, and compared them with the Indians who had been his old play-fellows and schoolmates at Dartmouth, writes deliberately that, "universally and circumstantially, they resemble the aborigines of America." On the Connecticut and the Obi, he saw but one race.

He that describes the Tungusians of Asia seems also to describe the North American. That the Tschukchi of North-eastern Asia and the Esquimaux of America are of the same origin is proved by the affinity of their languages; thus establishing a connection between the continents previous to the discovery of America by Europeans. The indigenous population of America offers no new obstacle to faith in the unity of the human race.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

COLONIAL RIVALRY OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

MEANTIME, the house of Hanover had ascended the English throne, an event doubly grateful to the colonies.
1714. Aug. The contest of parties is the struggle between ideas; and the abiding sympathy of nations is never won but by an appeal to the controlling principles of the age. George I. had imprisoned his wife; had, from jealousy, caused a young man to be assassinated; had had frequent and angry quarrels with his son; and now, being fifty-three years old, attended by two women of the Hanoverian aristocracy, who were proud of being known as his mistresses, he crossed the sea to become the sovereign of a country of which he understood neither the institutions, the manners, nor the language. Intrusting the administration to the whigs, he avowed his purpose of limiting his favor to them, as though he were himself a member of their party; and in return, by a complaisant ministry, places in the highest ranks of the English aristocracy were secured to his mistresses, whose number he in his sixty-seventh year, just before his death, was designing to enlarge. And yet throughout English America, even the clergy heralded the elevation of George I. as an omen of happiness; and of the people of Boston it was announced from the pulpit that, in the whole land, "not a dog can wag his tongue to charge them with disloyalty." To the children of the Puritans, the accession of the house of Hanover was the triumph of Protestantism, and the guarantee of Protestant liberties.

1715. Aug. The advancement of the new dynasty was, moreover, a pledge of a pacific policy. Louis XIV. had outlived his children and every grandchild, except the new king of Spain; his own glory; the gratitude of those whom he had advanced. "My child," said he, as he gave a fare-

well blessing to his great-grandson, the boy of five years old who was to be his successor, "you will be a great king; do not imitate me in my passion for war; seek peace with your neighbors, and strive to be, what I have failed to be, a solace to your people." "Sad task," Madame de Maintenon had written, "to amuse a man who is past being amused;" and, quitting his bedside, she left him, after a reign of seventy-two years, to die alone. He had sought to extend his power beyond his life by establishing a council of regency; but his will was cancelled by the parliament, and his nephew, the brave, generous, but abandoned Philip of Orleans, became absolute regent. In the event of the early death of Louis XV., who would inherit the throne of France? By the treaty of Utrecht, Philip of Anjou, accepting the crown of Spain, renounced the right of succession to that of France. If the treaty were maintained, Philip of Orleans was heir-apparent; if legitimacy could sustain the necessary succession of the nearest prince, the renunciation of the king of Spain was invalid, and the integrity of his right unimpaired. Thus the personal interest of the regent was opposed to the rigid doctrine of legitimacy, and inclined to an alliance with England; while the king of Spain, under the guidance of Alberoni, was moved not less by hereditary attachment to legitimacy than by personal ambition to disregard the provisions of the treaty, and favor alike the pretensions of the Stuarts to the British throne and of himself to the succession in France. The French minister Torcy, the gifted son of Colbert, had avowed his faith that God has established the order of succession, which man cannot change; and he was supplanted by the wily, degenerate, avaricious Du Bois. By the influence of Protestant England, the recklessly immoral Du Bois, thrice infamous, as the corrupter of his pupil, as the licentious priest of a spiritual religion, and as a statesman in the pay of a foreign country, became cardinal, the successor of Fénelon in an archbishopric, and prime minister of France. Under such auspices was a happy peace secured to the colonies of rival nations.

1715. Sept. 1.

1727. Neither the death of George I. nor the coming of age of Louis XV. changed the dispositions of the governments. The character of Walpole was a pledge of moderation. Ignorant of theories, not familiar with the history or politics of foreign nations, he was profoundly versed in the maxims of worldly wisdom. Queen Caroline asked him to read the famous work of Bishop Butler on religion, and he told her that his religion was fixed, and he did not want to change or improve it. Destitute of fortune or alliances, he rose gradually to power, which he engrossed, and yet exercised temperately. Jovial and placable, and always hopeful, he never distrusted his policy or himself. He could endure no rival, and sought as friends men who were his inferiors; nor could any person of high pretension long continue to act with him. His pleasures degenerated into coarse licentiousness; and he was not indifferent to the vanity of magnificence. In the employment of means, he "plunged to the elbows in corruption," and had the daring to do wrong without compunction. Yet his strength lay in his policy of promoting the commercial grandeur of his country, fostering its manufactures, and diminishing its debt. Never palliating his conduct, and caring only for majorities, trading for numbers, and not for talents or for appearances, he followed honesty more than he professed to do; and if he never resisted his party from motives of moral right, if he had the weakness at last to yield the cardinal point of his system rather than leave the cabinet, he at least never parted from his friends to serve himself. The house of commons was his avenue to power; and his thoughts were chiefly engrossed by intrigues for its control.

In his policy, Walpole was favored by the moderation of Fleury, who at the age of seventy-three was called by Louis XV. to direct the affairs of France. The wise cardinal had a discriminating and candid mind. The preservation of peace was his rule of administration; and he was the chosen mediator between conflicting sovereigns. His clear perceptions anticipated impending revolutions; but he hushed the storm till his judgment sunk under the

infirmities of fourscore. Happy period for the colonies! For a quarter of a century, the controversies of Great Britain and France respecting colonial boundaries, though they might lead to collisions, could not occasion a rupture.

The prospect of continued peace occasioned a rapid extension of the Indian traffic of South Carolina. Favored by the mild climate, its traders had their storehouses among the Chickasaws and near the Natchez, and by intimidation, rather than by good-will, gained admission even into villages of the Choctaws. Still more intimate were their commercial relations with the branches of the Muskohgees in the immediate vicinity of the province, especially with the Yamassees, who, from impatience at the attempts for their conversion to Christianity, had deserted their old abodes in Florida, and planted themselves from Port Royal Island along the north-east bank of the Savannah River. The tribes of Carolina had been regarded as "a tame and peaceable people;" they were very largely in debt for the advances which had been made them; and "the traders began to be hard upon them, because they would be paid." The influence of Bienville, of Louisiana, prevailed with the Choctaws, and the English were driven from their villages. The whole Indian world from Mobile River to Cape Fear was in commotion. The Yamassees renewed friendly relations with the Spaniards at St. Augustine; they won the alliance of the Catawbas and the Cherokees; and their messenger with "the bloody stick" threaded his way through flowering groves to the new towns of the Appalachian emigrants on the Savannah, to the ancient villages of the Uchees, and bounded across the rivers along which the various tribes of the Muskohgees had their dwellings. They delayed their rising till the deliberations of the grand council of the Creeks should be finished, and the emblem of war be returned.

In passion-week of 1715, the traders at Pocotaligo observed the madness of revenge kindling among the Yamassees. On Thursday night, unaware of immediate danger, Nairne, the English agent, who bore proposals of peace, slept in the round house with the civil chiefs and 1715.

1715. the war-captains. On the morning of Good Friday,
Apr. 15. the indiscriminate massacre of the English began. One boy escaped into the forest, and, after wandering for nine days, reached a garrison. Seaman Burroughs, a strong man and swift runner, broke through the ranks of the Indian band; and, though hotly pursued and twice wounded, by running ten miles and swimming one, he reached Port Royal, and alarmed the town. Its inhabitants, some in canoes, and some in a ship which chanced to be in the harbor, fled to Charleston. The bands of the enemy, hiding by day in the swamps, and by night attacking the scattered settlements, drove the planters towards the capital. The Yamassees and their confederates advanced even as far as Stono, where they halted, that their prisoners, planters with their wives and little ones, might be tormented and sacrificed at leisure. On the opposite side, a troop of horse, insnared by a false guide in an ambush among large trees, thickly strown by a late hurricane, lost its commander and retreated. The insurgent Indians carried their ravages even to the parish of Goose Creek; Charleston itself was in peril.

But the impulse of wild passion could not prevail against the deliberate courage of civilized man. On the north, the insulated band of invaders received a check, and vanished into the forests; on the south, Charles Craven, the governor of the province, promptly led the forces of Colleton district to the final conflict with the confederated warriors
1715. on the banks of the Salke-hachie. The savages fought long and desperately from behind trees and coppices, using arrows as well as bullets; but at last they gave way, and were driven beyond the present limits of Carolina. The Yamassees retired into Florida, and at St. Augustine were welcomed with peals from the bells and a salute of guns, as though allies and friends had returned from victory. The Uchees left their old settlements below Broad River, and the Appalachians their new cabins near the Savannah, and retired towards Flint River. When Craven returned to Charleston, he was greeted with the applause which his alacrity, courage, and conduct had merited. The colony had lost about four hundred of its inhabitants.

The war with the Yamassees was followed by a domestic revolution in Carolina. Its soil had been defended by its own people; and they resolved, under the sovereignty of the English monarch, to govern themselves. Scalping-parties of Yamassees, from their places of refuge in Florida, continued to hover on the frontiers of a territory which the Spaniards still claimed as their own. The proprietaries took no efficient measures for protecting their colony. Instead of inviting settlers, they monopolized the lands which they had not contributed to defend. The measures adopted for the payment of the colonial debts were negatived, in part because they imposed a duty of ten pounds on the introduction of every negro from abroad. The polls for the election of representatives had hitherto been held for the whole province at Charleston alone; the provincial legislature permitted the votes to be given in each parish. But, because the reform increased popular power, this also was negatived. Some of the members of the proprietary council had, by long residence, become attached to the soil and the liberties of their new country; they were supplanted, or their influence destroyed, by an abrupt increase of the number of their associates. In consequence, at the next election of assembly, though it was chosen at Charleston, the agents of the proprietaries could not succeed in procuring the return of any one whom they desired. The members elect, at private meetings, "resolved to have no more to do with the proprietors;" and the people of the province entered "into an association to stand by their rights and privileges." It was remembered that the lords of trade had formerly declared the charter forfeit; that the house of peers had favored its prosecution; and, as the known hostility of Spain threatened an invasion, 1719. Nov. 28. the assembly resolved "to have no regard to the officers of the proprietaries or to their administration," and begged Robert Johnson, the governor, "to hold the reins of government for the king." When Johnson, remaining true to his employers, rejected their offer, they, with Arthur Middleton for their president, voted themselves "a convention delegated by the people;" and, resolved "on having a

governor of their own choosing," they elected the brave James Moore, a favorite with the people, "whom all the country had allowed to be the fittest person" for undertaking its defence. The militia of Charleston was to be reviewed on the twenty-first of December; and that day was selected for proclaiming the new chief magistrate. To Parris, the commanding officer, Johnson issued particular orders to delay the muster, nor suffer a drum to be beat in the town. But the people of Carolina had, by the power of public opinion, renounced the government of the proprietaries; and on the appointed day, with colors flying at the forts and on all the ships in the harbor, the militia, which was but the people in arms, drew up in the public square. It would be tedious to relate minutely by what menaces, what entreaties, what arguments, Johnson struggled to resist the insurrection. In the king's name, he commanded Parris to disperse his men; and Parris answered: "I obey the convention." "The revolutioners had their governor, council, and convention, and all of their own free election." Peacefully and without bloodshed, palatines, landgraves, and caciques were dismissed from Carolina, where they had become so little connected with the vital interests of the state that history with difficulty preserves them from oblivion.

1720. The agent from Carolina obtained in England a ready hearing from the lords of the regency. The proprietors were esteemed to have forfeited their charter; measures were taken for its abrogation; and, in the mean time, Francis Nicholson — an adept in colonial governments, trained by experience in New York, in Virginia, in Maryland; brave and not penurious, but narrow and irascible; of loose morality, yet a fervent supporter of the church — received a royal commission as provisional governor of the province. The bold act of the people of Carolina, which in England was respected as an evidence of loyalty, was remembered in America as an example for posterity. The introduction of the direct regal supremacy was a pledge of more than security to the southern frontier: no lines were either run or proposed; and the neglect was an omen that

the limits of the stronger nation would be advanced by encroachments or conquest.

The first act of Nicholson confirmed peace with the natives. On the borders of the territory of the peaceful Cherokees, he was met, in congress, by the chiefs of thirty-seven different villages. They smoked with him the pipe of peace, and marked the boundaries between "the beloved nation" and the colonists; and they returned to their happy homes in the mountain vales, pleased with their generous brother and new ally. A treaty of commerce and peace was also concluded with the Creeks, whose hunting-grounds it was solemnly agreed should extend to the Savannah. Yet the ambition of England was not bounded by that river; and, in defiance of remonstrances from Spain and from Florida, a fort was kept by a small English garrison on the forks of the Alatamaha. 1721.

The controversy was not adjusted when, in September, 1729, under the sanction of an act of parliament, and for the sum of twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds, seven eighths of the proprietaries sold to the crown their territory, their powers of jurisdiction, and the arrears of their quit-rents. Lord Carteret alone, joining in the surrender of the government, reserved an eighth share in the soil. This is the period when a royal governor was first known in North Carolina. Its secluded hamlets had not imitated the popular revolution of the southern province. 1729.

So soon as the royal government was fully confirmed, it attempted by treaties of union to convert the Indians on the borders of Carolina into allies or subjects; and, early in 1730, Sir Alexander Cumming, a special envoy, guided by Indian traders to Keowee, summoned a general assembly of the chiefs of the Cherokees to meet at Nequassee, in the valley of the Tennessee. They came together in the month of April, and were told that King George was their sovereign. When they offered a chaplet, four scalps of their enemies and five eagles' tails, as the records of the treaty and the pledge of their fidelity, it was proposed to them to send deputies to England; and English writers interpreted their assent as an act of homage to the British

monarch. In England, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was drawn up by the English, and signed by the name and seal of one party, by the emblems and marks of the other. No white men, except the English, might build cabins or plant corn upon the lands of the Cherokees. Thus a nation rose up as a barrier against the French. The seven envoys from the mountains of Tennessee, already bewildered by astonishment at the vastness of London and the splendor and discipline of the English army, were presented at court; and, when the English king claimed their land and all the country about them as his property, surprise and inadvertence extorted from one of their war-chiefs 1730. Sept. tains the irrevocable answer, "*To-eu-hah*," — it is "a most certain truth;" and the delivery of eagles' feathers confirmed his words. The covenant promised that love should flow for ever like the rivers, that peace should endure like the mountains; and it was faithfully kept, at least for one generation.

Of the maritime powers of Europe, it was Spain which chiefly took umbrage at the progress of the English settlements and the English alliances at the south. The questions at issue with France were attended with greater difficulty. The treaty of Utrecht surrendered to England Acadia and Nova Scotia "with its ancient boundaries." Disputes were to arise respecting them; but even the eastern frontier of the province of Massachusetts was not vindicated without a contest. To the country between the Kennebec and the St. Croix, a new claimant appeared in the Abenakis themselves. In 1716, the general court extended its jurisdiction to the utmost bounds of the province; the fishermen and the traders of New England not only revived the villages that had been desolated during the war, but, on the eastern bank of the Kennebec, laid the foundation of new settlements, and protected them by forts.

1717. 1720. The red men became alarmed. Away went their chiefs across the forests to Quebec, to ask if France had indeed surrendered the country, of which they themselves were the rightful lords; and, as Vaudreuil answered that the treaty of which the English spoke made no mention

of their country, their chief resisted the claim of the government of Massachusetts. "I have my land," said he, "where the Great Spirit has placed me; and, while there remains one child of my tribe, I shall fight to preserve it." France could not maintain its influence by an open alliance, but its missionaries guided their converts. At Norridgewock, on the banks of the Kennebec, the venerable Sebastian Rasles, for more than a quarter of a century the companion and instructor of savages, had gathered a flourishing village round a church which, rising in the desert, made some pretensions to magnificence. Severely ascetic, using no wine, and little food except pounded maize, a rigorous observer of the days of Lent, he built his own cabin, tilled his own garden, drew for himself wood and water, prepared his own hominy, and, distributing all that he received, gave an example of religious poverty. And yet he was laborious in garnishing his forest sanctuary, believing the faith of the savage must be quickened by striking appeals to the senses. Himself a painter, he adorned the humble walls of his church with pictures. There he gave instruction almost daily. Following his pupils to their wigwams, he tempered the spirit of devotion with familiar conversation and innocent gayety, winning the mastery over their souls by his powers of persuasion. He had trained a little band of forty young savages, arrayed in cassock and surplice, to assist in the service and chant the hymns of the church; and their public processions attracted a great concourse of red men. Two chapels were built near the village, one dedicated to the Virgin and adorned with her statue in relief, another to the guardian angel; and before them the hunter muttered his prayers, on his way to the river or the woods. When the tribe descended to the seaside, in the season of wild fowl, they were followed by Rasles; and on some islet a little chapel of bark was quickly consecrated.

The government of Massachusetts attempted, in 1717.
turn, to establish a mission; and its minister made a mocking of purgatory and the invocation of saints, of the cross and the rosary. "My Christians," retorted Rasles, "believe the truths of the Catholic faith, but are not skilful

disputants;" and he prepared a defence of the Roman church. Thus Calvin and Loyola met in the woods of Maine. But the Protestant minister, unable to compete with the Jesuit for the affections of the Indians, returned to Boston, while "the friar remained, the incendiary of mischief."

1721. Several chiefs had, by stratagem, been seized by the New England government, and were detained as hostages. For their liberty a stipulated ransom had been paid; and still they were not free. The Abenakis then demanded that their territory should be evacuated, and the imprisoned warriors delivered up, or reprisals would follow. Instead of negotiating, the English seized the young Baron de Saint-Castin, who, being a half-breed, at once held a French commission and was an Indian war-chief; and, after vainly soliciting the savages to surrender Rasles, in

1722. Jan. January, 1722, Westbrooke led a strong force to Norridgewock to take him by surprise. The warriors were absent in the chase; the Jesuit had sufficient warning to escape, with the old men and the infirm, into the forest; and the invaders gained nothing but his papers. These were important; for the correspondence with Vaudreuil proved a latent hope of establishing the power of France on the Atlantic. There was found, moreover, a vocabulary of the Abenaki language, which the missionary had compiled, and which has been preserved to this day.

On returning from the chase, the Indians, after planting their grounds, resolved to destroy the English settlements on the Kennebec. They sent deputies to carry the hatchet and chant the war-song among the Hurons of Quebec and in every village of the Abenakis. The war-chiefs met at Norridgewock, and the work of destruction began by the burning of Brunswick.

The clear judgment of Rasles perceived the issue. The forts of the English could not be taken by the feeble means of the natives: "unless the French should join with the Indians," he reported the land as lost. Many of his red people at his bidding retired to Canada; but, to their earnest solicitations that he would share their flight, the

aged man, foreseeing the impending ruin of Norridgewock, replied: "I count not my life dear unto myself, so I may finish with joy the ministry which I have received."

The government of Massachusetts, by resolution, 1722. July. declared the eastern Indians to be traitors and robbers; and, while troops were raised for the war, it stimulated the activity of private parties by offering for each Indian scalp at first a bounty of fifteen pounds, and afterwards of a hundred.

The expedition to Penobscot was under public auspices. After five days' march through the woods, 1723. Mar. 4-9. Westbrooke, with his company, came upon the Indian settlement, that was probably above Bangor, at Old Town. He found a fort, seventy yards long and fifty in breadth, well protected by stockades, fourteen feet high, enclosing twenty-three houses regularly built. On the south side, near at hand, was the chapel, sixty feet long and thirty wide, well and handsomely furnished within and without; and south of this stood the "friar's dwelling-house." The invaders arrived there on the ninth of March, at six in the evening. That night they set fire to the village, and by sunrise next morning every building was in ashes.

Twice it was attempted in vain to capture Rasles. At last, on the twenty-third of August, 1724, a party 1724. from New England reached Norridgewock unperceived, and escaped discovery till they discharged their guns at the cabins.

There were then about fifty warriors in the place. They seized their arms and marched forth tumultuously, not to fight, but to protect the flight of their wives, and children, and old men. Rasles, roused to the danger by their clamors, went forward to save his flock by drawing down upon himself the attention of the assailants; and his hope was not vain. Meantime, the savages fled to the river, which they passed by wading and swimming; while the English pillaged the cabins and the church, and then set them on fire.

After the retreat of the invaders, the savages returned to nurse their wounded and bury their dead. They found

Rasles mangled by many blows, scalped, his skull broken in several places, his mouth and eyes filled with dirt; and they buried him beneath the spot where he used to stand before the altar.

At the death of Sebastian Rasles, the most noted of the Catholic missionaries in New England, he was in his sixty-seventh year, and had been thirty-seven years in the service of the church in America. He was naturally robust, but had wasted by fatigues, age, and fastings. He knew several dialects of the Algonkin, and had been as a missionary among various tribes from the ocean to the Mississippi. In 1721, Father de la Chasse had advised his return to Canada. "God has intrusted to me this flock:" such was his answer; "I shall follow its fortunes, happy to be immolated for its benefit." In New England, he was regarded as the leader of the insurgent Indians; the brethren of his order mourned for him as a martyr, and gloried in his happy immortality as a saint. The French ministry, intent on giving an example of forbearance, restrained its indignation, and trusted that the joint commissioners for regulating boundaries would restore tranquillity.

The overthrow of the missions completed the ruin of French influence. The English themselves had grown skilful in the Indian warfare; and no war-parties of the red men ever displayed more address or heroism than the brave John Lovewell and his companions. His volunteer associates twice returned laden with scalps. On a third

1725. April. expedition, falling into an ambush of a larger party of Saco Indians, he lost his life in Fryeburg, near a sheet of water which has taken his name; and the stream that feeds it is still known to the peaceful husbandman as the Battle Brook.

Nov. At last, the eastern Indians, despairing of success, instigated, but not supported, by the French, unable to contend openly with their opponents, and excelled even in their own methods of warfare, concluded a peace,

1726. Aug. 6. which was ratified by the chiefs as far as the St. John, and was long and faithfully maintained. Influence by commerce took the place of influence by religion,

and English trading-houses supplanted French missions. Peace on the eastern frontier revived the maritime enterprise of Maine, and its settlements began to obtain a fixed prosperity.

The wilderness that divided the contending claimants postponed hostilities. By the treaty of Utrecht, the subjects and friends of both nations might resort to each other for the reciprocal benefit of their trade; and an active commerce subsisted between Albany and Montreal by means of the Christian Iroquois. The French, in 1719, gained leave to build a trading-house in the land of the Onondagas. In 1720, Jeancœur took possession of Niagara; and, in 1722, the governor of New York was instructed "to extend with caution the English settlements as far as possible, since there was no great probability of obtaining a determination of the general boundary." Burnet bestowed assiduous care on the condition of the frontiers, invoked colonial concert, appealed to the ministry, and, in 1726, persuaded the New York legislature, at its own cost, to lay the foundation of Oswego. This was the first in the series of measures which carried the bounds of the English colonies towards Michigan. In 1727, this trading-post was converted into a fortress, in defiance of the discontent of the Iroquois and the constant protest of France. It was the avenue through which the west was reached by English traders; and formed a station of the Miamis, and even of the Hurons, from Detroit on their way to Albany.

The limit of jurisdiction between England and France was not easy of adjustment. Canada, by its original charter, comprised the whole basin of the St. Lawrence; and that part of Vermont and New York which is watered by streams flowing to the St. Lawrence had ever been regarded by France as Canadian territory. The boat of Champlain had entered the lake that makes his name a familiar word in the same summer in which Hudson ascended the North River. Holland had never dispossessed the French; and the conquest and surrender of New Netherland could transfer no more than the possessions of Holland. There was, therefore, no act of France relinquishing its claim till the

treaty of Utrecht. The ambiguous language of that treaty did, indeed, refer to "the Five Nations subject to England;" but French diplomacy would not interpret an allusion to savage hordes as a surrender of Canadian territory. The right of France, then, to that part of New York and Vermont which belongs to the basin of the St. Lawrence, sprung from discovery, occupation, the uniform language of its grants and state papers.

As the claims of discovery and earliest occupation were clearly with the French, the English revived and exaggerated the rights of the Five Nations. In the strife with France, during the government of De la Barre, some of their chiefs had fastened the arms of the Duke of York to their castles; and this act was taken as a confession of irrevocable allegiance to England. The treaty of Ryswick made the condition at the commencement of hostilities the basis of occupation at the time of peace. Now at the opening of the war Fort Frontenac had been razed, and the country around it and Montreal itself were actually in possession of the Mohawks; so that all Upper Canada was declared to have become, by the treaty of Ryswick, a part of the domain of the Five Nations, and therefore subject to England.

1701. Again, at the opening of the war of the Spanish succession, the chiefs of the Mohawks and Oneidas had appeared in Albany; and the English commissioners, who could produce no treaty, yet made a minute in their books of entry that the Mohawks and the Oneidas had placed their hunting-grounds under the protection of the English. Immediately, their hunting-grounds were interpreted to extend to Lake Nipising; and, on old English maps, the region is included within the dominions of England, by virtue of an act of cession from the Iroquois.

But, as a treaty of which no record existed could hardly be cited by English lawyers as a surrender of lands, it was the object of Governor Burnet to obtain a confirmation of this grant. Accordingly, in the treaty concluded at 1726. Albany, in September, 1726, the cession of the Iro- 14. quois country west of Lake Erie, and north of Erie

and Ontario, was confirmed; and, in addition, a strip of sixty miles in width, extending from Oswego to Cuyahoga River at Cleveland, was "submitted and granted" by sachems of the three western tribes to "their sovereign lord, King George," "to be protected and defended by his said majesty, for the use of the said three nations." The chiefs could give no new validity to the alleged treaty of 1701; they had no authority to make a cession of land, nor were they conscious of attempting it. If France had renounced its rights to Western New York, it had done so only by the treaty of Utrecht. Each new ground for an English claim was a confession that the terms of that treaty were far from being explicit.

But France did not merely remonstrate against the attempt to curtail its limits and appropriate its provinces. Entering Lake Champlain, it established, in 1731, the fortress of the Crown. The garrison of the French was at first stationed on the eastern shore of the lake, within the present township of Addison, but soon removed to the Point, where its batteries defended the approach to Canada by water. But already, in 1724, the government of Massachusetts had established Fort Dummer, on the site of Brattleborough; and, one hundred and fifteen years after the first inroad of Champlain, a settlement of civilized man was made in Vermont. That Fort Dummer was within the limits of Massachusetts was not questioned by the French; for the fort at Saybrook, according to the French rule, gave to England the whole basin of the river.

The fort at Niagara had been renewed. Among the public officers of the French, who gained influence over the red men by adapting themselves with happy facility to life in the wilderness, was the Indian agent Joncaire. For twenty years he had been successfully employed 1721. in negotiating with the Senecas. He was become, by adoption, one of their own citizens and sons, and to the culture of a Frenchman added the fluent eloquence of an Iroquois warrior. "I have no happiness," said he in council, "like that of living with my brothers;" and he asked leave to build himself a dwelling. "He is one of our own

children," it was said in reply; "he may build where he will." And he planted himself in the midst of a group of cabins at Lewiston, higher than where La Salle had driven a rude palisade, and where Denonville had designed to lay the foundations of a settlement. In May of 1721, a party arrived at the spot to take measures for a permanent establishment; among them were the son of the governor of New France, De Longeuil, from Montreal, and Charlevoix, best of early writers on American history. It was then resolved to construct a fortress. The party were not insensible to the advantages of the country; they observed the rich soil of Western New York, its magnificent forests, its agreeable and fertile slopes, its mild climate. "A good fortress in this spot, with a reasonable settlement, will enable us," thus they reasoned, "to dictate law to the Iroquois, and to exclude the English from the fur-trade." And in 1726, four years after Burnet had built the English trading-house at Oswego, the flag of France floated from Fort Niagara.

The fortress at Niagara gave a control over the commerce of the remote interior: if furs descended by the Ottawa, they went directly to Montreal; and, if by way of the lakes, they passed over the portage at the falls. The boundless region in which they were gathered knew no jurisdiction but that of the French, whose trading canoes were safe in all the waters, whose bark chapels rose on every shore, whose missions extended beyond Lake Superior. The implacable Foxes were chastised, and driven from their old abode on the borders of Green Bay. Except the fortress at Oswego, the English held no post in the country watered by the St. Lawrence and its tributaries.

CHAPTER XL.

PROGRESS OF LOUISIANA.

ON the side of Spain, at the west and south, Louisiana was held by the French to extend to the river Del Norte; and, on the map published by the French Academy, the line passing from that river to the ridge that divides it from the Red River followed that ridge to the Rocky Mountains, and then descended to seek its termination in the Gulf of California. At the north-west, where it met the possessions of the company of Hudson's Bay, no commission had fixed its limits. The British commissioners, Bladen and the younger Pulteney, having repaired to Paris to adjust the boundaries, found only irreconcilable differences.

On the east, the line between Spain and France was the half-way between the Spanish garrison at Pensacola and the fort which, in 1711, the French had established on the site of the present city of Mobile: with regard to England, Louisiana was held to embrace the whole valley of the Mississippi. Not a fountain bubbled on the west of the Alleghanies but was claimed as being within the French empire. Louisiana stretched to the head-springs of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, of the Kanawha and the Tennessee. "Half a mile from the head of the southern branch of the Savannah River is Herbert's Spring, which flows to the Mississippi: strangers, who drank of it, would say they had tasted of French waters."

The centralized government of New France acted with promptness; and, before the English government could direct its thoughts to the consequences, the French had secured their influence on the head-springs of the Ohio.

In 1698, a branch of the Shawnees, offended with the French, established themselves at Conestoga; in 1700,

William Penn received them as a part of the people of Pennsylvania; and they scattered themselves along the upper branches of the Delaware and the Susquehannah. About the year 1724, the Delaware Indians, for the conveniency of game, migrated to the branches of the Ohio; and, in 1728, the Shawnees gradually followed them. They were soon met by Canadian traders; and Joncaire, the adopted citizen of the Seneca nation, found his way to them from Lake Erie. The wily emissary invited their chiefs to visit the governor at Montreal; and, in 1730, they descended with him to the settlement at that place. In the next year, more of them followed; and the warriors of the tribe put themselves under the protection of Louis XV., having hoisted a white flag in their town. It was even rumored that, in 1731, the French were building strong houses for them. The government of Canada annually sent them presents and messages of friendship, and pursued the design of estranging them from the English.

The dangerous extent of the French claims had for a long time attracted the attention of the colonies. To resist
1710. 1711. it was one of the earliest efforts of Spotswood, who hoped to extend the line of the Virginia settlements far enough to the west to interrupt the chain of communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. He caused the passes in the mountains to be examined; desired to promote settlements beyond them; and sought to concentrate within his province bands of friendly Indians. Finding other measures unavailing, he planned the incorporation of a Virginia Indian company, which, from the emoluments of a monopoly of the traffic, should sustain forts in the western country. Disappointed by the determined opposition of the people to a privileged company, he was still earnest to resist the encroachments of the French. But from Williamsburg to Kaskaskia the distance was too wide; and though by a journey across the mountains the right of Virginia might be sustained, yet no active resistance would become possible till the posts of the two nations should be nearer. A wilderness of a thousand miles was a good guarantee against reciprocal invasions.

In the more northern province of Pennsylvania, the subject never slumbered. In 1719, it was earnestly pressed upon the attention of the lords of trade by the governor of that colony, who counselled the establishment by Virginia of a fort on Lake Erie. But, after the migration of the Delawares and Shawnees, James Logan, the mild and estimable secretary of Pennsylvania could not rest from remonstrances, demanding the attention of the proprietary to the ambitious designs of Fránce, which extended "to the heads of all the tributaries of the Ohio." "This," he rightly added, "interferes with the five degrees of longitude of this province;" and the attention of the council was solicited to the impending danger. 1728. Oct. 1732.

In the autumn of 1731, immediately after the establishment of Crown Point, Logan prepared a memorial on the state of the British plantations; and through Perry, a member of the British parliament, it was communicated to Sir Robert Walpole. But "the grand minister and those about him were too solicitously concerned for their own standing to lay any thing to heart that was at so great a distance."

In this manner, England permitted the French to establish their influence along the banks of the Alleghany to the Ohio. They had already quietly possessed themselves of the three other great avenues from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; for the route by way of the Fox and Wisconsin, they had no opponents but in the Sacs and Foxes; that by way of Chicago had been safely pursued since the days of Marquette; and a report on Indian affairs, written by Logan, in 1718, proves that they very early made use of the Miami of the lakes, and, after crossing the carrying-place of about three leagues, floated down a shallow branch into the Wabash and the Ohio. Upon this line of communication the French established a post; and, of the population of Vincennes, a large part trace their lineage to early emigrants from Canada. Yet as of Kaskaskia, so of Vincennes, it has not been possible to fix the date of its foundation with precision. The hero whose name it bears came to his end in 1736. This route may have been adopted at a very early

period after La Salle's return from Illinois; it was in use early in the last century. Tradition preserves the memory of a release, in 1742, of lands, which, being ceded for the use of settlers, could not have been granted till after the military post had grown into a village of Canadian French. It would seem that in 1716 the route was established, and, in conformity to instructions from France, was secured by a military post. The year 1735, assumed by Volney as the probable date of its origin, is not too early; a petition of 1772 declares that it had been established for seventy years. Then began the commonwealth of Indiana. Travellers, as they passed from Quebec to Mobile or New Orleans, pitched their tents on the banks of the Wabash; till at last, in 1742, a few families of resident herdsmen gained permission of the natives to pasture their beeves on the fertile fields above Blanche River. In 1714, Charleville, a French trader, is said to have established for a time a post for the fur-trade at what is now Nashville.

That Louisiana extended to the head-spring of the Alleghany River, and included the Laurel Ridge, the Great Meadows, and every brook that flowed to the Ohio, was, on the eve of the treaty of Utrecht, expressly asserted in the royal grant of the commerce of the province.

1712. Sept.

Weary of fruitless efforts, Louis XIV. had assigned the exclusive trade of the unbounded territory to Anthony Crozat, a French merchant, who had "prospered in opulence to the astonishment of all the world." La Motte Cadillac, now the royal governor of Louisiana, became his partner; and the merchant proprietary and the founder of Detroit sought fortune by discovering mines and encroaching on the colonial monopolies of Spain.

The latter attempt met with no success whatever. Hardly had the officers of the new administration landed at Dauphine Island, when a vessel was sent to Vera Cruz; but it was not allowed to dispose of its cargo. The colonial bigotry of Spain was strengthened by the political jealousy which soon disturbed the relations between the governments of Madrid and Paris; while the French occupation of Louisiana was itself esteemed an encroachment

1713. May.

on Spanish territory. Every Spanish harbor in the Gulf of Mexico was closed against the vessels of Crozat.

It was next attempted to institute commercial relations by land. Had they been favored, they could not then have succeeded. But when Saint-Denys, after renewing intercourse with the Natchitoches, again ascended the Red River, and found his way from one Spanish post to another, till he reached a fortress in Mexico, his enterprise was followed by his imprisonment; and even liberty of commerce across the wilderness was sternly refused.

From the mines of Louisiana it was still hoped to 1714. obtain "great quantities of gold and silver;" and for many years the hope agitated France with vague but confident expectations. Two pieces of silver ore, left at Kaskaskia by a traveller from Mexico, were exhibited to Cadillac as the produce of a mine in Illinois; and, elated by the seeming assurance of success, he hurried up the river, to be in his turn disappointed, finding in Missouri abundance of the purest ore of lead, but neither silver nor gold.

For the advancement of the colony, Crozat accomplished nothing. The only prosperity which it possessed grew out of the enterprise of humble individuals, who had succeeded in instituting a little barter with the natives, and a petty trade with neighboring European settlements. These small sources of prosperity were cut off by the profitless but fatal monopoly of the Parisian merchant. The Indians were too numerous to be resisted by his factors. The English gradually appropriated the trade with the natives; and every Frenchman in Louisiana, except his agents, fomented opposition to his privileges. Crozat resigned his charter. On receiving it, Louisiana possessed twenty-eight French families: in 1717, when he abandoned it, the troops sent by the king, joined to the colonists, did not swell the inhabitants of the colony to more than seven hundred, including persons of every age, sex, and color. These few were extended from the neighborhood of the Creeks to 1714. 1717. Natchitoches. On the head-waters of the Alabama, at the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa, with the

aid of a band of Choctaws, Fort Toulouse, a small
1714. military post, was built and garrisoned. After a short period of hostilities, which sprung in part from the influence of English traders among the Chickasaws, the too powerful Bienville chanted the calumet with the
1716. great chief of the Natchez; and Fort Rosalie, built chiefly by the natives, protected the French commercial establishment in their village. Such was the origin of the city of Natchez. In the Mississippi valley, it takes rank, in point of age, of every permanent settlement south of Illinois.

The monopoly of Crozat was terminated by its surrender. The mines and commerce of boundless Louisiana were invoked to relieve the burden and renew the credit of the mother country. The human mind is full of trust; men in masses always have faith in the approach of better times. The valley of the Mississippi inflamed the imagination of France: anticipating the future, it beheld the opulence of coming ages as within immediate grasp; and John Law obtained the control of the commerce of Louisiana and Canada.

The debt which Louis XIV. bequeathed to his successor, after arbitrary reductions, exceeded two milliards of livres; and, to meet the annual interest of eighty millions, the surplus revenues of the state did not yield more than nine millions. In this period of depression, John Law proposed to the regent a credit system, which should liberate the state from its enormous burden, not by loans on which interest must be paid, not by taxes that would be burdensome to the people, but by a system which should bring all the money of France on deposit. It was the faith of Law that the currency of a country is but the representative of its moving wealth; that this representative need not possess in itself an intrinsic value, but may be made not of stamped metals only, but of shells or paper; that, where gold and silver are the only circulating medium, the wealth of a nation may be at once indefinitely increased by an arbitrary infusion of paper; that credit consists in the excess of circulation over immediate resources; and that the advantage of

credit is in the direct ratio of that excess. Applying these maxims to all France, he gradually planned the whimsically gigantic project of collecting all the gold and silver of the kingdom into one bank. At first, from his private bank, having a nominal capital of six million livres, of which a part was payable in government notes, bills were emitted with moderation; and, while the despotic government had been arbitrarily changing the value of its coin, his notes, being payable in coin at an unvarying standard of weight and fineness, bore a small premium. When Crozat resigned the commerce of Louisiana, it was transferred to the Western company, better known as the company of Mississippi, instituted under the auspices of Law. The stock of the corporation was fixed at two hundred thousand shares, of five hundred livres each, to be paid in any certificates of public debt. Thus nearly one hundred millions of the most depreciated of the public stocks were suddenly absorbed, the government changing its obligations from an indebtedness to individuals to an indebtedness to a favored company of its own creation. Through the bank of Law, the interest on the debt was discharged punctually; and, in consequence, the evidences of debt, which were received in payment for stock, rose rapidly from a depreciation of two thirds to par value. Although the union of the bank with the hazards of a commercial company was an omen of the fate of "the system," public credit seemed restored as if by a miracle. The ill success of La Salle, of Iberville, and Crozat, the fruitlessness of the long search for the mines of St. Barbe, were notorious; yet tales were revived of the wealth of Louisiana; its ingots of gold had been seen in Paris. The vision of a fertile empire, with its plantations, manors, cities, and busy wharfs, a monopoly of commerce throughout all French North America, the certain products of the richest silver mines and mountains of gold, were blended in the French mind into one boundless promise of treasures. The regent, who saw opening before him unlimited resources; the nobility, the churchmen, who competed for favors from the privileged institution; the stock-jobbers, including dukes

1716.

and peers, marshals and bishops, women of rank, statesmen and courtiers, — eager to profit by the sudden and indefinite rise of stocks, conspired to reverence Law as the greatest man of his age.

In September, 1717, the Western company obtained its grant. On the twenty-fifth day of the following August, after a long but happy voyage, the "Victory," the "Duchess of Noailles," and the "Mary," bearing eight hundred emigrants for Louisiana, chanted their Te Deum as they cast anchor near Dauphine Island. Already had Bienville,
1718. in the midsummer of 1718, as he descended the Mississippi, selected on its banks a site for the capital of the new empire; and from the prince who denied God, and "trembled at a star," the dissolute but generous regent of France, the promised city received the name of New Orleans. Instead of ascending the river in the ships, the emigrants disembarked on the crystalline sands of Dauphine Island, to make their way as they could to the lands that had been ceded to them. Some perished for want of enterprise, some from the climate; others prospered by their indomitable energy. The Canadian Du Tissenet, purchasing a compass, and taking an escort of fourteen Canadians, went fearlessly from Dauphine Island, by way of the Mobile River, to Quebec, and returned to the banks of the Mississippi with his family. The most successful colonists of Louisiana were hardy emigrants from Canada, who brought with them little beyond a staff and the coarse clothes that covered them.

Of the recent emigrants from France, eighty convicts were sent amongst the coppices that overspread New Orleans, to prepare room for a few tents and cottages. At the end of more than three years, the place was still a wilderness spot, where two hundred persons, sent to construct a city, had but encamped among unsubdued canebrakes. And yet the enlightened traveller held America happy, as the land in which the patriot could point to no ruins of a more prosperous age; and predicted the opulence of the city which promised to become the emporium of the noblest valley in the world. Still the emigrants of the company, though in the winter of 1718 one of their ships

had sailed up the river, blindly continued to disembark on the coast; and, even in 1721, Bienville himself a second time established the head-quarters of Louisiana at Biloxi.

Meantime, Alberoni, the minister of Spain, having, contrary to its interests and to those of France, involved the two countries in a war, De Serigny arrived in February of 1719, with orders to take possession of Pensa- 1719.
cola. This is the bay called, in the days of De Soto, 1558.
Anchusi, afterwards St. Mary, and St. Mary of Galve. 1693.
In 1696, Don Andrés de Arricla had built upon its margin a fort, a church, and a few houses, in a place without commerce or agriculture, or productive labor of any kind. By the capture of the fort, which after five hours' resistance surrendered, the French hoped to extend their power along the Gulf of Mexico from the Rio del Norte to 1719. May 14.
the Atlantic. But within forty days the Spaniards re- June 29.
covered the town, and attempted, in their turn, to conquer the French posts on Dauphine Island and on the Mobile. In September, the French recovered Pensacola, which, by the treaty of 1721, reverted to Spain. The tidings of peace were welcomed at Biloxi with 1722.
heartfelt joy.

During the period of hostility, La Harpe, in a 1720. Jan. 8.
letter to the nearest Spanish governor, had claimed "Texas to the Del Norte as a part of Louisiana." France was too feeble to stretch its colonies far to the west; but its rights were esteemed so clear that, in time of peace, the attempt to occupy the country was re- 1722.
newed. This second attempt of Bernard de la Harpe to plant a colony near the Bay of Matagorda had no other results than to incense the natives against the French, and to stimulate the Spaniards to the occupation of the country by a fort. Yet the French regarded the mouth of the Del Norte as the western limit of Louisiana on the Gulf of Mexico; and English geography recognised the claim.

But a change had taken place in the fortunes of the Mississippi company. By its connection with the bank of Law, its first attempts at colonization were conducted with careless prodigality. The richest prairies, the most invit-

ing fields, in the southern valley of the Mississippi, were conceded to companies or to individuals who sought principalities in the New World. Thus it was hoped that at least six thousand white colonists would be established in Louisiana. To Law himself there was conceded a vast prairie on the Arkansas, where he designed to plant a city and villages. His investments rapidly amounted to a million and a half of livres. But when, in 1727, a Jesuit priest arrived there, he found only thirty needy Frenchmen, who had been abandoned by their employer, and had no consolation but in the blandness of the climate and the unrivalled fertility of the soil. The decline of Louisiana was a consequence of financial changes in France.

1719. Jan. 1. In January of 1719, the bank of Law became, by a negotiation with the regent, the Bank of France; and a government which had almost absolute power of legislation conspired to give the widest extension to what was called credit. "Law might have regulated at his pleasure the interest of money, the value of stocks, the price of labor and of produce." The contest between paper and specie began to rage; the one buoyed up by despotic power, the other appealing to common sense Within four years, a succession of decrees changed the relative value of the livre not less than fifty times, that, from disgust at fluctuation, paper at a fixed rate might be preferred. All taxes were to be collected in paper; at last, paper was made the legal tender in all payments. To win the little gold and silver that was hoarded by the humbler classes, small bills, as low even as of ten livres, were put in circulation. The purchase of the bank by the government met less opposition, when a second scheme was devised for absorbing its issues. Two kinds of paper, bills payable on demand and certificates of stock, were put abroad together; and the stupendous project was formed of paying off the public debt in bank-bills, to absorb which new shares in the Mississippi company, under its title of Company of the Indies, were constantly created and offered for sale. The extravagance of hope was nourished by the successive surrender to that cor-

poration of additional monopolies, — the trade in Africans, the trade on the Indian seas, the sale of tobacco, the profits of the royal mint, the profits of farming the whole revenue of France, — till a promise of a dividend of forty per cent, from a company which had the custody of the revenues and the benefit of the commerce of France, obtained belief, and the shares, which might be issued after a payment of a first instalment of five hundred livres, rose in price a thousand per cent. Avarice became a frenzy; its fury seized every member of the royal family, men of letters, prelates, women. Early in the morning, the exchange opened with beat of drum and sound of bell, and closed at night on avidity that could not slumber. To doubt the wealth of Louisiana provoked anger. New Orleans was famous at Paris as a city almost before the canebrakes began to be cut down. The hypocrisy of manners, which in the old age of Louis XIV. made religion become a fashion, revolted to libertinism; and licentious pleasure was become the parent of an equally licentious cupidity. Thus the regent, purchasing directly of the company a share for five hundred livres, was able to sell it at a great advance, perhaps for five thousand. The public creditor paid virtually ten livres of public debt for one livre of the stock, and, instead of holding government securities, became a stockholder in an untried company. In this manner, in the course of sixteen months, more than two milliards were emitted; and the regent's mother could write that "all the king's debts were paid." The extravagances of stock-jobbing were increased by the latent distrust alike of the shares and of the bills; men purchased stock because they feared the end of the paper system, and because with the bills they could purchase nothing else. The wrong soon became apparent; the parliament protested that private persons were by the system defrauded of three fifths of their income. To stifle doubt, Law, who had 1720. Jan. 5. made himself a Catholic, was appointed comptroller-general; and the new minister of finance perfected Feb. 27. the triumph of paper by a decree that no person or corporation should have on hand more than five hundred

livres in specie; the rest must be exchanged for paper, and all payments, except for sums under one hundred livres, must be paid in paper. Terror and the dread of informers brought, within three weeks, forty-four millions into
1720. Mar. 11. the bank. In March, a decree of council fixed the value of the stock at nine thousand livres for five hundred, and forbade certain corporations to invest money in any thing else; all circulation of gold and silver, except for change, was prohibited; all payments must be made in paper, except for sums under ten livres. He who should have attempted to convert a bill into specie would have exposed his specie to forfeiture and himself to fines.
May 21. Confidence disappeared, and in May bankruptcy was avowed by a decree which reduced the value of bank-notes by a moiety. When men are greatly in the wrong, and especially when they have embarked their fortunes in their error, they wilfully resist light. So it had been with the French people: they remained faithful to their delusion, till France was impoverished, public and private credit subverted, the income of capitalists annihilated, and labor left without employment; while, in the midst of the universal wretchedness of the middling class, a few wary speculators gloried in the unjust acquisition and enjoyment of immense wealth.

Such was the issue of Law's celebrated system, which left to the world a lesson the world was slow to learn: that the enlargement of the circulation quickens industry so long only as the enlargement continues, for prices then rise, and every kind of labor is remunerated; that when this increase springs from artificial causes, it must meet with a check, and be followed by a reaction; that when the reaction begins, the high remunerating prices decline, labor fails to find an equivalent, and each evil opposite to the previous advantages ensues; that therefore every artificial expansion of the currency, every expansion resting on credit alone, is a source of confusion and ultimate loss to the community, and brings benefits to none but to those who are skilful in foreseeing and profiting by the fluctuations. The chancellor D'Aguesseau, who was driven from office because he

could show no favor to the system, was, after a short period of retirement, restored to greater honors than before, and lives in memory as a tolerant and incorruptible statesman; while those who yielded to the reckless promises of Law have been rescued from infamy only by oblivion.

The downfall of Law abruptly curtailed expenditures for Louisiana. But a colony was already planted, destined to survive all dangers, even though in France Louisiana was involved in disgrace. Instead of the splendid visions of opulence, the disenchanted public would now see only unwholesome marshes, which were the tombs of emigrants; its name was a name of disgust and terror. The garrison at Fort Toulouse revolted; and, of the sol- 1722.
diers, six-and-twenty departed for the English settlements of Carolina. Overtaken by Villemont with a body of Choctaws, the unhappy wretches were in part massacred, in part conducted to Mobile and executed. Even the wilderness could not moderate the barbarisms of military discipline.

The Alabama River had been a favorite line of communication with the north. From the easier connection of Mobile with the sea, it remained a principal post; but, in August of 1723, the quarters of Bienville were transferred to New Orleans, where the central point of French power, after hovering round Ship Island and Dauphine Island, the Bays of Biloxi and Mobile, was at last established. The emigrants to Arkansas removed to lands on the river nearer that city.

The villages of the Natchez, planted in the midst of the most fertile climes of the south-west, rose near the banks of the Mississippi. Each was distinguished by a receptacle for the dead. In the sacred building, of an oval shape, having a circumference of one hundred feet, — a simple hut, without a window, and with a low and narrow opening on the side for the only door, — were garnered up the choicest fetiches of the tribe, of which some were moulded of sun-baked clay. There, too, were gathered the bones of the dead; there an undying fire was kept burning by appointed guardians, as if to warm and light and cheer the departed.

On the palisades around this edifice, which has been called a temple, the ghastly trophies of victories were arranged. Once, when during a storm the sacred edifice caught fire from the lightning, seven or eight mothers won the applause of the terror-stricken tribes by casting their babes into the flames, to appease the unknown power of evil.

The grand chief of the tribe was revered as of the family of the sun, and he could trace his descent with certainty from the nobles; for the inheritance of power was transmitted exclusively by the female line. Hard by the temple, on an artificial mound of earth, stood the hut of the Great Sun: around it were grouped the cabins of the tribe. There, for untold years, the savage had won his bride by a purchase from her father; had placed his trust in his manitous; had turned at daybreak towards the east, to hail and worship the beams of morning; had listened to the revelations of dreams; had invoked the aid of the medicine men to dance the medicine dance; had achieved titles of honor by prowess in war; had tortured and burnt his prisoners. There were the fields which, in spring, the whole tribe had gone forth to cultivate; there the scenes of glad festivals at the gathering of the harvest; there the natural amphitheatres, where councils were convened, and embassies received, and the calumet of reconciliation passed in ceremony from lip to lip. There the dead had been arrayed in their proudest apparel; the baskets of food for the first month after death set apart for their nurture; the requiem chanted by the women in mournful strains over their bones; and there, when a great chief died, persons of the same age were strangled, that they might constitute his escort into the realm of shades.

Nowhere was the power of the grand chieftain so nearly despotic. The race of nobles was so distinct that usage had moulded language into forms of reverence. In other respects, there was among the Natchez no greater culture than among the Choctaws; and their manners hardly differed from those of northern tribes, except as they were modified by climate.

The French, who were cantoned among the Natchez,

coveted their soil; the commander, Chopart, swayed by a brutal avarice, demanded as a plantation the very site of their principal village. The tribe listened to the counsels of the Chickasaws; they gained in part the support of the Choctaws; and a general massacre of the intruders was concerted. On the morning of the twenty-eighth of November, 1729, the work of blood began, and before noon nearly every Frenchman in the colony was murdered. 1729. Nov. 28.

The Great Sun, taking his seat under the storehouse of the company, smoked the calumet in complacency, as the head of Chopart was laid at his feet. One after another, the heads of the principal officers at the post were ranged in order around it, while their bodies were left abroad to be a prey to dogs and buzzards. At that time, the Jesuit Du Poisson was the missionary among the Arkansas. Two years before, he had made his way up the Mississippi from New Orleans. On each of the nearest plantations which he saw in his progress, bands of sixty negroes had succeeded in cultivating maize, tobacco, indigo, and rice. His companions, as they advanced, now dragged the boat along shore, now stemmed the torrent by rowing. At night, they made a resting-place by spreading canvas over boughs of trees heaped together on the miry bank; or, making their boat fast to some raft that, covering many roods, had floated down the stream till it became entangled in the roots of trees overthrown but not wholly loosened from the soil, they would upon the raft itself kindle their evening fire and prepare their meal; or, toiling through the mud and forests and canes, they would intrude on the hospitality of some petty chief in the morasses; or would seek out, as at Point Coupee, some French settler, who, amidst the giant forests, had raised a cabin on piles. Thus the pilgrim had ascended the Mississippi, now drinking the turbid but wholesome waters with a reed; now tasting the wild and as yet unripe grapes, which grew by the banks of the river; now hiding from the clouds of mosquitoes beneath a stifling awning; now accompanied in the boat by one army of insects, and, as he passed near a coppice of willows or a canebrake, over-

whelmed by another; till he reached the prairies that had been selected for the plantations of Law, and smoked the calumet with the southernmost tribes of the Dakotas.

1729. Nov. 26. Desiring to plan a settlement near the margin of the Mississippi, he had touched at Natchez in search of counsel, had preached on the first Sunday in advent, had visited the sick, and was returning with the host from the cabin of the dying man, when he, too, was struck to the ground, and beheaded. The Arkansas, hearing of his end, vowed that they would avenge him with a vengeance that should never be appeased. Du Codère, the commander of the post among the Yazoos, who had drawn his sword to defend the missionary, was himself killed by a musket-ball, and scalped because his hair was long and beautiful. The planter De Koli, a Swiss by birth, one of the most worthy members of the colony, had come with his son to take possession of a tract of land on St. Catharine's Creek; and both were shot. The Capuchin missionary among the Natchez, returning from an accidental absence, was shot near his cabin, and a negro slave by his side. Two white men, both mechanics, and two only, were saved. The number of victims was reckoned at two hundred. Women were spared for menial services; children, as captives. When the work of death was finished, pillage and carousals began.

The news spread dismay in New Orleans. Messengers were sent with the tidings to the Illinois, by way of the Red River, and to the Choctaws and Cherokees. Each house was supplied with arms; the city fortified by a ditch. Danger appeared on every side. The negroes, of whom the number was about two thousand, half as many as the French, showed symptoms of revolt. But the brave, enterprising Le Sueur won the Choctaws to his aid, and was followed across the country by seven hundred of their warriors. On the river, the forces of the French were assembled, and placed under the command of Loubois.

1730. Le Sueur was the first to arrive in the vicinity of the Natchez. On the evening of the twenty-eighth of January, they gave themselves up to sleep, after a day

of festivity. On the following morning at daybreak, the Choctaws broke upon their villages, liberated their captives, and, losing but two of their own men, brought off sixty scalps with eighteen prisoners.

On the eighth of February, Loubois arrived, and completed the victory. Of the Natchez, some fled to neighboring tribes for shelter; the remainder of the nation crossed the Mississippi to the vicinity of Natchitoches. They were pursued, and partly by stratagem, partly by force, their place of refuge was taken. Some fled still farther to the west. Of the scattered remnants, some remained with the Chickasaws; others found a shelter among the Muskohgees. The Great Sun and more than four hundred prisoners were shipped to Hispaniola, and sold as slaves. 1730. Feb. 8. 1731. 1732.

Thus perished the nation of the Natchez. Their peculiar language, their worship, their division into nobles and plebeians, their bloody funereal rites, and with these differences their close resemblance in character to other tribes on the valley of the Mississippi, provoke conjecture; but the accounts which we have respecting them are so meagre, and so wanting in scientific exactness, that they do but irritate, without satisfying, curiosity.

The cost of defending Louisiana exceeding the returns from its commerce and from grants of land, the company of the Indies, seeking wealth by conquests or traffic on the coast of Guinea and Hindostan, solicited leave to surrender the Mississippi wilderness; and on the tenth of April, 1732, the jurisdiction and control over its commerce reverted to the crown of France. The company had held possession of Louisiana for fourteen years, which were its only years of comparative prosperity. The early extravagant hopes had not subsided till emigrants had reached its soil; and the emigrants, being once established, took care of themselves. In 1735, the Canadian Bienville reappeared to assume the command for the king.

It was the first object of the crown to establish its supremacy in Louisiana. The Chickasaws were the dreaded enemies of France; it was they who had hurried the Natchez to

bloodshed and destruction; it was they whose cedar barks, shooting boldly into the Mississippi, interrupted the connection between Kaskaskia and New Orleans. They maintained their savage independence, and weakened by dividing the French empire. They made all settlements on the eastern bank of the Mississippi unsafe from Natchez, or even from the vicinity of New Orleans, to Kaskaskia. The English traders from Carolina were moreover welcomed to their villages. Nay, more: resolute in their hatred, they even endeavored to debauch the affections of the Illinois, and to extirpate French dominion from the west. But the tawny envoys from the north descended to New Orleans, and presented the pipe of friendship. "This," said Chicago to Perrier, as he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance, "this is the pipe of peace or war. You have but to speak, and our braves will strike the nations that are your foes."

1736. To secure the eastern valley of the Mississippi, it was necessary to reduce the Chickasaws; and nearly two years were devoted to preparations for the enterprise. At last, in 1736, the whole force of the colony at the south, with D'Artaguette and troops from his command in Illinois, and probably from the Wabash, was directed to meet on the tenth of May in their land. The government of France had itself given directions for the invasion, and watched the issue of the strife.

March. From New Orleans, the fleet of thirty boats and as many pirogues departed for Fort Condé at Mobile, which it did not leave till the fourth of April. In sixteen days, it ascended the river to Tombigbee, a fort which an advanced party had constructed on the west bank of the river, two hundred and fifty miles above the bay. Of the men employed in its construction, some attempted to escape and enjoy the liberty of the wilderness: in the wilds of Alabama, a court-martial sentenced them to death, and they were shot.

The Choctaws, lured by gifts of merchandise and high rewards for every scalp, gathered at Fort Tombigbee to aid Bienville. Of these red auxiliaries, the number was

about twelve hundred; and the whole party slowly sounded its way up the windings of the Tombigbee to the point where Cotton Gin Port now stands, and which was but about twenty-one miles south-east of the great village of the Chickasaws. There the artillery was deposited in a temporary fortification; and the forests and prairies between the head-sources of the Tombigbee and the Tallahatchie were disturbed by the march of the army towards the long house of their enemy. After the manner of Indian warfare, they encamped, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of May, at the distance of a league from the village. In the morning, before day, they advanced to surprise the Chickasaws. In vain. The brave warriors, whom they had come to destroy, were on the watch; their intrenchments were strong; English flags waved over their fort; English traders had assisted them in preparing defence. Twice, during the day, an attempt was made to storm their log citadel; and twice the French were repelled, with a loss of thirty killed, of whom four were officers. The next day saw skirmishes between parties of Choctaws and Chickasaws. On the twenty-ninth, the final retreat began; on the thirty-first of May, Bienville dismissed the Choctaws, having satisfied them with presents, and, throwing his cannon into the Tombigbee, his party ingloriously floated down the river. In the last days of June, he landed on the banks of the bayou St. John.

1736, May 4-25.

May 25.

But where was D'Artaguette, the brave commander in the Illinois, the pride of Canada? And where the gallant Vincennes, whose name is borne by the oldest settlement of Indiana?

The young D'Artaguette had gained glory in the war against the Natchez, braving death under every form. Advanced to the command in the Illinois, he obeyed the summons of Bienville; and, with an army of about fifty French soldiers and more than a thousand red men, accompanied by Father Senat and by the Canadian De Vincennes, the careful hero stole cautiously and unobserved into the country of the Chickasaws, and, on the evening before the appointed day, encamped near the rendezvous

May 9.

among the sources of the Yalabusha. But the expected army from below did not arrive. For ten days he retained his impatient allies in the vicinity of their enemy; at
1736. May 20. last, as they menaced desertion, he consented to an attack. His measures were wisely arranged. One fort was carried, and the Chickasaws driven from the cabins which it protected; at the second, the intrepid youth was equally successful; on attacking the third fort, he received one wound, and then another, and in the moment of victory was disabled. The red men from Illinois, dismayed at the check, fled precipitately. Voisin, a lad of but sixteen years, conducted the retreat of the French, having the enemy at his heels for five-and-twenty leagues, marching forty-five leagues without food, while his men carried with them such of the wounded as could bear the fatigue. The unhappy D'Artaguette was left weltering in his blood, and by his side lay others of his bravest troops. The Jesuit Senat might have fled: he remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded, regardless of danger, mindful only of duty. Vincennes, too, the Canadian, refused to fly, and shared the captivity of his gallant leader. After the Indian custom, their wounds were stanched; they were received into the cabins of the Chickasaws, and feasted bountifully. At last, when Bienville had retreated, the captives were brought into a field; and, while one was spared to relate the deed, the adventurous D'Artaguette, the faithful Senat, true to his mission, Vincennes, whose name will be perpetuated as long as the Wabash shall flow by the dwellings of civilized man, — these, with the rest of the captives, were bound to the stake, and neither valor nor piety could save them from death by slow torments and fire. Such is the early history of the state of Mississippi.

Ill success did but increase the disposition to con-
1737. tinue the war. To advance the colony, a royal edict of 1737 permitted a ten years' freedom of commerce between the West India Islands and Louisiana; while a new expedition against the Chickasaws, receiving aid not from Illinois only, but even from Montreal and
1739. Quebec, and from France, made its rendezvous in

Arkansas, on the St. Francis River. In the last of June, the whole army, composed of twelve hundred whites and twice that number of red and black men, took up its quarters in Fort Assumption, on the bluff of Memphis. But the recruits from France and the Canadians languished in the climate. When in March, 1740, a small detachment proceeded towards the Chickasaw country, they were met by messengers, who supplicated for peace; and Bienville gladly accepted the calumet. The fort at Memphis was razed; the troops from Illinois and from Canada drew back; the fort on the St. Francis was dismantled; and Bienville returned, to conceal his shame under false pretences. Peace, it was said, was established between France and the Chickasaws; but the settlements between lower Louisiana and the Illinois were interrupted. From Kaskaskia to Baton Rouge was a wilderness, in which the jurisdiction of France was but a name. The French were kept out of the country of the Chickasaws by that nation itself; red men protected the English settlements on the west.

The population of Louisiana, more than a half-century after the first attempt at colonization by La Salle, may have been five thousand whites and half that number of blacks. Louis XIV. had fostered it with pride and liberal expenditures; an opulent merchant, famed for his successful enterprise, assumed its direction; the company of the Mississippi, aided by boundless but transient credit, had made it the foundation of their hopes; and, again, Fleury and Louis XV. had sought to advance its fortunes. Priests and friars, dispersed through nations from Biloxi to the Dakotas, propitiated the favor of the savages. Yet all its patrons, though among them it counted kings and ministers of state, had not brought to it a tithe of the prosperity which, within the same period, grew out of the benevolence of William Penn to the peaceful settlers on the Delaware.

CHAPTER XLI.

TWENTY-SIX YEARS OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

AT the accession of George I., the continental colonies counted three hundred and seventy-five thousand
1714. seven hundred and fifty white inhabitants, and fifty-eight thousand eight hundred and fifty black, — in all, four hundred and thirty-four thousand six hundred souls; and were increasing with unexampled rapidity. The value of their imports from England, on an average of the first three years of George I., was a little less than two millions of dollars; of their exports, a little less than seventeen hundred thousand dollars; their domestic commerce equalled that with England; their trade with the British and foreign West Indies, the Azores, and the continent of Europe, exceeded both. They had founded institutions like those at home; and the house of Hanover was to them the symbol and the guarantee of liberty.

The menacing mandates of the last reign had but increased the ill-humor of New York. The first assembly elected under the new dynasty accepted a compromise. The government was provided with a revenue for a period of five years; in return, the governor, disregarding the prerogative and his instructions, assented to a general act of naturalization, as well as to imposts on negroes and on British goods; and came to an agreement with them on the salaries of the officers of the crown.

The English lawyers of that day had no doubt of the power of parliament to tax America. The first ministry of George I. inquired into the expense of the cruisers which defended American commerce, being disposed to transfer

the burden of their support to America. "The plantation duties," as they were called, fruits of the tax imposed in 1672 on the intercolonial trade, and which during the war had yielded an annual average of a thousand pounds, having been appropriated as a fund for borrowing, were ordered to be paid into the exchequer; while the income from the post-office was applied "towards the support of the dignity of the crown."

The king could urge the governors to prevent "illegal trade with the French settlements;" but when it was proposed to check "the mischief" of the proprietary governments, "their charters," said the attorney-general, Sir Edward Northey, in strict conformity to the doctrines of the Revolution of 1688, "their charters cannot be regulated but by an act of the supreme legislature." Such regulation was the settled policy of the board of trade; men high in office insisted that colonial charters were not irrevocable compacts, but affairs of state, subject to the will of parliament; and, early in the session of 1715, a bill for their change was proposed in the house of commons. The agent of Massachusetts remonstrated; but, in that colony, youthful republicanism was already eager to try the strength of its wing; and despising the guileless imbecility of Shute, its royal governor, it counteracted the commercial monopoly of England, and encroached steadily on the prerogative. In 1716, against the royal intention, a new emission of paper bills, to be loaned through the counties, depreciated the currency. The pine-trees in the forests of Maine were claimed to belong to the colony, under the purchase from Gorges, which was older than the new charter; and when in November, 1717, the decisive statutes of Queen Anne were cited to the representatives of Massachusetts, "acts of parliament," it was promptly answered in public debates, "are of no force with us, as we have a charter." English lawyers reasoned differently; and the board of trade advised "a scire facias to be brought against the Massachusetts patent." In May, 1718, the same province imposed a duty on English manufactures, and, as its own citizens built six thousand tons of shipping

1714 to 1718.

1718.

annually, favored their industry by a small discriminating duty. "In a little time," it was said of them, with alarm, "they will be able to live without Great Britain; and their ability, joined to their inclination, will be of very ill consequence." The impost on English goods, though of but one per cent, was negatived by the king, with the warning "that the passage of such acts endangers the charter."

The British nation took no part in the strifes between the governors and the colonies; but they were jealously alive to the interests of their own commerce and manufactures. That the British creditor might be secure, lands in the plantations were, by act of parliament, made liable for debts. Every branch of consumption was, as far as practicable, secured to English manufacturers; every form of competition in industry, in the heart of the plantations, was discouraged or forbidden. In the land of furs, it was found that hats were well made: the London company of hatters remonstrated; and their craft was protected by an act forbidding hats to be transported from one plantation to another. The proprietors of English iron works were
1719. jealous of American industry. From Shute, in 1719, news came that, in some parts of Massachusetts, "the inhabitants worked up their wool and flax, and made a coarse sort for their own use; that they manufactured great part of their leather; that there were also hatters in the maritime towns; and that six furnaces and nineteen forges were set up for making iron." These six furnaces and nineteen forges were a terror to England, and their spectres haunted the public imagination for a quarter of a century. The house of commons readily resolved that "the erecting manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence;" and, under pretence of encouraging the importation of American lumber, they passed a bill having the clause, "that none in the plantations should manufacture iron wares of any kind out of any sows, pigs, or bars whatsoever." The house of lords added, "that no forge, going by water, or other works should be erected in any of the said plantations, for the making, working, or converting

of any sows, pigs, or cast-iron into bar or rod iron." The opposition of the northern colonies defeated the bill; England would not yet forbid the colonists to manufacture a bolt or a nail; but the purpose was never abandoned. "Some talk of an act of parliament," observed the mildly conservative Logan, in 1728, "to prohibit our making bar iron, even for our own use. Scarce any thing could more effectually alienate the minds of the people in these parts, and shake their dependence upon Britain."

To the affairs of colonial administration the parliament was more indifferent. In 1719, the proprietary government of Carolina was overthrown by the rising of the province; and though the board of trade was warned that, "if the much greater part of the most substantial people had their choice, they would not choose King George's government;" though Rhet, the receiver of the revenues, wrote from Charleston, that, "if the recent revolt of the people is not cropped in the bud, they will set up for themselves against his majesty," — the insurrection was adopted by the crown; and Carolina, accepting the king as an ally, received a governor of royal appointment.

The love of popular power was active in every colony. In Pennsylvania, the assembly, which gave the governor his pay, kept him on his good behavior; they authorized aliens to purchase lands, and "to trade and transport merchandise." Twice in the administration of Sir William Keith, they framed their declaration of privileges, which was twice rejected in England; they regulated appeals to the privy council, imposed discriminating taxes on the vessels of British merchants, and set a prohibitory duty on the introduction of convicts. In Virginia, Drysdale, who was Spotswood's successor, resolved never to use the veto. In 1722, he accepted an act, imposing a considerable duty on the importation of liquors and slaves; but the interest of the African company procured its repeal in England. The men of New Jersey were described as "mostly from New England, uneasy in their nature, fond of delusions, enemies to the public peace." "Whoever commands," wrote Hunter, in November, 1719, "can do little else than threaten,

unless he has aid from without." Fifteen months later, William Burnet, Hunter's successor in the government of New York and New Jersey, found "the latter province full of restless men; too many would be glad to have no officers in the colony, nor even a ruler, unless of their own appointment." In New York, the first years of Burnet's administration were embittered by the effort to secure to Horatio Walpole, brother of Sir Robert Walpole, a sinecure perquisite, as auditor-general, of five per cent of the colonial revenue. In most of the colonies, paper money was multiplied so lavishly that, in 1720, an instruction, afterwards modified, but never abrogated, was issued to every governor in America, to consent to no act for emitting bills of credit, except for the support of government, without a suspending clause till the king's pleasure should be known.

In Massachusetts, Shute, the governor, against his intentions fell into strife with the province. To prevent the publication of an answer by the house to one of his speeches, he claimed under his instructions power over the press, with no other result than that from that time the press in Massachusetts became free. The legislature would never vote him a fixed salary, but only such a grant as his good offices might seem to them to merit. The governor negatived the choice to the council of Elisha Cooke, the younger, heir to his father's virtues, like him the firm friend of New England's liberties; Cooke was promptly chosen a representative of Boston, and in 1720 was elected speaker of the house. The governor disapproved the appointment; the house treated his disapproval as a nullity. The governor dissolved the assembly; and, in July, the new representatives punished him by reducing his half-year's gratuity from six hundred to five hundred pounds in a depreciating currency. In the following November, they virtually assumed the prerogative of declaring war against the eastern Indians, appointed "one or more meet persons" to have an inspection into forts and garrisons and the condition of the forces, and again
1721. curtailed the governor's salary. In March, 1721, from the mere pleasure of exercising power, they



took to themselves the appointment of the annual fast; in May, they would not ask the governor's assent to their choice of speaker, and refused to make any grants of money for public salaries, until the governor should accept their acts, resolves, and elections. "They are more fit for the affairs of farming," wrote Shute, "than for the duty of legislators; they show no regard to the royal prerogative or instructions." The ministry "would not be persuaded but that New England wanted to be independent of the crown;" and Martin Bladen, who was the successor of Addison, and exercised great influence at the board of trade for nineteen years, often expressed his conviction that "the colonies desired to set up for themselves." Horatio Walpole burned with anger at Massachusetts, because, like New York, it rejected his sinecure demands.

At that time, Sir Robert Walpole had attained the undisputed direction of English affairs. Of the American colonies he knew little; but they profited by the character of a statesman who shunned measures that might provoke an insurrection, and rejected every proposition for revenue that required the sabre and bayonet for its collection. The legislation of 1721, the ripened results of reflection, show the character of his mind and his counsels as a statesman. It was his purpose to make England the home of the industrial arts, with the world for its market. Export duties on all goods of British produce were abolished; thus gaining for mankind some advance towards freedom of intercourse. The British colonial monopoly was confirmed. In the seventh year of George I., the importation of East Indian goods into the colonies was prohibited, except from Great Britain; and thus the colonists virtually paid on them the duties retained on their exportation. Furs from the plantations were now enumerated; so, too, ore from the abundant copper mines of America. The reservation of the pine-trees of the north for the British navy was renewed; and the jurisdiction of the court of vice-admiralty extended to offenders against the act. The bounties on hemp and naval stores were renewed, and wood and lumber from the colonies were made free.

On reform in the administration of the colonies, the board of trade, after long and anxious inquiry, in
1721. Sept. September, 1721, made an elaborate representation. With sentiments of exultation, they entered on the statistics of colonial commerce; they eagerly adopted every view which magnified its importance. They found that it gave in favor of Great Britain a yearly balance of two hundred thousand pounds; that it directly employed, on an annual average, seventy-five thousand five hundred and eighty-seven tons, or one sixth of the whole national tonnage; and they added that, on a fair estimate of indirect advantages, the colonies employed one fourth, or perhaps even one third, of the whole navigation of Great Britain. These views were received as the results of exact inquiries, and formed the motive to the policy of succeeding years. They seemed to justify the boast of a colonial agent, "that London had risen out of the plantations, and not out of England."

Having thus directed the royal attention to the state of the plantations and the importance of their trade to the kingdom, the board gave warning against French encroachments. They expressed their regret that, in all Nova Scotia, there were but two English families besides the garrison of Annapolis; they complained that near three thousand French inhabitants remained in that colony, without taking the oath of allegiance; they reminded the king that "the French now, in time of profound peace and friendship between the two nations, pretended that only the peninsula of Acadia was yielded to the crown of Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht," and they advised to send four regiments to Nova Scotia. For the west, they proposed to occupy all the passes of the Alleghanies, and to build and garrison many forts, especially at Niagara, on Lake Erie, and on the river which we call Cumberland.

With the Indians they enforced the necessity of extending commercial and friendly relations; yet deplored that "the presents to the chiefs, particularly to those of the Five Nations, have always hitherto been a charge upon the civil list, which is generally overburdened."

The liberties of the colonies weighed less than the perquisites of a favorite. Their refusal of emoluments to Horatio Walpole, as auditor-general, was censured, as a crime against royal authority and a step towards independence.

How to get an American revenue at the royal disposition remained a problem. Addison, when secretary of state, had asked "an account of the royal revenue in the colonies." In a report made in February, 1719, at the command of the board of trade, Sir William Keith of Pennsylvania, in concert with the more discreet Logan, explained the rapid progress of the French, proposed a system of frontier defence, and enforced the "necessity that some method be projected whereby each colony shall be obliged to bear its proportionable share of expense." To accomplish this end, the board of trade now formally brought forward a new system of colonial administration by a concentration of power over the colonies alike in England and in America. By an order in council, of October, 1714, the privy council, or any three or more of them, were appointed "a committee for hearing of appeals from the plantations, and other matters that shall be referred to them." So that the board of trade, deprived of its influence and of its ambition, became reduced "to a commission of mere reference and report." After seven years' experience of the disregard of their instructions which they had no means to enforce, they now urged that the first commissioner of their board, like the first lord of the treasury and of the admiralty, should have immediate access to the sovereign. As "the most effectual way" of ruling in America, they proposed to consolidate all the continental provinces under the government of one lord lieutenant or captain-general, who should have a fixed salary independent of the pleasure of the inhabitants, and should be constantly attended by two members of each provincial assembly; one of the two to be elected every year. This general council might "not meddle with or alter the manner of government in any province," but should have power to allot to each one its quota of men and money, which the several assemblies would then raise by laws.

The charter governments had been repeatedly in imminent peril. It was said of them that they had neglected the defence of the country; had exercised power arbitrarily; had disregarded the acts of trade; had made laws repugnant to English legislation; and by fostering the numbers and wealth of their inhabitants were creating formidable antagonists to English industry. Moreover, "too great an inclination was shown by them to be independent of their mother kingdom." The board of trade therefore advised "that they all should be reassumed to the crown, as one of those essential points without which the colonies could never be put upon a right footing;" and that "they should next be compelled by proper laws to follow the commands sent them. It hath ever," they added, "been the wisdom not only of Great Britain, but likewise of all other states, to secure by all possible means the entire, absolute, and immediate dependency of their colonies." And they pressed for the instant adoption of their scheme, which, like that of 1696, had some features of a military dictatorship. It seemed "past all doubt that a bill would be brought into the house of commons at their next session to disfranchise the charter governments."

At this moment of danger, Jeremiah Dummer, a native of Boston, a graduate of Harvard College, now agent of Massachusetts, came forward in behalf of the New England charters, menaced alike by an act of parliament and by a vast exertion of the prerogative. In their "Defence," of which Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl of Granville, accepted the dedication, he argued that the three New England colonies held their charters by compact, having obtained them as a consideration for the labor of those who redeemed the wilderness and annexed it to the English dominions; that the charters did but establish the political question between the colonies and Great Britain; that the crown, having itself no right in the soil, neither did nor could grant it; that the Americans held their lands by purchases from the natives and their own industry and daring; that, if the planters had foreseen that their privileges would be such transitory things, they never would have engaged



in their costly and hazardous enterprise; that, but for them, France would have multiplied its settlements till she had reigned sole mistress of North America; that, far from neglecting their defence, the glorious deeds of their soldiers, if they must not shine in British annals, would consecrate their memory in their own country, and there, at least, transmit their fame to the latest posterity; that the charters themselves contained the strongest barriers against arbitrary rule, in the annual election of magistrates; that violations of the acts of navigation, which equally occurred in every British seaport, were the frauds of individuals, not the fault of the community; that, in the existing state of things, all the officers of the revenue were appointed by the crown, and all breaches of the acts of trade cognizable only in the court of admiralty; that colonial laws, repugnant to those of England, far from effecting a forfeiture of the charters, were of themselves, by act of parliament, illegal, null, and void; that the crown had no interest to resume the charters, since it could derive no benefit but from the trade of the colonies, and the nursery of trade is a free government, where the laws are sacred; that justice absolutely forbade a bill of attainder against the liberties of states; that it would be a severity without a precedent, if a people should in one day, unsummoned and unheard, be deprived of all the valuable privileges which they and their fathers had enjoyed for near a hundred years. And as the plan of the board of trade was recommended by the fear that the colonies would, "in the course of some years, throw off their dependence and declare themselves a free state," as men in office "professed their belief of the feasibleness of it, and the probability of its some time coming to pass," he set forth that the colonies would not be able to succeed in the undertaking, "unless they could first strengthen themselves by a confederacy of all the parts;" and that their independence would be hastened, if "all the governments on the continent be formed into one, by being brought under one viceroy and into one assembly."

Such were the arguments urged by Dummer, of New

England, who, "in the scarcity of friends to those governments," gained a tongue to assert the liberties of his country. His writings were the fruit of loyal colonial liberty, and they contain the seed of American independence. Yet it was not then perceived that, though the charters should be burnt, freedom itself would rise from their ashes in forms more beautiful than before. The bill for abrogating them was dropped. The good sense of the Earl of Stair, who was selected to be the viceroy of America, having declined the station, the scheme of the board of
1722. trade was allowed to slumber. In 1722, the liberal Trenchard, whose words were very widely read and sunk deeply into the American mind, foresaw that "the colonies when they grew stronger might attempt to wean themselves," and for that very reason counselled moderation and forbearance. "It is not to be hoped," thus he reasoned publicly and wisely, "that any nation will be subject to another any longer than it finds its own account in it and cannot help itself. Our northern colonies must constantly increase in people, wealth, and power. They have doubled their inhabitants since the revolution, and in less than a century must become powerful states; and the more powerful they grow, still the more people will flock thither. And there are so many exigencies in all states, so many foreign wars and domestic disturbances, that these colonies can never want opportunities, if they watch for them, to do what they shall find it their interest to do; and, therefore, we ought to take all the precaution in our power that it shall never be their interest to act against that of their native country."

1723. The words of Trenchard were still fresh in the public ear, when suddenly the governor of Massachusetts appeared in England, having fled secretly and abruptly from his government. He came to complain to the king of the representatives who had trampled on the prerogative, had adjourned against his will, had assembled again at their own appointed time, and had gained to themselves a control over the movements of colonial troops and the appointment of their commanders. Especially he complained of



"Boston, a town of eighteen thousand inhabitants." Its liberties were described as the want "of proper police;" its ardent love of freedom, as "a levelling spirit;" the conduct of its citizens as an aptitude "to be mutinous;" its influence, as swaying the country representatives "to make continual encroachments on the few prerogatives left to the crown." "The cry of the city of London was exceedingly against" the people of Massachusetts; it was feared that the spirit of 1641 still lived beyond the Atlantic; and even Neal, the historian and friend of New England, censured the patriot Elisha Cooke, as endangering the charter. The board of trade saw high treason in the interference of the assembly with the militia; they reported to the lords of council that "the inhabitants were daily endeavoring to wrest the small remains of power out of the hands of the crown, and to become independent of the mother kingdom." To make the danger apparent, they recounted the populousness of the province, the strength of its militia, the number of its mariners; they apprised the privy council of the importance of restraining "so powerful a colony within due bounds of obedience to the crown;" and, as the only remedy, they demanded, without loss of time, "the effectual interposition of the British legislature."

At a moment when the administration of the colonies was fraught with so many difficulties, Walpole conferred the management of them with the seals of the southern department of state on the young Duke of Newcastle, who owed his consequence to his wealth and the number of members of parliament dependent on him for their return. As a politician, he was like the stream that cuts its channel through the line of the least resistance. Importuned to distribute places in America, he conferred office without a scruple on men too vile to be employed at home, and then left them very much to look out for themselves. His method of transacting business was exactly suited to smother the violent dispositions of the board of trade.

On occasion of a vehement strife in Jamaica, the crown lawyers were asked if the king or his privy council had not a right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants of Jamaica;

1724. May. and in May, 1724, Sir Philip Yorke, afterwards Lord Hardwicke, and Sir Clement Wearg made the reply which, at a later day, impressed itself deeply on the mind of Lord Mansfield. "If Jamaica is to be considered as a colony of English subjects, they cannot be taxed but by the parliament of Great Britain, or some representative body of the people of the island." On the question that had been raised in Massachusetts, the same great lawyers gave a calm report, deciding every question against the colony, yet not encouraging harsh measures of redress. The Duke of Newcastle evaded the true issue. Leaving the despised instructions respecting revenue to remain unaltered, he ventured, on the power of the assembly to choose its speaker and to adjourn itself, to make such explanations of the charter of Massachusetts as the assembly were willing to accept; the arrears of salary due from that refractory people to the fugitive Shute he settled by a pension out of the revenue of Barbados, which thus found out how unwise it had been in granting the crown a permanent revenue.

1726. In May, 1726, the New York assembly, which had been continued more than eleven years, came together in ill-humor. Burnet had sedulously endeavored to obtain payment of Horatio Walpole's sinecure; to prevent its payment in future, the assembly, in their periodical grant settled what offices were necessary, and limited their emoluments. Morris, whose annual grant as chief justice was reduced, questioned the conduct of the assembly as an invasion of the prerogative; to that body, of which he was himself a member, he denied all "innate power," deducing their privilege of legislation from the king's good-will alone. And he appealed to the ministry against the "example, mischievous to the rest of the plantations, and of tendency to shake off dependence on the British government."

Burnet was distinguished for his fidelity to his employers; but, on the accession of George II., his merit did not prevent his transfer to the less desirable government of Massachusetts.

1728. To the government of New York, at the very time when the ministry were warned that "the American

assemblies aimed at nothing less than being independent of Great Britain as fast as they can," Newcastle sent the ignorant and intemperate John Montgomery. Weak and sluggish, yet kindly and humane, the pauper chief magistrate had no object in America but money; and being the most bashful man in the colony, and diffident of himself, he escaped strife in New York and New Jersey by never resisting their assemblies.

While Burnet with a heavy heart repaired to Massachusetts, Sir William Keith, formerly surveyor of the customs for the southern department, afterwards governor of Pennsylvania for nine years, then a fiery patriot, boisterous for liberty and property, by which he meant more paper money, was used as the organ in London for suggesting a new plan of colonial administration. None of the plantations, he held, could "claim an absolute legislative power within themselves, none could evade the true force of any act of parliament affecting them." To give unity and vigor to the colonial government, he repeated the advice of the board of trade to make its first lord a secretary of state; and, as a measure for a revenue, submitted to the king the inquiry, "whether the duties of stamps upon parchment and paper in England may not, with good reason, be extended by act of parliament to all the American plantations." The suggestion, which probably was not original with Keith, met at the time with no favor from the commissioners of trade. Meanwhile, Burnet, who honestly and single-handed obeyed his instructions, demanded of the Massachusetts legislature a stated annual salary. The legislature refused to modify the constitution by relinquishing any part of their power over the annual appropriations; and, by forbidding their adjournment, the governor sought to weary them into an assent. The rustic patriots scorned "to betray the great trust reposed in them by their principals." Burnet hinted that the parliament of England might be invoked as arbiter of the strife, and the charter of Massachusetts be dissolved by its act. The representatives at once appealed to their constituents, transmitting a statement of the controversy to the several towns in the colony. Boston, in

1728. Nov.

town-meeting, with Jonathan Belcher as moderator, unanimously applauded the refusal to fix a salary. To escape the influence of that town, the general court was adjourned to Salem. In vain did Burnet strive to force the legislature into compliance, by arbitrarily subjecting them to inconvenience. They sent Belcher as their patriot envoy to plead their cause in England. At the same time, Burnet again and again begged for the interposition of parliament, to "rebuke the daring encroachments on the prerogative," to "resent the conduct of the insufferably arrogant;" and, in March, 1729, he declared to Newcastle "that some of the British forces would be necessary to keep the people of his province within the bounds of their duty." To make "the people respect the government," it was proposed "to send an independent company to take possession of the fort in the harbor of Boston." Cosby, of New York, wrote to Newcastle that "the Boston people were spirited up by Pulteney and that faction at home."

1728. Oct. 24.

1729.

Massachusetts defended itself openly without disguise. Its able counsel, Fazakeley and Sayer, argued that it was right for the governor and colonial officers to depend for their support on the good-will of the provincial legislature. But in May, 1729, the privy council, in the presence of Queen Charlotte, agreed that such dependence weakened the royal authority, "by bringing the whole legislative power into the hands of the people;" and they concurred with the board of trade in advising the king "to lay the whole matter before the parliament of Great Britain."

May 22.

The board of trade reproved the conduct of the house; the agents of Massachusetts advised concession, lest parliament should interfere; but the representatives answered: "It is better that the liberties of the people should be taken from them than given up by themselves." In a public letter to Burnet, Newcastle assumed an air of firmness, which deceived no one; and, having done all he could to intimidate, in a private letter of June, 1729, the secretary permitted him, "as if of his own motion," to demand only



"an allowance during his own government," leaving victory to the strong will of Massachusetts.

The assembly received the opinion of the privy council with "the utmost insensibility." "Their principles of independence," wrote Burnet, in July, "are too deeply rooted to be managed by any thing but the legislature of Great Britain." And, exhausted by the conflict and heart-broken by poverty, he died suddenly of an accidental injury in the following September.

The field was now open for Newcastle's favorite policy. The colonial agent, the sly, shrewd Belcher, whose piety was of the most perfect pattern of observance, whose quiet cunning could smooth every obstacle to his interest, returned from his embassy with a commission to govern Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His patron, Lord Townshend, the other secretary of state, whose grandson was within twenty years to engage in the same questions, asked if Belcher could influence the people to comply with the instructions. The ministry were already assured from Boston that there was "not the least prospect" of such a result. And the instructions, which Newcastle had neither the vigor to enforce nor the good sense to annul, continued to expose the royal authority to contempt.

The ministry wished that "extremity might be avoided." The board of trade were already familiar with the opinion that Massachusetts "should be placed under a different form of government;" that its "people were as ripe for rebellion now as their ancestors had been in 1641;" that "every concession was attributed to fear;" yet in August, 1731, Newcastle permitted the governor to accept, in lieu of a standing salary, arbitrary grants from the legislature.

The victory revived a new struggle. Instead of leaving money to be issued on the warrant of the governor and council, the house demanded the right to dispose of all money; and, to effect their purpose, withheld all support for a period of nineteen months. The attention of the ministry was arrested. The crown lawyers, Sir Philip Yorke and Sir Dudley Ryder, saw in the conduct of the assembly a "design to assume the executive power of gov-

ernment, and to throw off their dependence on Britain." The people of Massachusetts, confident that their conduct "had endeared them to all lovers and asserters of liberty," were so infatuated with reliance on the patriot party in the house of commons, that in May, 1733, their agents entreated that body to "become intercessors with his majesty to withdraw the royal orders relating to the issuing and disposing of the public moneys, and also those restraining the emission of bills of credit, as contrary to their charter, and tending in their nature to distress, if not ruin them." The ministry seized the advantage so rashly offered. The house of commons might set its own power above the prerogative, but would never make an alliance with a restless colony against the king. After debate, the petition was dismissed, as "frivolous and groundless, a high insult upon his majesty's government, and tending to shake off the dependency of the colony upon the kingdom, to which by law and right they ought to be subject." The board of trade, proceeding to frame a plan of taxation by parliament, inquired "what duties might be laid in New England with the least burden to the people." Yet the ministry of that day, like the ministry of Queen Anne, avoided a decision; and, in 1735, Belcher was allowed to accept an annual vote of a stipend, though the board still thought it "better policy for the king to establish a standing salary out of the revenue of the colonies." But the spirit of the people was not changed; we know from Charles Wesley, who was in Boston in 1736, that the general language was: "We must shake off the yoke; we never shall be a free people till we shake off the English yoke." Meantime, Belcher confessed himself disposed to let the assembly "do the king's business in their own way, if they would do it in a generous manner;" with no instruction as to the fashion, but that given by the Duchess of Kendall to the goldsmith when the late king promised her a set of gold plate: "Make them thick and get them done out of hand."

1733. May.

In New York, the council "perceived the force of popularity daily increasing;" "the representatives, since Mont-

gomery's arrival, boldly claimed the privilege of supreme authority." On granting the support for five years, they settled exactly the name and pay of each officer; to punish Morris, the chief justice, for his royalism, they reduced his salary, thus educating his son, Robert Hunter Morris, to advocate the taxation of America by parliament. "The assembly of New York," wrote Bradley, the attorney-general, in November, 1729, "has already taken most of the previous open steps that a dependent province can take to render themselves independent, while the neighboring colonies show a strong inclination to seize the earliest opportunity of setting up for themselves." 1729. Nov.

From New Jersey, in 1732, Morris, the president of its council, wrote home that "the rendering all officers entirely dependent on the people is the general inclination of the plantations, and is nowhere pursued with more steadiness and less decency than in New Jersey." Montgomery "gave way to the representatives in all things."

In Carolina, of which parliament, in 1729, had ratified the royal purchase, the same passion increased, from the nature of the relation of the landholders to the crown. The grant of lands had been for quit-rents; the king became the owner of the largest part of Carolina, and its inhabitants were yeomen. In 1724, Newcastle might have seen the assurances to the board of trade from Nicholson, the royal governor, that "the spirit of commonwealth maxims increases here daily." In December, 1725, the royal councillors complained to him earnestly that they were "reduced to the fatal dilemma of either passing an improper tax-bill, or of leaving no support to the government;" that "the power of the council to amend" was denied. In 1728, they reminded him that the prerogative was lessened by nothing so much as by "the governor's evermore giving way to assemblies for the temporary gifts." "The royal authority was openly trampled upon." In December, 1729, the president of South Carolina still reminded the duke that "experience had shown how vain is the attempt to employ the inhabitants to reduce themselves; and, there being no standing force or treas- 1728.

ury to apply to upon the most emergent occasions, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to support any government, when either the one or the other is wholly want-
1729. Dec. ing." A year later, the same minister was assured by Sir Alexander Cumming that the people "had raised up such a spirit of mutiny and rebellion as if they were independent of his majesty." The royal gov-
1731. ernment had hardly been instituted and an assembly convened, before it was found that the governor could not procure a fixed salary; and, from the English press, Sir Robert Walpole was informed that "it would be difficult to get a fair rent-roll by any means in that country." But the colonial legislature was ready to "affirm defective titles, and remit arrears of quit-rents," by a bill, of which Yorke and Talbot advised the rejection as an encroachment on the prerogative.

In North Carolina, things stood even worse for royalty. Here, too, the people were all yeomen; but who could estimate quit-rents, or enforce their collection? On the transfer of its domain from proprietaries to the king, the temporary governor was making haste, by secret grants, to squander millions of acres without bargain for quit-rent or price, even issuing blank patents. To organize this government, where so much prudence was required, Newcastle sent a man who was passionate, corrupt, and ignorant, and distinguished among the intemperate. In February, 1731, he wrote to his patron that "the people of North Carolina were neither to be cajoled nor outwitted; whenever a governor attempts to effect any thing by these means, he will lose his labor and show his ignorance." The first assembly which he convened directed its attention to grievances; the country languished under the exactions of oppressive fees; and all his power was exerted to deny to the assembly the right of instituting inquiry or expressing complaint. On this occasion, the representatives were altogether and undeniably in the right. Yet the executive proceeded so far in resistance and in language of obloquy and reproof that the first royal legislature separated without granting a revenue or enacting a law.

The quit-rents, even in New York, were imperfectly collected; in North Carolina, the assembly, having framed the rent-roll in January, 1735, would not 1735. permit the council to amend it. The governor, who had no other resource for his salary, attempted to force the payments by instituting a court of exchequer. At a session in March, 1737, the assembly imprisoned the king's officers for distraining for rent; and, in its turn, was dissolved, leaving North Carolina without a revenue, its officers without pay.

The plan for colonizing Georgia met with opposition, because "the emigrants," it was said, "will assume independence the moment they feel their strength." The objection was overruled; and Oglethorpe, who founded the settlement, lived to behold it a free commonwealth.

The indifference of the British ministry to the political strifes in the colonies was the result of a system. To have impaired the liberties of America would have aroused the formidable opposition of the English dissenters; Connecticut, the cancelling of whose charter had been peevishly solicited by one of its own sons, escaped every danger. Its freeholders loved to divide their do- 1728. mains among their children. In regard to intestate estates, their law was annulled in England; and the English law, favoring the eldest born, was declared to be in force among them. Republican equality seemed endangered; but in the conflict, protracted through more than twenty years, the American system of legislation triumphed; and the king receded from the vain project of enforcing English rules of inheritance on the husbandmen of New England.

But there was no hope of forbearance when the 1731. English industrial world expressed their dread of American manufactures. By restricting them, the board of trade, the ministry, the united voice of Great Britain, proposed to guarantee dependence. No sentiment addressed itself more directly to British interests, or won more universal acceptance. Fashion adopted it; Queen Caroline and the Prince of Wales were its patrons; and Joshua Gee,

who had already for many years been consulted by the board of trade, and who is said to have advised an American stamp act by parliament, imbodied the ancient maxims in a work which was placed in the hands of the min-
1729. istry and the royal family. He, too, noticed the vast increase of the colonies; how much they were the resort of strangers; and "as people had been filled with fears that the colonies, if encouraged to raise rough materials, would set up for themselves," he pointed out the prohibition of colonial manufactures as the security of England. He would encourage the raising of silks, but prohibit the use of any throwster's mill, or doubling and twisting silk with any machine whatever; the colonists might raise hemp and flax, and spin and weave them in their own families, but not a loom might be set up beyond the Atlantic to weave a yard of cloth for the market. Of iron, he proposed that "they shall for time to come never erect the manufacturing of any under the size of a two-shilling nail, horse-shoe nails excepted; that all slitting-mills and engines for drawing wire or weaving stockings be put down;" "and that every smith who keeps a common forge or shop shall register his name, the name of every servant which he shall employ, renew his license once every year, and pay for the liberty of working at such trade; that all negroes shall be prohibited from weaving either linen or woollen, or spinning or combing of wool, or working at any manufacture of iron further than making it into pig or bar iron; that they be also prohibited from manufacturing of hats, stockings, or leather of any kind." Others proposed to Sir Robert Walpole that "an exact account be taken of all looms now erected on the plantations, that for the future no other or more looms be tolerated." These views prevailed at court, in the board of trade, and throughout England. Men, who heard with indifference of the bickerings of colonial governors with the legislatures, turned pale at the mention of a provincial forge, and demanded the destruction of all "the iron works in the plantations."

To manufacture like Englishmen was esteemed a sort of forgery, punishable like an imitation of the British coin.

The mercantile system was the superstition of that age. The people worshipped it; statesmen were overawed by it; philosophers dared not question it. England believed itself free from bigotry; and its mind had bowed to a new superstition. Now was quickened the system of an inquisition by authority into American industry, of which every governor was enjoined to report the condition. Spain had never watched more jealously the growth of free opinion, than British statesmanship the development of colonial enterprise. Ireland, which had been excluded from the American trade as carefully as France or Portugal, could still import directly none but the unenumerated commodities, and of these hops were excepted; for the growers of hops in England reserved the market of the sister kingdom exclusively to themselves. Bounties were renewed to naval stores, but naval stores were enumerated, so that they could be carried to Great Britain only. Debts due in the plantations to Englishmen might be proved before an English 1733.
magistrate; and, overthrowing the laws of Virginia, the parliament made lands in the plantations liable for debts. That America, the home of beavers, might not manufacture its own hats, it was enacted that none should be hatters, nor employed as journeymen, who had not served an apprenticeship of seven years; that no hatter should employ more than two apprentices; that no negro should serve at the work; that no American hat should be sent from one plantation to another, nor be loaded upon any horse, cart, or carriage for conveying from one plantation to another. Similar rules were proposed for American iron; but the English ironmongers asked for a total prohibition of forges; and the English gentry, of furnaces for preparing the rough material, because the fires in America diminished the value of British woodlands. In the jar of interested demands, the subject was postponed.

The restrictive system, adopted by England in superficial light-heartedness, never checked a manufacture in the colonies; they were excluded from rivalry by their condition, and not by British statutes. Nor was foreign trade suppressed. The chief fruit of the selfish metropolitan legisla-

tion was discontent and apprehension in the colonies. A measure, adopted in 1733, brought America nearer to independence. England favored the islands more than the continent; for the West Indians were as the bees which bring all their honey home to the hive; and, moreover, dwelling in England, they held estates there, which gave them weight in parliament. For many years, even from the reign of William of Orange, they had sought to prohibit, as "pernicious," all trade between the northern colonies and the French and Spanish and Dutch West India Islands.

After the peace of Utrecht, the English continental colonies grew accustomed to a humble commerce with the islands of the French and Dutch, purchasing of them sugar, rum, and molasses, in return for provisions, horses, and lumber. The British sugar colonies, always eager for themselves to engage in contraband trade with the Spanish provinces, demanded of parliament a prohibition of all intercourse between the northern colonies and any tropical islands but the British.

In the formation of the colonial system, each European nation valued most the colonies of which the products least interfered with its own. Jealous of the industry of New England, England saw with delight the increase of its tropical plantations. It was willing, therefore, to check the north and to favor the south. Hence permission was given to the planters of Carolina, and afterwards of Georgia, to ship their rice directly to any port in Europe south of Cape Finisterre. Hence, when in November, 1724, the ship-carpenters of the river Thames complained "that their trade was hurt, and that their workmen emigrated, because so many vessels were built in New England," the board of trade supported their complaints; and when a few years later, in imitation of the French policy, the act of navigation was modified and liberty granted for carrying sugar from the British sugar plantations directly to foreign markets, ships built and ships owned in the American plantations were excluded from the privilege. Hence, also, the tropical products, especially the products of the cane, formed the central point of colonial policy. To monopolize the culture of sugar and

to engross the traffic in slaves became the cardinal hope of English commercial ambition.

The great patron of the islands against "the continent" was the irritated auditor-general for the plantations, Horatio Walpole; and the house of commons, thinking to adopt a compromise, still permitted the northern colonies to find a market for their fish, lumber, provisions, horses, and other produce in the foreign islands, but, in 1733, re- 1733. solved to impose on the return cargo a discriminating duty. "Such impositions," said Rhode Island, in its petition to the house of commons, "would be highly prejudicial to our charter." "The petition," objected Sir William Yonge, "looks mighty like aiming at independence and disclaiming the authority of this house, as if this house had not a power to tax them." "I hope," said another, "they have no charter which debars this house from taxing them, as well as any other subjects;" while a third held that, "as the colonies are all a part of the people of Great Britain, they are generally represented in this house as well as the rest of the people are." On the other hand, Sir John Barnard urged the reception of the petition, since its presentation "was a direct acknowledgment of the authority of the house;" and Pulteney, Sir William Windham, and their associates, argued that the petition should at least be read. But the commons would receive none against a money bill.

New York esteemed the imposition of the proposed duties worse than the prohibition; its merchants appealed to the equity of the house of lords, on account of "the inconvenience to trade;" and Partridge, the agent of the New York merchants, having enclosed their petition to Secretary Newcastle, added: "Besides the injury, the bill will be of itself almost tantamount to a prohibition; it is divesting them of their rights as the king's natural born subjects and Englishmen, in levying subsidies on them against their consent, when they are annexed to no county in Britain, have no representative in parliament, nor are any part of the legislature of this kingdom. It will be drawn into a precedent hereafter."

Petitions, arguments, and appeals were disregarded; and,

after two years' discussion, an act of parliament, recognising the prosperity of "the sugar colonies in America as of the greatest consequence to the trade of England," "gave and granted" a duty of ninepence on every gallon of rum, sixpence on every gallon of molasses, and five shillings on every hundred weight of sugar imported from foreign colonies into any of the British plantations. The penalties under the act were recoverable in the courts of admiralty.

Here was an act of the British parliament, to be executed by officers of royal appointment, levying a tax on consumption in America. In England, it was afterwards appealed to as a precedent; in America, the sixpence duty on molasses had all the effect of a prohibition, and led only to clandestine importations. Even in case of forfeitures, nobody appeared to demand the third part given to the king for the colony. The act of parliament produced no revenue, and appeared to be no more than a regulation of commerce a new development of the colonial system. The enactment had its motive in the desire to confirm the monopoly of the British sugar plantations; and, so long as it brought no income to the crown, it was complained of as a grievance, but not resisted as a tax.

In New York, the dread of an act prohibiting trade with the foreign sugar colonies had, in 1732, swayed the legislature to grant supplies for a period of six years; but William Cosby, the governor, a brother-in-law of the Earl of Halifax, and connected with Newcastle, a boisterous and irritable man, having little understanding and no sense of decorum or of virtue, had been sent over to clutch at perquisites, and repair his broken fortunes. Few men hastened colonial emancipation more than Cosby. Incapable of a political system, he removed Morris, the royalist chief justice of New York, for what the privy council called insufficient reasons, and raised to the office James Delancey, a young man of rare ability, of Huguenot ancestry, who won his way to political influence through the colonial assembly. By him, also, James Alexander and the elder William Smith, who planned for New York the system of annual grants of support, were dismissed from the council as "ex-

amples," so he wrote, "to deter others from being advocates for the Boston principles." "Oh that I could see them on a gallows at the fort gate!" was the "highest wish" of his wife, whose grandson, the Duke of Grafton, in less than forty years, became England's prime minister.

Imitating Andros in Massachusetts, Cosby insisted on new surveys of lands and new grants, in lieu of the old. To the objection of acting against law, he answered: "Do you think I mind that? I have a great interest in England." The house of assembly, chosen under royalist influences and continued from year to year, offered no resistance. The right of the electors was impaired, for the period of the assembly was unlimited. The courts of law were not pliable; and Cosby displaced and appointed judges, without soliciting the consent of the council or waiting for the approbation of the sovereign.

Complaint could be heard only through the press. A newspaper was established to defend the popular cause; and, in about a year after its establishment, its printer, John Peter Zenger, was imprisoned by an order of the council, on the charge of publishing false and seditious libels. The grand jury would find no bill against him, and the attorney-general filed an information. The counsel of Zenger took exceptions to the commissions of the judges, because they ran during pleasure, and because they had been granted without the consent of council. The angry judge met the objection by disbarring James Alexander who offered it, though he stood at the head of his profession in New York for sagacity, penetration, and application to business. All the central colonies regarded the controversy as their own. At the trial, the publishing was confessed; but the aged and venerable Andrew Hamilton, who came from Philadelphia to plead for Zenger, justified the publication by asserting its truth. "You cannot be admitted," interrupted the chief justice, "to give the truth of a libel in evidence." "Then," said Hamilton to the jury, "we appeal to you for witnesses of the facts. The jury have a right to determine both the law and the fact, and they ought to do so." "The question before you," he

1734. Nov. 17.

added, "is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone; it is the best cause, the cause of liberty. Every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who, by an impartial verdict, lay a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the honor of our country have given us a right, the liberty of opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing truth." The jury gave their verdict, "Not guilty." The people of the colonies exulted in the victory and awarded high honors to the jury. Hamilton received of the common council of New York the franchises of the city for "his learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press." A patriot of the next generation esteemed the trial of Zenger to have been the morning star of the American revolution. But it was not one light alone that ushered in the dawn of our independence: the stars of a whole constellation sang together.

When, in 1736, on the death of Cosby, Clarke, the deputy of Horatio Walpole, became lieutenant-governor of New York, he, too, could obtain no obedience to the king's prerogative and instructions. "Since treason has been committed," he wrote to the board of trade, "examples should be made." In vain did he dissolve one assembly.

1737. "No government," thus in September, 1737, did the new assembly address him, "no government can be safe without proper checks upon those intrusted with power. We tell you, you are not to expect that we either will raise sums unfit to be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a governor to misapply, if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive are fit and just to be paid, or continue what support and revenue we shall raise for any longer time than one year; nor do we think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive to be necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony, who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose, and, by the grace of God, we will endeavor not to deceive them." Clarke submitted, and, bartering law against law, consented to a bill for triennial assemblies.

Royal governors more and more earnestly solicited an application to parliament. To "terminate the disputes between the people of the colonies and their governors, about complying with royal instructions," in 1739 men 1739. in England, interested in American affairs, echoed the opinions of the board of trade through the press, and recommended as "the supreme authority in the plantations" "an experienced general officer," who should command regular troops, and on every emergent occasion take counsel of the respective governors. And, as "the many distinct provinces could never be brought voluntarily to raise a fund by any general tax among themselves," it was deemed essential that "the duties on stamps be extended to all the colonies by act of parliament." "Since Britain," it was argued, "must erect forts and maintain troops for the defence of her dominions in America, the subjects there will have no just cause to complain, if, for that particular service, one of the easiest and least burdensome taxes imposed at home be now extended to the plantations."

The prohibitory duty on molasses imported into the northern colonies, as established by the law of 1733, had been productive only of bribes to the royal officers of the revenue, and to advocates and admiralty judges, of whom as the appointed guardians of the British commercial monopoly Belcher wrote: "No prince ever had such a crew of villains to betray his interests and break the acts of trade." In 1740, Ashley, a well-informed writer, 1740. proposed to establish a revenue by reducing the duty to one half or one third, or even to a sixth, of the old rate. But at that time proposals for taxing the colonies by act of parliament found no support. "I will leave the taxing of the British colonies," such are the words attributed to Sir Robert Walpole towards the close of his ministry, and such certainly were his sentiments, "for some of my successors, who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me," he added, "during my administration, to encourage the trade of the American colonies to the utmost latitude: nay, it has been necessary to pass over some

irregularities in their trade with Europe; for, by encouraging them to an extensive, growing foreign commerce, if they gain five hundred thousand pounds, I am convinced that, in two years afterwards, full two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of this gain will be in his majesty's exchequer by the labor and produce of this kingdom, as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither; and, as they increase in the foreign American trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and laws."

While the ministry as yet avoided taxation by act of parliament, the irresponsible board of trade persevered in recommending authoritative measures, especially against Massachusetts, to reduce its territory, to control its action, and to change its government. Of the members of the board, no one had more sway over Newcastle than the "proud, imperious Bladen," "a creature," says Belcher, "who lived upon rapine, and yet from his haughtiness died a beggar." "Massachusetts," he assured Newcastle, in October, 1740, "is a kind of commonwealth, where the king is hardly a stadholder." To break the power of that province, he obtained on its disputed boundary an arbitrary decree, which awarded to New Hampshire far more than that government claimed; and the decree, though wantonly unjust, was enforced; for the agent to protest against it, the amiable and cultivated Thomas Hutchinson, too ready to acquiesce in oppression, did but solicit justice as a favor. Enlarged by territory from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, in 1741, was erected into a separate government, the only royal government in New England. Benning Wentworth, its governor, a supporter of the church of England and of kingly authority, arriving in his province in June, 1741, "found scarcely the shadow of prerogative, as the whole had been changed to the privilege of the people." But he promised "to introduce gradually the rights of the crown."

The proclamation of Queen Anne, which pretended to give to coin one value in England, another in the colonies, only gave to the words pounds, shillings, and pence

a different signification in America from that which they bore in Europe. It could not affect the value of gold or silver, which are an actual product of labor; as little could it fix the value of the colonial paper, which was contingent on the policy of ten or twelve disconnected colonial governments.

A new country desires credit, submits even to extortion and expedients rather than renounce its use. Where nature invited to the easy and rapid development of its resources, hope saw the opportunity of golden advantages, if credit could be obtained; and, in the want of it, an eager cupidity was ever fruitful in devices that might be employed in its stead. The condition of a land soliciting labor, but not yet enriched by its fruits; the impediments to progress consequent on colonial dependence; the influence of men of business on legislation, — combined to bring about extraordinary results, which nothing but the simplicity of colonial life and purity of colonial morals could have rendered tolerable. The constant state of debt to the mother country created a demand for remittances; so that specie disappeared. America was incapable of the voluntary self-denial requisite to recover a specie currency through commerce with England; and was debarred from such traffic as would have furnished a supply from other nations. The consequence was a policy which the history of the world had never yet witnessed. That it is the duty of government to provide a currency for commerce was the maxim that came into vogue in every colony but one; and, as the impossibility of maintaining a metallic currency in a state of colonial dependence was assumed as undeniable, the maxim, reduced to practice, led to the perilous use of paper money. The provinces were impelled to manufacture bills of credit and to institute loan-offices. The credit of the colonies was invoked in behalf of borrowers. The first emissions of provincial paper had their origin in the immediate necessities of government. Next, in times of peace, provinces which had an empty treasury issued bills of credit, redeemable at a remote day, and put in circulation by means of loans to citizens at a low rate of

interest on the mortgage of lands. The bills, in themselves almost worthless from the remoteness of the day of payment, were made a lawful tender. The borrower, who received them, paid annual interest on his debt to the state; and this interest constituted a public revenue, obtained, it was boasted, without taxation. In 1712, South Carolina issued in this manner "a bank" of forty-eight thousand pounds. Massachusetts, which for twenty years had used bills of credit for public purposes, in 1714 authorized an emission of fifty thousand pounds in bills, to be put into the hands of five trustees, and let out at five per cent on safe mortgages of real estate, to be paid back in five annual instalments. The debts were not thus paid back; but an increased clamor was raised for greater emissions. In 1716, an additional issue of one hundred thousand pounds was made, and committed to the care of county trustees. The scarcity of money was even more and more complained of: "all the silver money was sent into Great Britain to make returns for what was owing there." Yet the system was imitated in every colony but Virginia. Franklin, who afterwards perceived its evil tendencies, assisted in 1723 in introducing it into Pennsylvania, where silver had circulated; and the complaint was soon heard that, "as their money was paper, they had very little gold and silver, and, when any came in, it was accounted as merchandise." Rhode Island, on one occasion, combined the old system of payments made in the staple products of industry with the new system of credit, and in 1721 "issued a bank of forty thousand pounds," on which the interest was payable in hemp or flax.

1723. 1728.

The first effects of the unreal enlargement of the currency appeared beneficial; and men rejoiced in the seeming impulse given to trade. It was presently found that specie was repelled from the country by the system; that the paper furnished but a depreciated currency, fluctuating in value with every new emission; that, from the interest of debtors, there was between the colonies some rivalship in issues; that the increase of paper, far from remedying the scarcity of money, excited a thirst for new issues; that, as

the party of debtors, if it prevailed in the legislature but once in ten years, could flood the country with bills of credit, men had an interest to remain in debt; that the income of widows and orphans, and all who had salaries or annuities, was ruinously affected by the fluctuations; that administrators were tempted to delay settlements of estates, as each year diminished the value of the inheritances which were to be paid; and, finally, that commerce was corrupted in its sources by the uncertainty attending the expressions of value in every contract.

This uncertainty rapidly pervaded the country. In 1738, the New England currency was worth but one hundred for five hundred; that of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, one hundred for one hundred and sixty or seventy, or two hundred; of South Carolina, one for eight; while of North Carolina, of all the states the least commercial in its character, the paper was in London esteemed worth but one for fourteen, in the colony but one for ten. And yet the policy itself was not repudiated. The statesmen of England never proposed or desired to raise the domestic currency of the colonies to an equality with that of the great commercial world; and the system which Franklin had advocated found an apologist in Pownall, and was defended by Edmund Burke, except that Burke, instead of a currency of depreciated paper, proposed an emission of base coin.

In Massachusetts, a struggle ensued for a new application of the credit system by the establishment of a land bank. The design was long resisted as "a fraudulent undertaking," and was acknowledged as tending to give to the company "power and influence in all public concerns, more than belonged to them, more than they could make a good use of, and therefore unwarrantable;" yet, but for the interference of parliament, it would at last have been established, and "the authority of government," such is the language of a royalist historian of the last century, "would have been entirely in the land-bank company."

To repress its issue of paper money, the crown lawyers, in April, 1740, advised an appeal to parliament. The house

of commons condemned the mischievous practice, and addressed the king in support of the royal instructions. Still the frenzy for paper money defied the authority of the royal command; and the private land bank began to issue paper that, from its character, never could be redeemed. Parliament interfered in 1741 "to restrain undertakings in the colonies," by enacting that the statute of 1719, which was passed after the ruin of the South Sea company, and which made every member of a joint-stock company personally liable for its debts, was, and had from the first been, in force in the colonies. Every principle of public policy required a check to the issues of paper money; but nothing could have been more arbitrary than the remedy adopted by parliament.

1725. From time to time, the Anglican church showed its old distrust. In 1725, the ministers of Massachusetts, by the hand of Cotton Mather, desired a synod, "to recover and establish the faith and order of the gospel." The council assented; the house hesitated, and, by a reference to the next session, gave opportunity for instructions from the people. The bishop of London anticipated their decision; and a reprimand from England forbade "the authoritative" meeting, as a bad precedent for dissenters. An English prelate stood once more in antagonism to the churches of New England.

But British ministries of that age were indifferent to religion. "The apprehension at court" of the colonies "affecting an independency on the government at home" was "one considerable objection against sending bishops into America," lest it should provoke the vast body of dissenters to disloyalty. The prayer for interference came from Episcopalians in America, who asked for "a constitution in church and state as near as possible conformable to that of their mother country;" "bishops," wrote Johnson, "and I could wish a viceroy." "The people of the English church in these plantations," it was said, "abhorred independency on England;" and "the dissenters were generally people of anti-monarchical as well as anti-episcopal princi-

1739. March. ples." "The people of New England," wrote Dunbar from New Hampshire, in March, 1739, "generally



deem themselves independent, as is their religion;" were the church of England encouraged, it would "bring them to better principles than they now are of, being generally republicans." But, so long as Walpole directed the affairs of the kingdom, America had little to fear from bigotry or intolerance. All the time, liberal opinion was gaining strength in Massachusetts, and a law of 1729 relieved Quakers and Baptists from parish taxes.

I will close this wearisome recapitulation of errors of principle which infected the imperial legislation for the colonies, and the weaknesses and vices that attended their administration, by commemorating a measure of the largest import and of most beneficent liberality. In 1740, Great Britain by act of parliament assured English privileges to Americans, and in the most benign and confiding spirit of legislation, trampling on the feudal principle of subordination, threw America wide open to the vassals of every liege in the world, of whatever lineage or tongue, binding them by oaths, and conferring on them all the privileges of native subjects. And as some sects scrupled to take an oath, and the Moravian brethren refused military service, special laws favored them with exemptions.

All this period was marked by the unparalleled prosperity of the colonies. The population had doubled within twenty-five years, and grew rich through industry. Boston continued its great manufacture of ships, and found a market for them among the French and Spaniards in San Domingo; so that, for example in 1738, there were built in that town forty-one topsail vessels. Peace on the eastern frontier revived the youthful maritime enterprise of Maine, and its settlements began to obtain a fixed prosperity. Of Connecticut, the swarming population spread over all its soil, and occupied even its hills; for its whole extent was protected against the desolating inroads of savages. The selfish policy of its governors and its royalist party delayed the increase of New York. Pennsylvania, as the land of promise, was still the refuge of the oppressed. We shall "soon have a German colony," wrote Logan, in 1726, "so many thousands of Palatines are already in the coun- 1726-1729.

try;" adding, three years later: "We are also very much surprised at the vast crowds of people pouring in upon us from the north of Ireland. Both these sorts sit frequently down on any spot of vacant land. They say the proprietary invited people to come and settle his country. Both pretend they would pay, but not one in twenty has any thing to pay with." Nor did the south-west range of mountains, from the James to the Potomac, fail to attract emigrants; and, in 1732, the valley of Virginia received white inhabitants.

While the Palatinate poured forth its sons from their devastated fields; while the Scotch, who had made a sojourn in Ireland, abandoned the culture of lands where they were but tenants, and, crowding to America, established themselves as freeholders in almost every part of the United States, from New Hampshire to Carolina, — the progress of colonization was mainly due to the rapid increase of the descendants of former settlers. West of the Alleghanies there were no European settlements, except that traders, especially from Carolina, had ventured among the Indians, and, becoming wild like the men with whom they trafficked, had established their houses among the Cherokees, the Muskohgees, and the Chickasaws. No settlements existed on any stream that flows westward; the more remote ones were made by herdsmen, who pastured beeves upon canes and natural grasses, and now and then rallied the cattle at central "Cowpens." Philanthropy opened the way beyond the Savannah. The growth of the colonies pleased the pride of England; and a British poet thus gave utterance to the admiration of his countrymen:

Lo! swarming southward on rejoicing suns,
Gay colonies extend, — the calm retreat
Of undeserved distress, the better home
Of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands.
Not built on rapine, servitude, and woe,
But bound by social freedom, firm they rise.

Happy America! to which Providence gave the tranquillity necessary for her growth, as well as the trials which were to discipline her for action.

The effects of the American system of social freedom were best exhibited in the colonies which approached the most nearly to independence. More than a century ago, "the charter governments were celebrated for their excellent laws and mild administration; for the security of liberty and property; for the encouragement of virtue and suppression of vice; for promoting letters by erecting free schools and colleges." Among the most distinguished sons of Ireland of that day was George Berkeley, who, like Penn, reposed his hopes for humanity on America. Versed in ancient learning, exact science, and modern literature, disciplined by travel and reflection, adverse factions agreed in ascribing to him "every virtue under heaven." Cherished by those who were the pride of English letters and society, favored with unsolicited dignities and revenues, he required for his happiness, not fortune or preferment, but a real progress in knowledge. The material tendencies of the age in which he lived were hateful to his purity of sentiment; and having a mind kindred with Plato and the Alexandrine philosophers, with Barclay and Malebranche, he held that the external world was wholly subordinate to intelligence; that true existence can be predicated of spirits alone. He did not distrust the senses, being rather a close and exact observer of their powers, and finely discriminating between impressions made on them and the deductions of reason from those impressions. Far from being skeptical, he sought to give to faith the highest certainty by deriving all knowledge from absolutely perfect intelligence, from God. If he could but "expel matter out of nature," if he could establish the supremacy of spirit as the sole creative power and active being, then would the slavish and corrupt theories of Epicurus and of Hobbes be cut up by the roots. Thus he sought "gently to unbind the ligaments which chain the soul to the earth, and to assist her flight upwards towards the sovereign good." For the application of such views, Europe of the eighteenth century offered no theatre. Regarding "the well-being of all men of all nations" as the design in which the actions of each individual should concur, he repaired to the new hemisphere

to found a university. The Island of Bermuda, so famed in Europe for its delicious climate, at first selected as its site, was abandoned for Newport within our America, of which he was for more than two years a resident. But opinion in England did not favor his design. "From the labor and luxury of the plantations," English politicians said, "great advantages may ensue to the mother country; yet the advancement of literature, and the improvement in arts and sciences in our American colonies, can never be of any service to the British state." The funds that had been regarded as pledged to the university, in which Indians were to be trained in wisdom, missionaries educated for works of good, science and truth advanced and disseminated, were diverted to pay the dowry of the princess royal. Disappointed, yet not irritated, Berkeley returned to Europe, to endow a library in Rhode Island; to cherish the interests of Harvard; to gain a right to be gratefully remembered at New Haven; to encourage the foundation of a college at New York. Advanced to a bishopric, the heart of the liberal prelate was still in America; and his benevolence dictated this prophecy:

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides, and virtue rules;
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools, —

There shall be sung another golden age, —
The rise of empire and of arts;
The good and great inspiring epic rage;
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

To free schools and colleges the periodical press had been added, and newspapers began their office in America as the ministers to curiosity and the guides and organs of opinion. On the twenty-fourth day of April, in 1704, the Boston "News-Letter," the first ever published on the western continent, saw the light in the metropolis of New England. In 1719, it obtained a rival at Boston, and was imitated at Philadelphia. In 1740, the number of newspapers in the English colonies on the continent had increased to eleven, of which one appeared in South Carolina, one in Virginia, three in Pennsylvania, — one of them being in German, — one in New York, and the remaining five in Boston. The sheet at first used was but of the foolscap size; and but one, or even but a half of one, was issued weekly. The papers sought support rather by modestly telling the news of the day, than by engaging in conflicts; they had no political theories to enforce, no revolutions in faith to hasten. At Boston, indeed, where the pulpit had marshalled Quakers and witches to the gallows, the New England "Courant," the fourth American periodical, was, in August, 1721. 1721, established by James Franklin as an organ of independent opinion. Its temporary success was advanced by Benjamin, his brother and apprentice, a boy of fifteen, who wrote pieces for its columns, worked in composing the types as well as in printing off the sheets, and, as carrier, distributed the papers to the customers. The sheet satirized hypocrisy, and spoke of religious knaves as of all knaves the worst. This was described as tending "to abuse the ministers of religion in a manner which was intolerable." "I can well remember," writes Increase Mather, then more than fourscore years of age, "when the civil government would have taken an effectual course to suppress such a cursed libel." In July, 1722, a resolve passed the 1722. council, appointing a censor for the press of James Franklin; but the house refused its concurrence. The ministers persevered; and in January, 1723, a committee of inquiry was raised by the legislature. Benjamin, being examined, escaped with an admonition; James, the publisher, refusing to discover the author of the offence, was

1721. Aug. 21.

kept in jail for a month; his paper was censured as reflecting injuriously on the reverend ministers of the gospel; and, by vote of the house and council, he was forbidden to print it, "except it be first supervised."

1723. Vexed at the arbitrary proceedings; willing to escape from a town where good people pointed with horror at his freedom; indignant, also, at the tyranny of a brother, who, as a passionate master, often beat his

Oct. apprentice, — in October, 1723, Benjamin Franklin, then but seventeen years old, sailed clandestinely for New York; and, finding there no employment, crossed to Amboy; went on foot to the Delaware; for want of a wind, rowed in a boat from Burlington to Philadelphia; and bearing marks of his labor at the oar, weary, hungry, having for his whole stock of cash a single dollar, the runaway apprentice — the humble pupil of the free schools of Boston, rich in the boundless hope of youth and the unconscious power of genius which modesty adorned — stepped on shore to seek food and occupation.

On the deep foundations of sobriety, frugality, and industry, the young journeyman built his fortunes and fame; and he soon came to have a printing-office of his own. Toiling early and late, with his own hands he set types and worked at the press; with his own hands would trundle to the office in a wheelbarrow the reams of paper which he was to use. His ingenuity was such he could form letters, make types and woodcuts, and engrave vignettes in copper. The assembly of Pennsylvania chose him its printer. He planned a newspaper; and, when he became its proprietor and editor, he defended freedom of thought and speech, and the inalienable power of the people. He proposed improvements in the schools of Philadelphia, invented the system of subscription libraries, and laid the foundation of one that was long the most considerable library in America; he suggested the establishment of an academy, which has ripened into a university; he saw the benefit of concert in the pursuit of science, and gathered a philosophical society for its advancement. The intelligent and highly cultivated Logan bore testimony to his merits:



"Our most ingenious printer has the clearest understanding, with extreme modesty. He is certainly an extraordinary man;" "of a singularly good judgment, but of equal modesty;" "excellent, yet humble." "Do not imagine," he adds, "that I overdo in my character of Benjamin Franklin, for I am rather short in it." When the students of nature began to investigate the wonders of electricity, Franklin excelled all observers in the simplicity and lucid exposition of his experiments, and in "sagacity and power of scientific generalization." It was he who first suggested the explanation of thunder-gusts and the 1749. northern lights on electrical principles, and, in the summer of 1752, going out into the fields, with no instrument but a kite, no companion but his son, established his theory by obtaining a line of connection with a thunder-cloud. Nor did he cease till he had made the lightning a household pastime, taught his family to catch the subtile fluid in its leaps between the earth and the sky, and ascertained how it might be compelled to pass harmlessly over the dwellings of men.

Franklin looked quietly and deeply into the secrets of nature. His clear understanding was never perverted by passion nor corrupted by the pride of theory. The son of a rigid Calvinist, the grandson of a tolerant Quaker, he had from boyhood been familiar not only with theological subtilties, but with a catholic respect for freedom of mind. Skeptical of tradition as the basis of faith, he respected reason rather than authority; and, after a momentary lapse into fatalism, he gained with increasing years an increasing trust in the overruling providence of God. Adhering to none of all the religions in the colonies, he yet devoutly, though without form, adhered to religion. But though famous as a disputant, and having a natural aptitude for metaphysics, he obeyed the tendency of his age, and sought by observation to win an insight into the mysteries of being. The best observers praise his method most. He so sincerely loved truth, that in his pursuit of her she met him half-way. Without prejudice and without bias, he discerned intuitively the identity of the laws of nature with

those of which humanity is conscious; so that his mind was like a mirror, in which the universe, as it reflected itself, revealed her laws. His morality, repudiating ascetic severities, and the system which enjoins them, was indulgent to appetites of which he abhorred the sway; but his affections were of a calm intensity; in all his career, the love of man held the mastery over personal interest. He had not the imagination which inspires the bard or kindles the orator; but an exquisite propriety, parsimonious of ornament, gave ease, correctness, and graceful simplicity even to his most careless writings. In life, also, his tastes were delicate. Indifferent to the pleasures of the table, he relished the delights of music and harmony, of which he enlarged the instruments. His blandness of temper, his modesty, the benignity of his manners, made him the favorite of intelligent society; and, with healthy cheerfulness, he derived pleasure from books, from philosophy, from conversation, — now administering consolation to the sorrower, now indulging in light-hearted gayety. In his intercourse, the universality of his perceptions bore, perhaps, the character of humor; but, while he clearly discerned the contrast between the grandeur of the universe and the feebleness of man, a serene benevolence saved him from contempt of his race or disgust at its toils. To superficial observers, he might have seemed as an alien from speculative truth, limiting himself to the world of the senses; and yet, in study, and among men, his mind always sought to discover and apply the general principles by which nature and affairs are controlled, — now deducing from the theory of caloric improvements in fireplaces and lanterns, and now advancing human freedom by firm inductions from the inalienable rights of man. Never professing enthusiasm, never making a parade of sentiment, his practical wisdom was sometimes mistaken for the offspring of selfish prudence; yet his hope was steadfast, like that hope which rests on the Rock of Ages, and his conduct was as unerring as though the light that led him was a light from Heaven. He never anticipated action by theories of self-sacrificing virtue; and yet, in the moments of intense activity, he from the abodes of

ideal truth brought down and applied to the affairs of life the principles of goodness, as unostentatiously as became the man who with a kite and hempen string drew the lightning from the skies. He separated himself so little from his age that he has been called the representative of materialism; and yet, when he thought on religion, his mind passed beyond reliance on sects to faith in God; when he wrote on politics, he founded freedom on principles that know no change; when he turned an observing eye on nature, he passed from the effect to the cause, from individual appearances to universal laws; when he reflected on history, his philosophic mind found gladness and repose in the clear anticipation of the progress of humanity.

Nor may it be omitted that Thomas Godfrey, of Philadelphia, was the first to invent the instrument by which the mariner can take the altitude of the sun on the roughest sea.

America, by its increase in population and by the genius of its sons, ripened for independence; but still there was no union: neither danger from abroad, nor English invasions of liberty, had as yet roused the colonies to common action. Not even the proposal to abrogate charters could excite a united opposition. Public sentiment in America so little respected the proprietary governments that in 1720 the three New England charter governments were left to contend for their privileges alone. The relations with the Iroquois had a greater tendency to effect a concert of action; they interested New England on the east; and in 1722, at a congress in Albany, Virginia, as well as Pennsylvania, was represented by its governor.

In the separate colonies, the spirit of liberty and the desire of self-direction everywhere prevailed. In Pennsylvania, there existed the fewest checks on the power of the people. "Popular zeal raged as high there as in any country;" and Logan wrote despondingly to the proprietary: "Faction prevails among the people; 'liberty and privileges' are ever the cry." "This government under you is not possibly tenable without a miracle." The world was inexperienced in the harmlessness of the ferment of the public mind, where that mind deliberates, decides, and gov-

1729. erns. To the timid eye of that day, there seemed "a real danger of insurrection." The assemblies were troublesome; the spirit of insubordination grew by indulgence; "squatters" increased so rapidly that their number threatened to become their security. And Maryland was as restless as Pennsylvania; Lord Baltimore, though "a very reasonable gentleman, was most in-
1728. solently treated by some of his assemblies." The result was inexplicable on the old theories of government. "One perplexity had succeeded another, as waves follow waves in the sea, while the settlement of Penn had still prospered and thriven at all times since its beginning." And yet Logan could not shake off distrust of the issue of the experiment. With "a long enjoyment of a free air and almost unrestrained liberty," wrote he, "we must not have the least appearance even of a militia, nor any other officers than sheriffs chosen by the multitude themselves, and a few constables, part of themselves, to enforce the powers of government; to which add a most licentious use of thinking, in relation to those powers, most industriously inculcated and fomented."

Through the press, no one was so active as Benjamin Franklin. His newspaper defended absolute freedom of speech and of the press, for he held that falsehood alone dreads attack and cries out for auxiliaries, while truth scorns the aid of the secular arm and triumphs by her innate strength. He rejected with disdain the "policy of arbitrary government," which can esteem truth itself to be a libel. Nor did he fail to defend "popular governments, as resting on the wisest reasons." In "the multitude, which hates and fears ambition," he saw the true counterpoise to unjust designs; and he defended the mass, as unable "to judge amiss on any essential points." "The judgment of a whole people," such was the sentiment of Franklin, "if unbiassed by faction, undeluded by the tricks of designing men, is infallible." That the voice of the people is the voice of God, he declared to be universally true; and therefore "the people cannot, in any sense, divest themselves of the supreme authority." Thus he asserted the common

rights of mankind, by illustrating "eternal truths, that cannot be shaken even with the foundations of the world." Such was public opinion in Pennsylvania more than a century ago.

Virginia was still more in contrast with England. The eighteenth century was the age of commercial ambition; and Virginia relinquished its commerce to foreign factors. In the age when nations rushed into debt, when stock-jobbers and bankers competed with landholders for political power, Virginia paid its taxes in tobacco, and alone of the colonies, resisting the universal tendency of the age, had no public debt, no banks, no bills of credit, no paper money. The committee of its burgesses did not fear "to speak irreverently of the king's government;" the people were apt to esteem "a friendship for the governor incompatible with the interest of the country;" but, though fond of self-direction, they had no sullen griefs, no brooding discontent.

The colonies were forming a character of their own. Throughout the continent, national freedom and independence were gaining vigor and maturity. They were not the offspring of deliberate forethought: they grew like the lilies, which neither toil nor spin.

CHAPTER XLII.

BRITISH MONOPOLIES OF THE SLAVE-TRADE. COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA.

THE moral world is swayed by general laws. They extend not over inanimate nature only, but over man and nations; over the policy of rulers and the opinion of masses. Event succeeds event according to their influence; amidst the jars of passions and interests, amidst wars and alliances, commerce and conflicts, they form the guiding principle of civilization, which marshals incongruous incidents into their just places, and arranges checkered groups in clear and harmonious order. Yet let not human arrogance assume to know intuitively, without observation, the tendency of the ages. Research must be unwearied, and must be conducted with indifference; as the student of natural history, in examining even the humblest flower, seeks instruments that may unfold its wonderful structure, without color and without distortion. For the historic inquirer to swerve from exact observation would be as absurd as for the astronomer to break his telescopes, and compute the path of a planet by conjecture. Of success, too, there is a sure criterion; for, as every false statement contains a contradiction, truth alone possesses harmony. Truth also, and truth alone, is permanent. The selfish passions of a party are as evanescent as the material interests involved in the transient conflict: they may deserve to be described; they never can inspire; and the narrative which takes from them its bias will hurry to oblivion as rapidly as the hearts in which they were kindled moulder to ashes. But facts faithfully ascertained, and placed in proper contiguity, become of themselves the firm links of a brightly burnished chain, connecting events with their causes, and marking the line

along which the power of truth is conveyed from generation to generation.

Events that are past are beyond change, and, where they merit to be known, can in their general aspect be known accurately. The constitution of the human mind varies only in details; its elements are the same always; and the multitude, possessing but a combination of the powers and passions of which each one is conscious, is subject to the same laws which control individuals. Humanity, constantly enriched and cultivated by the truths it develops and the inventions it amasses, has a life of its own, and yet possesses no element that is not common to each of its members. By comparison of document with document; by an analysis of facts, and the reference of each of them to the laws of intelligence which it illustrates; by separating the idea which inspires combined action from the forms it assumes; by comparing events with the great movement of nations, — historic truth may establish itself as a science; and the principles that govern human affairs, extending like a path of light from century to century, become the highest demonstration of the superintending providence of God.

The inference that there is progress in human affairs is warranted. The trust of our race has ever been in the coming of better times. Universal history does but seek to relate "the sum of all God's works of providence."

In America, the first conception of its office, in the 1739.
mind of Jonathan Edwards, though still cramped and perverted by theological forms not derived from observation, was nobler than the theory of Vico: more grand and general than the method of Bossuet, it embraced in its outline the whole "work of redemption," — the history of the influence of all moral truth in the gradual regeneration of humanity. The New England divine, in his quiet association with the innocence and simplicity of rural life, knew that, in every succession of revolutions, the cause of civilization and moral reform is advanced. "The new creation," such are his words, "is more excellent than the old. So it ever is, that, when one thing is removed by God to make way for another, the new excels the old." "The

wheels of Providence," he adds, "are not turned about by blind chance, but they are full of eyes round about, and they are guided by the Spirit of God. Where the Spirit goes, they go." Nothing appears more self-determined than the volitions of each individual; and nothing is more certain than that the providence of God will overrule them for good. The finite will of man, free in its individuality, is in the aggregate subordinate to general laws. This is the reason why evil is self-destructive; why truth, when it is once generated, is sure to live for ever; why freedom and justice, though resisted and restrained, renew the contest from age to age, confident that messengers from heaven fight on their side, and that the stars in their courses war against their foes. There would seem to be no harmony and no consistent tendency to one great end, in the confused events of the reigns of George II. of England, and Louis XV. of France, where legislation was now surrendered to the mercantile passion for gain, was now swayed by the ambition and avarice of the mistresses of kings; where the venal corruption of public men, the open profligacy of courts, the greedy cupidity of trade, conspired in exercising dominion over the civilized community. The political world was without form and void; yet the Spirit of God was moving over the chaos of human passions and human caprices, bringing forth the firm foundations on which better hopes were to rest, and setting in the firmament the lights that were to guide the nations.

England, France, and Spain occupied all the continent, nearly all the islands, of North America; each established over its colonies an oppressive metropolitan monopoly. Had they been united, no colony could have rebelled successfully; but Great Britain, while she vigorously enforced her own acts of navigation, disregarded those of Spain. Strictly maintaining the exclusive commerce with her own colonies, she coveted intercourse with the Spanish islands and main; and was about to give to the world, for the first time in history, the spectacle of a war for trade, — a war which hastened the downfall of commercial restrictions and the independence of America.

A part of the holders of the debt of Great Britain had been incorporated into a company, with the exclusive trade to the South Seas. But as Spain, having occupied much of the American coast in those seas, claimed a monopoly of its commerce, the grant was worthless, unless that monopoly could be successfully invaded; and, for this end, the benefit of the assiento treaty was assigned to the South Sea company.

In 1719, the capital of the company was increased by new subscriptions of national debt; and, in the next year, it was proposed to incorporate into its stock all the national debt. The system resembled that of Law; but the latter was connected with a bank of issue, and became a war against specie. In England, there was no attempt, directly or indirectly, to exile specie, no increase of the circulating medium, but only an increase of stocks. The parties implicated suffered from fraud and folly: the stock-jobbers; they who had parted with their certificates of the national debt for stock in the company; they who, hurried away by a blind avidity, had engaged in other "bubbles," — were ruined; but the country was not impoverished.

Enough of the South Sea company survived to execute the contract for negroes and to conduct an illicit commerce with Spanish America. "Ambition, avarice, distress, disappointment, and the complicated vices that tend to render the mind of man uneasy, filled all places and all hearts in the English nation." While dreams of the acquisition of Florida, with the sole use of the Bahama Channel; of the conquest of Mexico and Peru, with their real and their imagined wealth, — rose up to dazzle the minds of the restless, Jamaica became the centre of an extensive smuggling trade; and slave-ships, deriving their passport from the assiento treaty, were the ready instruments of contraband cupidity.

The great activity of the English slave-trade does not acquire its chief interest for American history by the transient conflict to which it led. While the South Sea company satisfied but imperfectly its passion for wealth by a monopoly of the supply of negroes for the Spanish

islands and main, the African company and independent traders were still more busy in sending negroes to the colonies of England. To this eagerness, encouraged by English legislation, fostered by royal favor, and enforced for a century by every successive ministry of England, it is due that one sixth part of the population of the United States — a moiety of those who dwell in the five states nearest the Gulf of Mexico — are descendants of Africans.

The colored men who were imported into our colonies, sometimes by way of the West Indies, and sometimes, especially for the south, directly from the Old World, were sought all along the African coast, for thirty degrees together, from Cape Blanco to Loango St. Paul's; from the Great Desert of Sahara to the kingdom of Angola, or perhaps even to the borders of the land of the Kaffres. It is not possible to relate precisely in what bay they were respectively laden, from what sunny cottages they were kidnapped, from what more direful captivity they were rescued. The traders in men have not been careful to record the lineage of their victims. They were chiefly gathered from gangs that were marched from the far interior; so that the freight of a single ship might be composed of persons of different languages, and of nations altogether strange to each other. Nor was there uniformity of complexion: of those brought to our country, some were from tribes of which the skin was of a tawny yellow.

The purchases in Africa were made, in part, of convicts punished with slavery, or mulcted in a fine which was discharged by their sale; of debtors sold, though but rarely, into foreign bondage; of children sold by their parents; of kidnapped villagers; of captives taken in war. Hence the sea-coast and the confines of hostile nations were laid waste. But the chief source of supply was from swarms of those born in a state of slavery; for the despotisms, the superstitions, and the usages of Africa had multiplied bondage. In the upper country, on the Senegal and the Gambia, three fourths of the inhabitants were not free; and the slave's master was the absolute lord of the slave's children. The trade in slaves, whether for the caravans

of the Moors or for the European ships, was chiefly supplied from the natural increase. In the healthy and fertile uplands of Western Africa, under the tropical sun, the reproductive power of the prolific race, combined with the imperfect development of its moral faculties, gave to human life, in the eye of man himself, an inferior value. Humanity did not respect itself in any of its forms, — in the individual, in the family, or in the nation. Our systems of morals will not explain the phenomenon: its cause is not to be sought in the suppression of moral feeling, but rather in the condition of a branch of the human family not yet conscious of its powers, not yet fully possessed of its moral and rational life. In the state of the race itself, in Senegambia, in Upper and Lower Guinea, the problem of the slave-trade finds its solution. The habits of the native tribes of America rendered its establishment with them impossible. The quick maturity of life, the facility of obtaining sustenance, the nature of the negro, an undeveloped intelligence, and the fruitfulness of the race, explain why, from century to century, the slave-ships could find a freight, and yet the population of the interior be replenished.

England valued Africa as returning for her manufactures abundant laborers for her colonies, and valued it for nothing else. Africans of more than thirty years of age were rejected by the traders as too old, and few were received under fourteen. Of the whole number, not more than one third part was composed of women; and a woman past two-and-twenty was hardly deemed worth transportation. The English slave-ships were laden with the youth of Africa.

Slavery, and even a change of masters, were familiar to the African; but to be conducted to the shores of the Western Ocean, to be doomed to pass its boundless deep and enter on new toils in an untried clime and amidst an unknown race, was appalling to the black man. The horrors of the passage corresponded with the infamy of the trade. Small vessels, of little more than two hundred tons' burden, were prepared for the traffic; for these could most easily penetrate the bays and rivers of the coast, and,

quickly obtaining a lading, could soonest hurry away from the deadly air of the African coast. In such a bark, five hundred negroes and more have been stowed, exciting wonder that men could have lived, within the tropics, cribbed in so few inches of room. The inequality of force between the crew and the cargo led to the use of manacles; the hands of the stronger men were made fast together, and the right leg of one was chained to the left of another. The avarice of the trader was a partial guarantee of the security of life, as far as it depended on him; but death hovered always over the slave-ship. The negroes, as they came from the higher level to the seaside, poorly fed on the sad pilgrimage, sleeping at night on the damp earth without covering, and often reaching the coast at unfavorable seasons, imbibed the seeds of disease, which confinement on board ship quickened into feverish activity. There have been examples where one half of them — it has been said, even, where two thirds of them — perished on the passage. The total loss of life on the voyage is computed to have been, on the average, fifteen, certainly full twelve and a half, in the hundred; the harbors of the West Indies proved fatal to four and a half more out of every hundred. No scene of wretchedness could surpass a crowded slave-ship during a storm at sea, unless it were that same ship dismasted, or suffering from a protracted voyage and want of food, its miserable inmates tossed helplessly to and fro under the rays of a vertical sun, vainly gasping for a drop of water.

Of a direct voyage from Guinea to the coast of the United States no journal is known to exist, though slave-ships from Africa entered Newport and nearly every considerable harbor south of it.

In the northern provinces of English America, the few negroes were lost in the larger number of whites; and only in the lowlands of South Carolina and Virginia did they constitute a great majority of the inhabitants. But they came with the limited faculties of uncivilized man; when they met on our soil, they were as strange to one another their masters. Taken from places in Africa a thou-

sand miles asunder, the negro emigrants to America brought with them no common language or worship, no abiding usages, no nationality. They were compelled to adopt a new dialect for intercourse with each other; and broken English became their tongue not less among themselves than with their masters. Hence there was no unity among them, and no immediate political danger from their joint action. Once an excitement against them raged in New York, through fear of a pretended plot; but the frenzy grew out of a delusion. Sometimes the extreme harshness of taskmasters may have provoked resistance; or sometimes an African, accustomed from birth to freedom, and reduced to slavery by the chances of war, carried with him across the Atlantic the indomitable spirit of a warrior; but the instances of insurrection were insulated, and without result. Destitute of common traditions, customs, and laws, the black population existed in fragments, having no bonds of union but color and misfortune. Thus the negro slave in America was dependent on his master for civilization; he could be initiated into skill in the arts only through him; through him only could he gain a country; and, as a consequence, in the next generation, if dissatisfied with his condition, he had yet learned to love the land of his master; it was his country also.

It is not easy to conjecture how many negroes were imported into the English continental colonies. The usual estimates far exceed the truth. Climate came in aid of opinion to oppose their introduction. Owing to the inequality of the sexes, their natural increase was not rapid in the first generation. Previous to the year 1740, there may have been introduced into our country nearly one hundred and thirty thousand; before 1776, a few more than three hundred thousand. In 1727, "the vast importation of negroes" was a subject of complaint in South Carolina. The German traveller Von Reck, in 1734, reported the number of negroes in that province at thirty thousand, and for the annual importation gave the greatly exaggerated estimate of nearly three thousand.

In the northern and the middle states, the negro was

employed for menial offices and in the culture of wheat and maize. In the south, almost all the tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia, all the indigo and rice of Carolina, were the fruit of his toils. Instead of remaining in a wild and unproductive servitude, his labor contributed to the wealth of nations; his destiny, from its influence on commerce, excited interest throughout the civilized world.

With new powers of production, the negro learned new wants, which were at least partially supplied. At the north, he dwelt under the roof of his master; his physical well-being was provided for, and opinion protected him against cruelty. At the south, his home was a rude cabin of his own, constructed of logs or slabs; but for the abundance of fuel, a feeble protection against winter. The early writers tell us little of his history, except the crops which he raised.

His physical constitution decided his home in the New World: he loved the sun; even the climate of Virginia was too chill for him. His labor, therefore, increased in value as he proceeded south; and hence the relation of master and slave came to be essentially a southern institution: to the southern colonies, mainly, Providence intrusted the guardianship and the education of the colored race.

The testimony of concurrent tradition represents the negroes, at their arrival, to have been gross and stupid, having memory and physical strength, but undisciplined in the exercise of reason and imagination. Their organization seemed analogous to their barbarism. But, at the end of a generation, all observers affirmed the marked progress of the black American. In the midst of the horrors of slavery and the slave-trade, the masters had, in part at least, performed the office of advancing and civilizing the negro.

The thought of emancipation early presented itself. In 1701, Boston instructed its representatives "to encourage the bringing of white servants, and to put a period to negroes being slaves." In 1712, to a petition for the "enlargement" of negro slaves by law, the legislature of Pennsylvania answered that "it was neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty;" and yet George Keith, the early abolitionist, was followed by the eccentric Benjamin

Lay; by Ralph Sandiford, who held slavery to be inconsistent alike with the rights of man and the principles of Christianity; and, at a later day, by the amiable enthusiast, Anthony Benezet.

But did not Christianity enfranchise its converts? The Christian world of that day almost universally revered in Christ the impersonation of the divine wisdom. Could an intelligent being, who, through the Mediator, had participated in the Spirit of God, and by his own inward experience had become conscious of a Supreme Existence, and of relations between that Existence and humanity, be rightfully held in bondage? From New England to Carolina, the "notion" prevailed that "being baptized is inconsistent with a state of slavery;" and this early apprehension proved a main obstacle to the culture and "conversion of these poor people." The sentiment was so deep and so general that South Carolina in 1712, Maryland in 1715, Virginia repeatedly from 1667 to 1748, set forth by special enactments that baptism did not confer freedom. The lawyers declared the fear groundless; and "the opinion of his majesty's attorney and solicitor general, Yorke and Talbot, signed with their own hands, was accordingly printed in Rhode Island, and dispersed through the plantations." "I heartily wish," adds Berkeley, "it may produce the intended effect;" and at the same time he rebuked "the irrational contempt of the blacks," which regarded them "as creatures of another species, having no right to be instructed." In like manner, Gibson, the bishop of London, asserted that "Christianity and the embracing of the gospel does not make the least alteration in civil property;" while he besought the masters to regard the negroes "not barely as slaves, but as men-slaves and women-slaves, having the same frame and faculties with themselves." In this way, strife with the lawyers and the planters was avoided by friends to the negro, who were anxious for his improvement, and willing to leave his emancipation to be decided by the result. 1727. May 19.

There is not, in all the colonial legislation of America, one law which recognises the rightfulness of slavery in the

abstract. Every province favored freedom as such. The real question at issue was, from the first, not one of slavery and freedom generally, but of the relations to each other of the Ethiopian and American races. The Englishman in America tolerated and enforced not the slavery of man, but the slavery of the man who was

"guilty of a skin
Not colored like his own."

In the skin lay unexpiated, and, as it was held, inexpiable, guilt. The negro, whom the benevolence of his master enfranchised, was not absorbed into the mass of the free population: his color adhered to him, and still constituted him a separate element in society. Hence arose laws restricting the right of emancipation. The indelible mark of his species remained unfaded and unchanged; and, in the state of opinion, for him to rise by single merit was impracticable; the path to social equality was not open to him; he could not raise himself from humiliation without elevating his race.

Our country might well have shrunk from assuming the guardianship of the negro. Hence the question of tolerating the slave-trade and the question of abolishing slavery rested on different grounds. The one related to a refusal of a trust; the other, to the manner of its exercise. The English continental colonies, in the aggregate, were always opposed to the African slave-trade. Maryland, Virginia, even Carolina, alarmed at the excessive production and the consequent low price of their staples, at the heavy debts incurred by the purchase of slaves on credit, and at the dangerous increase of the colored population, each showed an anxious preference for the introduction of white men; and laws designed to restrict importations of slaves are scattered copiously along the records of colonial legislation. The first continental congress which took to itself powers of legislation gave a legal expression to the well-formed opinion of the country, by resolving "that no slaves be imported into any of the thirteen united colonies."

1776. April 6.

Before America legislated for herself, the interdict of

the slave-trade was impossible. England was inexorable in maintaining the system, which gained new and stronger supporters by its excess. The English slave-trade began to attain its great activity after the assiento treaty. From 1680 to 1700, the English took from Africa about three hundred thousand negroes, or about fifteen thousand a year. The number during the continuance of the assiento may have averaged annually not far from thirty thousand. Raynal considers the number of negroes exported by all European nations from Africa before 1776 to have been nine millions; and historians of the slave-trade have deemed his statement too small. A careful analysis of the colored population in America at different periods, and the inferences to be deduced from the few authentic records of the numbers imported, corrected by a comparison with the commercial products of slave labor, as appearing in the annals of English commerce, seem to prove, beyond a doubt, that even the estimate of Raynal is larger than the reality. We shall not err very much if, for the century previous to the prohibition of the slave-trade by the American congress in 1776, we assume the number imported by the English into the Spanish, French, and English West Indies, as well as the English continental colonies, to have been collectively nearly three millions; to which are to be added more than a quarter of a million purchased in Africa, and thrown into the Atlantic on the passage. The gross returns to English merchants, for the whole traffic in that number of slaves, may have been not far from four hundred millions of dollars. Yet, as at least one half of the negroes exported from Africa to America were carried in English ships, it should be observed that this estimate is by far the lowest ever made by any inquirer into the statistics of human wickedness. After every deduction, the trade retains its gigantic character of crime.

In an age when the interests of trade guided legislation, this branch of commerce possessed paramount attractions. Not a statesman exposed its enormities; and, if Richard Baxter reminded the slaveholder that the slave "was of as good a kind as himself, born to as much liberty, by nature

his equal, a servant and a brother, by right born his own;" if Addison, as a man of letters, held it without excuse, that "this part of our species was not put upon the common foot of humanity;" if Southern drew tears by the tragic tale of "Oronooko;" if Steele awakened a throb of indignation by the story of "Inkle and Yarico;" if Savage and Shenstone pointed their feeble couplets with the wrongs of "Afric's sable children;" if the Irish metaphysician Hutcheson, who proposed to rulers for their object "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," justly stigmatized the traffic, — yet no public opinion lifted its voice against it. English ships, fitted out in English cities, under the special favor of the royal family, of the ministry, and of parliament, stole from Africa, in the years from 1700 to 1750, probably a million and a half of souls, of whom one eighth were buried in the Atlantic, victims of the passage; and yet in England no general indignation rebuked the enormity, for the public opinion of the age was obedient to materialism. Wars had been for the balance of power, as though the safeguards of nations lay in force alone. Protestantism itself had, in the political point of view, been the triumph of materialism over the spiritual authority of the church. The same influence exhibited itself in philosophy and letters. Shaftesbury, who professed to be its antagonist, degrading conscience to the sphere of sensibility, enlarged rather than subverted the philosophy of the senses. The poetical essayist on man, in exquisite diction, exalted self-love into an identity with social, and celebrated its praise as the source of the most capacious philanthropy. Bolingbroke, in his attacks on religion, was but a caviller at historical difficulties. Of the large school of English deists, some were only disposed to make war upon human authority; while others, in their theories of necessity, so lost sight of the creative power of mind as to make of the universe but one vast series of results consequent on material forces. The philosophy of that day furnished to the African no protection against oppression; and the interpretation of English common law was equally regardless of human freedom. The colonial negro, who sailed to the metropolis, found no benefit from

touching the soil of England, but returned a slave. Such was the approved law of Virginia in the first half of the last century; such was the opinion of Yorke and Talbot, the law officers of the crown, as expressed in 1729, and, after a lapse of twenty years, repeated and confirmed by Yorke as chancellor of England.

The influence of the manufacturers was still worse. They clamored for the protection of a trade which opened to them an African market. Thus the party of the slave-trade dictated laws to England. A resolve of the commons, in the days of William and Mary, proposed to lay open the trade in negroes "for the better supply of the plantations;" and the statute-book of England soon declared the opinion of its king and its parliament, that "the trade is highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom and the colonies." In 1708, a committee of the house of commons report that "the trade is important, and ought to be free;" in 1711, a committee once more report that "the plantations ought to be supplied with negroes at reasonable rates," and urge an increase of importations. In June, 1712, Queen Anne, in her speech to parliament, boasts of her success in securing to Englishmen a new market for slaves in Spanish America. In 1729, George II. recommended a provision, at the national expense, for the African forts; and the recommendation was followed. At last, in 1749, to give the highest activity to the traffic, every obstruction to private enterprise was removed, and the ports of Africa were laid open to English competition; for "the slave-trade," such are the words of the statute, "is very advantageous to Great Britain." "The British senate," wrote one of its members, in February, 1750, "have this fortnight been pondering methods to make more effectual that horrid traffic of selling negroes. It has appeared to us that six-and-forty thousand of these wretches are sold every year to our plantations alone."

1695.

1750. Feb. 25.

But, while the partial monopoly of the African company was broken down, and the commerce in men was opened to the competition of all Englishmen, the monopoly of British

subjects was rigidly enforced against foreigners. That Englishmen alone might monopolize all wealth to be derived from the trade, Holt and Pollexfen, and eight other judges, in pursuance of an order in council, had given their opinion "that negroes are merchandise," and that therefore the act of navigation was to be extended to English slave-ships to the exclusion of aliens.

The same policy was manifested in the relations between the English crown and the colonies. Land from the public domain was given to emigrants, in one West India colony at least, on condition that the resident owner would "keep four negroes for every hundred acres." The eighteenth century was ushered in by the royal instruction of Queen Anne to the governor of New York and New Jersey, "to give due encouragement to merchants, and in particular to the royal African company of England." That the instruction was general is evident from the apology of Spotswood for the small number of slaves brought into Virginia. In that commonwealth, the planters beheld with dismay the increase of negroes. A tax repressed their importation; and, in 1726, Hugh Drysdale, the deputy governor, announced to the house that "the interfering interest of the African company had obtained the repeal of that law." Long afterwards, a statesman of Virginia, in full view of the course of colonial legislation and English counteracting authority, unbiassed by hostility to England, bore true testimony that "the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this infernal traffic." On whatever ground Virginia opposed the trade, the censure was just.

1702.

1726. May 12.

The white man, emigrating, became a dangerous freeman: it was quite sure that the negroes of that century would never profess republicanism; their presence in the colonies increased dependence. This reasoning was avowed by "a British merchant," in 1745, in a political tract entitled "The African Slave Trade the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America." "Were it possible for white men to answer the end of

1745.

negroes in planting," it is there contended, "our colonies would interfere with the manufactures of these kingdoms. In such case, indeed, we might have just reason to dread the prosperity of our colonies; but, while we can supply them abundantly with negroes, we need be under no such apprehensions." "Negro labor will keep our British colonies in a due subserviency to the interest of their mother country; for, while our plantations depend only on planting by negroes, our colonies can never prove injurious to British manufactures, never become independent of their kingdom." This policy of England knew no relenting. "My friends and I," wrote Oglethorpe, "settled the colony of Georgia, and by charter were established trustees. We determined not to suffer slavery there; but the slave merchants and their adherents not only occasioned us much trouble, but at last got the government to sanction them." South Carolina in 1760, from prudential motives, attempted restrictions, and gained only a rebuke from the English ministry. Great Britain, steadily rejecting every colonial limitation of the slave-trade, instructed the governors, on pain of removal, not to give even a temporary assent to such laws; and, but a year before the prohibition of the slave-trade by the American congress in 1776, the Earl of Dartmouth addressed to a colonial agent these memorable words: "We cannot allow the colonies to check, or discourage in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

The assiento treaty, originally extorted from Spain by force of arms, remained a source of jealousy between that kingdom and England. Other collisions were preparing on the American frontier, where Spain claimed to extend her jurisdiction north of the Savannah River, as far at least as St. Helena Sound. The foundation of St. Augustine had preceded that of Charleston by a century; national pride still clung to the traditions of the wide extent of Florida; the settlement of the Scottish emigrants at Port Royal had been dispersed; Indians and negroes were received as ready allies against English encroachments; and it was feebleness alone which had tolerated the advancement of the plantations of South Carolina towards the Savannah. Mean-

time, England resolved to pass that stream, and carry her flag still nearer the walls of St. Augustine.

The resolution was not hastily adopted. In 1717, a proposal was brought forward, by one whose father had been interested in the unfortunate enterprise of Lord Cardross, to plant a new colony south of Carolina, in the region that was heralded as the most delightful country of the universe. The land was to be tilled by British and Irish laborers exclusively, without "the dangerous help of blackamoors." Three years afterwards, in the excited season of English stock-jobbing and English anticipations, the suggestion was revived. When Carolina became by purchase a
1728. royal province, Johnson, its governor, was directed to mark out townships as far south as the Alatamaha; and, in 1731, a site was chosen for a colony of Swiss in the ancient land of the Yamassees, but on the left bank of the Savannah. The country between the two rivers was still a wilderness, over which England held only a nominal jurisdiction, when the spirit of benevolence formed a partnership with the selfish passion for extended territory, and, heedless of the objection that "the colonies would grow too great" for England "and throw off their dependency," resolved to plant the sunny clime with the children of misfortune, with those who in England had neither land nor shelter, and those on the continent to whom, as Protestants, bigotry denied freedom of worship and a home.

In the days when protection of property was avowed to be the end of government, the gallows was set up as the penalty for a petty theft. Each year, in Great Britain, at least four thousand unhappy men were immured in prison for the misfortune of poverty; a small debt exposed to a perpetuity of imprisonment; one indiscreet contract doomed the miserable dupe to lifelong confinement. The subject won the attention of James Oglethorpe, a member of the British parliament; in middle life; educated at Oxford; an hereditary loyalist; receiving his first commission in the English army during the ascendency of Bolingbroke; a volunteer in the family of Prince Eugene; present at the siege of Belgrade. To him, in the annals of legislative philan-

thropy, the honor is due of having first resolved to lighten the lot of debtors. Touched with the sorrows which the walls of a prison could not hide from him, he searched into the gloomy horrors of jails,

Where sickness pines, where thirst and hunger burn,
And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice.

In 1728, he invoked the interference of the English parliament; and, as a commissioner for inquiring into the state of the jails in the kingdom, persevered, till, "from extreme misery, he restored to light and freedom multitudes who, by long confinement for debt, were strangers and helpless in the country of their birth." He did more. For them, and for persecuted Protestants, he planned a new destiny in America, where former poverty would be no reproach, and where the simplicity of piety could indulge the spirit of devotion without fear of persecution from men who hated the rebuke of its example.

To further this end, a charter from George II., dated the ninth day of June, 1732, erected the country between the Savannah and the Alatamaha, and from the head-springs of those rivers due west to the Pacific, into the province of Georgia, and placed it for twenty-one years under the guardianship of a corporation, "in trust for the poor." The common seal of the corporation, having on one side a group of silk-worms at their toils, with the motto, "Non sibi, sed aliis," — "Not for themselves, but for others," — expressed the purpose of the patrons, who by their own request were restrained from receiving any grant of lands, or any emolument whatever. On the other side of the seal, the device represented two figures reposing on urns, emblematic of the boundary rivers, having between them the genius of "Georgia Augusta," with a cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, the horn of plenty in the other. But the cap of liberty was, for a time at least, a false emblem; for all executive and legislative power, and the institution of courts, were for twenty-one years given exclusively to the trustees, or their common council, who were appointed during good behavior. The trustees held these grants to contain but "proper powers for establishing 1732. June 9.

and governing the colony." The land, open to Jews, was closed against "papists." At the head of the council stood Shaftesbury, fourth earl of that name; but its most celebrated member was Oglethorpe. So illustrious were the auspices of the design, that hope painted visions of an Eden that was to spring up to reward such disinterested benevolence. The kindly sun of the new colony was to look down on purple vintages, and the silk-worm yield its thread to British looms. The charities of an opulent and an enlightened nation were to be concentrated on the enterprise; individual zeal was kindled in its favor; the Society for Propagating the Gospel in foreign parts sought to promote its interests; and parliament showed its good-will by contributing ten thousand pounds.

But, while others gave to the design their leisure, their prayers, or their wealth, Oglethorpe devoted himself to its fulfilment. In November, 1732, he embarked with about one hundred and twenty emigrants for America, and in fifty-seven days arrived off the bar of Charleston. Accepting a short welcome, he sailed directly for Port Royal. While the colony was landing at Beaufort, its patron ascended the boundary river of Georgia, and chose for the site of his chief town the high bluff on which Savannah now stands. At the distance of a half mile dwelt the Yamacraws, a branch of the Muskohgees, who, with Tomo-chichi, their chieftain, sought security by an alliance with the English. "Here is a little present," said the red man, as he offered a buffalo skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. "The feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo skin is warm, and is the emblem of protection. Therefore love and protect our little families." On the first day of February, or, according to the new style of computation, on the twelfth, the colonists, on board of a small sloop and periaguas, arrived at the place intended for the town, and before evening encamped on shore near the edge of the river. Four beautiful pines protected the tent of Oglethorpe, who for near a twelvemonth sought no other shelter. The streets of Savannah were laid out with the greatest

1732. Nov. 17–28.

1733. Jan. 13.

Jan. 13–24.

Jan. 20–31.

regularity; in each quarter, a public square was reserved; the houses were planned and constructed on one model, each a frame of sawed timber, twenty-four feet by sixteen, floored with rough deals, the sides with feather-edged boards unplaned, and the roof shingled. Such a house Oglethorpe afterwards hired as his residence, when in Savannah. Ere long a walk, cut through the native woods, led to the large garden on the river-side, destined as a nursery of European fruit and of the products of America. The humane reformer of prison discipline was the father of the commonwealth of Georgia, "the place of refuge for the distressed people of Britain and the persecuted Protestants of Europe."

In May, the chief men of the eight towns of the lower Muskohgees, accepting his invitation, came down to make an alliance. Long King, the tall and aged civil chief of the Oconas, spoke for them all: "The Great Spirit, who dwells everywhere around, and gives breath to all men, sends the English to instruct us." Claiming the country south of the Savannah, he bade the strangers welcome to the lands which his nation did not use; and, in token of sincerity, he laid eight bundles of buckskins at Oglethorpe's feet. "Tomo-chichi," he added, "though banished from his nation, has yet been a great warrior; and, for his wisdom and courage, the exiles chose him their king." Tomo-chichi entered timorously, and, bowing very low, gave thanks that he was still permitted "to look for good land among the tombs of his ancestors." The chief of Coweta stood up and said: "We are come twenty-five days' journey to see you. I was never willing to go down to Charleston, lest I should die on the way; but when I heard you were come, and that you are good men, I came down, that I might hear good things." He then gave leave to the exiles to summon the kindred that loved them out of each of the Creek towns, that they might dwell together. "Recall," he added, "the Yamassees, that they may see the graves of their ancestors before they die, and may be buried in peace among them." On the first of June, a treaty of peace was signed, by which the English claimed sovereignty over the

1733. May 29.

land of the Creeks as far south as the St. John's; and the chieftains departed laden with presents.

A Cherokee appeared among the English. "Fear nothing," said Oglethorpe, "but speak freely;" and the mountaineer answered: "I always speak freely. Why should I fear? I am now among friends; I never feared even among my enemies." And friendly relations were cherished with the Cherokees. In the following year, Red Shoes, a Choctaw chief, proposed commerce. "We came a great way," said he, "and we are a great nation. The French are building forts about us, against our liking. We have long traded with them, but they are poor in goods; we desire that a trade may be opened between us and you." And, when commerce with them was begun, the English coveted the harbors on the Gulf of Mexico. The good faith of Oglethorpe in the offers of peace, his noble mien and sweetness of temper, conciliated the confidence of the red men; in his turn, he was pleased with their simplicity, and sought for means to clear the glimmering ray of their minds, to guide their bewildered reason, and teach them to know the God whom they ignorantly adored.

1734. July.

The neighboring province of South Carolina displayed "a universal zeal for assisting its new ally and bulwark" on the south.

When the Roman Catholic archbishop, who was the ruler of Salzburg, with merciless bigotry drove out of his dominions the Lutherans whom horrid tortures and relentless persecution could not force to renounce their Protestant faith, Frederic William I. of Prussia planted a part of them on freeholds in his kingdom; others, on the invitation of the Society in England for Propagating the Gospel, prepared to emigrate to the Savannah. A free passage; provisions in Georgia for a whole season; land for themselves and their children, free for ten years, then to be held for a small quit-rent; the privileges of native Englishmen; freedom of worship, — these were the promises made, accepted, and honorably fulfilled. On the last day of October, 1733, "the evangelical community," well supplied with Bibles and hymn-books, catechisms and books of devo-

1733. Oct. 31.

tion; conveying in one wagon their few chattels, in two other covered ones their feebler companions, and especially their little ones, — after a discourse and prayer and benedictions, cheerfully, and in the name of God, began their pilgrimage. History need not stop to tell what charities cheered them on their journey, what towns were closed against them by Roman Catholic magistrates, or how they entered Frankfort on the Main, two by two in solemn procession, singing spiritual songs. As they floated down the Main, and between the castled crags, the vineyards, and the white-walled towns that adorn the banks of the Rhine, their conversation, amidst hymns and prayers, was of justification, and of sanctification, and of standing fast in the Lord. At Rotterdam, they were joined by two preachers, Bolzius and Gronau, both disciplined in charity at the Orphan House in Halle. A passage of six days carried them from Rotterdam to Dover, where several of the trustees visited them and provided considerately for their wants. In January, 1734, they set sail for their new homes. The majesty of the ocean quickened their sense of God's omnipotence and wisdom; and, as they lost sight of land, they broke out into a hymn to his glory. The setting sun, after a calm, so kindled the sea and the sky that words could not express their rapture, and they cried out: "How lovely the creation! How infinitely lovely the Creator!" When the wind was adverse, they prayed; and, as it changed, one opened his mind to the other on the power of prayer, even the prayer "of a man subject to like passions as we are." As the voyage excited weariness, a devout listener confessed himself to be an unconverted man; and they reminded him of the promise to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at the word. As they sailed pleasantly with a favoring breeze, at the hour of evening prayer they made a covenant with each other, like Jacob of old, and resolved by the grace of Christ to cast all the strange gods which were in their hearts into the depths of the sea. A storm grew so high that not a sail could be set; and they raised their voices in prayer and song amidst the

1733. Nov. 27.

Nov. 27. Dec. 3.

1734. Feb. 18.

tempest, for to love the Lord Jesus as a brother gave consolation. At Charleston, Oglethorpe bade them welcome; and, in five days more, the wayfaring men, whose home was beyond the skies, pitched their tents near Savannah.

1734. Mar. 18.

It remained to select for them a residence. To cheer their principal men as they toiled through the forest and across brooks, Oglethorpe, having provided horses, joined the party. By the aid of blazed trees and Indian guides, he made his way through morasses; a fallen tree served as a bridge over a stream, which the horses swam, for want of a ford; at night, he encamped with them abroad round a fire, and shared every fatigue, till the spot for their village was chosen, and, like the rivulet which formed its border, was named Ebenezer. There they built their dwellings, and there they resolved to raise a column of stone in token of gratitude to God, whose providence had brought them safely to the ends of the earth.

1734. In the same year, the town of Augusta was laid out, soon to become the favorite resort of Indian traders. The good success of Oglethorpe made the colony increase rapidly by volunteer emigrants. "His undertaking will succeed," said Johnson, the governor of South Carolina; "for he nobly devotes all his powers to serve the poor, and rescue them from their wretchedness." "He bears a great love to the servants and children of God," wrote the pastor of Ebenezer. "He has taken care of us to the utmost of his ability." "God has so blessed his presence and his regulations in the land, that others would not in many years have accomplished what he has brought about in one."

At length, in April, 1734, after a residence in America of about fifteen months, Oglethorpe sailed for England, taking with him Tomo-chichi and others of the Creeks to do homage at court, and to invigorate the confidence of England in the destiny of the new colony, which was shown to possess the friendship of the surrounding Indian nations.

His absence left Georgia to its own development. For its franchises, it had only the system of juries; and, though could not prosper but by self-reliance, legislation by its representatives was not begun.

The laws, too, which the trustees had instituted, were irksome. To prevent the monopoly of lands, to insure an estate even to the sons of the unthrifty, to strengthen a frontier colony, the trustees, deceived by reasonings from the system of feudal law and by their own prejudices as members of the landed aristocracy of England, had granted lands only in tail male. Here was a grievance that soon occasioned a just discontent.

Another regulation, which prohibited the sale of rum, led only to clandestine traffic.

A third rule forbade the introduction of slaves. "No settlement was ever before established on so humane a plan." Such was the praise of Georgia uttered in London in 1734. "Slavery, the misfortune, if not the dishonor, of other plantations, is absolutely proscribed. Let avarice defend it as it will, there is an honest reluctance in humanity against buying and selling, and regarding those of our own species as our wealth and possessions." "The name of slavery is here unheard, and every inhabitant is free from unchosen masters and oppression." And the testimony of Oglethorpe, who yet had once been willing to employ negroes, and once, at least, ordered the sale of a slave, explains the motive of the prohibition. "Slavery," he relates, "is against the gospel, as well as the fundamental law of England. We refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime." "The purchase of negroes is forbidden," wrote Von Reck, "on account of the vicinity of the Spaniards;" and this was doubtless "the governmental view." The colony was also "an asylum to receive the distressed. It was necessary, therefore, not to permit slaves in such a country; for slaves starve the poor laborer." But, after a little more than two years, several of the so called "better sort of people in Savannah" addressed a petition to the trustees "for the use of negroes."

1734. Feb. 16.

During his stay in England, Oglethorpe won universal favor for his colony, the youngest child of the colonial enterprise of England. Parliament continued its benefactions; the king expressed interest in a province

1734. 1735.

which bore his name. While the jealousy of the maritime powers on the continent was excited, new emigrants were sent from England. In May, 1735, the first colony of Moravians, nine in number, was led to Savannah by the devoted evangelist, Spangenberg. A company of Gaelic Highlanders established New Inverness,

Where wild Altama murmured to their woe.

1736. Feb. 6. Within a few weeks, three hundred persons, conducted by Oglethorpe himself, landed not far from Tybee Island, "where they all knelt and returned thanks to God for having safely arrived in Georgia." Among that group was a re-enforcement of Moravians, — men who had a faith above fear; "whose wives and children even were not afraid to die;" whose simplicity and solemnity in their conferences and prayers seemed to revive the primitive "assemblies, where form and state were not, but Paul the tent-maker, or Peter the fisherman, presided with the demonstration of the Spirit." There, too, were John and Charles Wesley, — the latter selected as the secretary to Oglethorpe, the former eager to become an apostle to the Indians, — fervent enthusiasts, who by their own confession were not yet disciplined to a peaceful possession of their souls. "That they were simple of heart, but yet that their ideas were disturbed," was the judgment of Zinzendorf. "Our end in leaving our native country," said they, "is not to gain riches and honor, but singly this, — to live wholly to the glory of God." They desired to make Georgia a religious colony, having no theory but devotion, no ambition but to quicken the sentiment of piety. The reformation of Luther and Calvin had included a political revolution; its advocates went abroad on the whirlwind, and overthrew institutions which time had consecrated and selfishness perverted. The age in which religious and political excitements were united had passed away; with the period of commercial influence, fanaticism had no sympathy. Mystic piety, more intense by its aversion to the theories of the eighteenth century, appeared as the rainbow; and Wesley was as the sower, who comes after the clouds have l[illegible]fted up and the floods have subsided, and scatters

his seed in the serene hour of peace. The new devotees, content to remain under the guardianship of the established government, sought to enjoy the exquisite delights of religious sensibility, not to overthrow dynasties or to break the bonds of colonial dependence. By John Wesley, therefore, who resided in America less than two years, no share in moulding the political institutions of Georgia was exerted or desired. As he strolled through natural avenues of palmettoes and evergreen hollies and woods sombre with hanging moss, his heart gushed forth in addresses to God:

Is there a thing beneath the sun,
That strives with Thee my heart to share?
Ah! tear it thence, and reign alone, —
The Lord of every motion there.

The austerity of his maxims involved him in controversies with the mixed settlers of Georgia; and his residence in America preceded his influence on the religious culture of its people. His brother was still less suited to shape events: the privations and hardships of the wilderness among rough associates plunged his gentle nature into the depths of melancholy and homesickness; and, at this time, his journal is not a record of events around him, but rather a chronicle of what passed within himself, the groundless jealousies of a pure mind, rendered suspicious by pining disease. When afterwards George Whitefield came, his intrepid nature did not lose its cheerfulness in the encounter with the wilderness; incited by the example of the Lutheran Salzburgers and the fame of the Orphan House at Halle, he founded and sustained an orphan house at Savannah by contributions which his eloquence extorted. He became more nearly identified with America, visited all the provinces from Florida to the northern frontier, and made his grave in New England; but he, also, swayed no legislatures, and is chiefly remembered for his power of reviving religious convictions in the multitude.

At once, Oglethorpe visited the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, to praise their good husbandry and to select the site of their new settlement; of which the lines were no sooner drawn, and the streets laid out 1736. Feb. 6–17. Feb. 9–20.

by an engineer, than huts covered with bark rose up, and the labors of the field were renewed. In a few years, the produce of raw silk by the Germans amounted to ten thousand pounds a year; and indigo became a staple. In earnest memorials, they deprecated the employment of negro slaves, pleading the ability of the white man to toil even under the suns of Georgia. Their religious affections bound them together in the unity of brotherhood; their controversies were decided among themselves; every event of life had its moral; and the fervor of their worship never disturbed their healthy tranquillity of judgment. They were cheerful and at peace.

1736. Feb. 16. From the Salzburger towns, Oglethorpe hastened to the southward, passing in a scout boat through the narrow inland channels, which delighted the eye by their sea-green color and stillness, and were sheltered by woods of pines, and evergreen oaks, and cedars, that came close to the water's side. On the second day, aided by the zeal of his own men and by Indians skilful in using the oar, he arrived at St. Simon's Island. A fire, kindling the long grass on an old Indian field, cleared a space for the streets of Frederica; and, amidst the noisy mirth and carols of the rice, the red, and the mocking bird, a fort was constructed on the centre of the bluff, with four bastions commanding the river and protecting the palmetto bowers, which, each twenty feet by fourteen, were set up on forks and poles in regular rows; a tight and convenient shelter.

Feb. 18.

It was but ten miles from Frederica to the Scottish settlement at Darien. To give heart to them by his presence, Oglethorpe, in the Highland costume, sailed up the Alatamaha; and all the Highlanders, as they perceived his approach, assembled with their plaids, broadswords, targets, and fire-arms, to bid him welcome. The brave men were pleased that a town was to be settled, that ships were to come up so near them, and that they now had a communication by land with Savannah. The "boggy places" proved to be not quite impassable; "two rivers," that had no ford, could be crossed by swimming; and trees had been blazed all the way for a "horse-road."

It remained to vindicate the boundaries of Georgia. 1736. April. The messenger who, in February, had been despatched to St. Augustine, had not returned. Oglethorpe resolved himself to sustain the pretensions of Great Britain to the territory as far south as the St. John's, and the Highlanders volunteered their service. With their aid, Apr. 18. he explored the channels south of Frederica; and, on the island to which Tomo-chichi gave the name of Cumberland, he marked out a fort to be called St. Andrew's. But Oglethorpe still pressed forward to the south. Passing Amelia Island, and claiming the St. John's River as the southern boundary of the territory possessed by the Indian subjects of England at the time of the treaty at Utrecht, on the southern extremity of the island at the entrance of that stream, where myrtles and palmettoes abounded, and wild grape-vines, climbing to the summit of trees, formed as beautiful walks as art could have designed, he planted the Fort St. George for the defence of the British frontier.

Indignant at the near approach of the English, the Spaniards of Florida threatened opposition. The messengers of Oglethorpe were detained as prisoners, and he resolved to claim their liberty. The rumors of his intended expedition had reached the wilderness; and the May. Uchees, all brilliantly painted, came down to form an alliance and to grasp the hatchet. Long speeches and the exchange of presents were followed by the war-dance. Tomo-chichi appeared also, with his warriors, May 23. ever ready to hunt the buffalo along the frontiers of Florida, or to engage in warfare with the few planters on that peninsula; and an embarkation was made for the purpose of regulating the southern boundary of the British colonies.

Oglethorpe knew that the Spaniards had been tampering with his allies, and were willing to cut off the settlements in Georgia at a blow; the promised succors from England had not arrived. But, in his enthusiasm, regardless of incessant toil, regardless of himself; unlike Baltimore and Penn, securing domains not to his family, but to emigrants; unlike so many royal governors at the north, amassing no

lands, and not even appropriating to himself permanently a cottage or a single lot of fifty acres, — he resolved to assert the claims of England, and preserve his colony as the bulwark of English North America. "To me," said he to Charles Wesley, "death is nothing." "If separate spirits," he added, "regard our little concerns, they do it as men regard the follies of their childhood." The people at Frederica declared to him their readiness to die in defence of the place, grieving only at his exposure to danger without them.

For that season, active hostilities were avoided by negotiation. The Spaniards did, indeed, claim peremptorily the whole country as far as St. Helena's Sound; but the English envoys at St. Augustine were set free; and, if the English post on St. George was abandoned, St. Andrew's, commanding the approach to the St. Mary's, was maintained. Hence the St. Mary's ultimately became the boundary of the colony of Oglethorpe.

The friendship of the red men insured the safety of the English settlements. The Chickasaws, animated by
1736. July. their victory over the Illinois and D'Artaguette, came down to narrate how unexpectedly they had been attacked, how victoriously they had resisted, with what exultations they had consumed their prisoners by fire. Ever attached to the English, they now deputed thirty warriors, with their civil sachem and war-chief, to make an alliance with Oglethorpe, whose fame had reached the Mississippi. They brought for him an Indian chaplet, made from the spoils of their enemies, glittering with feathers of many hues, and enriched with the horns of buffaloes. The Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws were his unwavering friends, and even the Choctaws covenanted with him to receive English traders. To hasten preparations for
Nov. 23. the impending contest with Spain, Oglethorpe embarked for England. He could report to the trustees
1737. Jan. 19. "that the colony was doing well; that Indians from seven hundred miles' distance had confederated with him, and acknowledged the authority of his sovereign."

CHAPTER XLIII.

WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.

1739–1748.

Receiving a commission as brigadier-general, with a military command extending over South Carolina, Oglethorpe himself, in Great Britain, raised and disciplined a regiment; and, after an absence of more than a year and a half, he returned to Frederica. There, by the industry of his soldiers, the walls of the fortress were completed. Their ivy-mantled ruins are still standing. 1737. Aug. 1738. Sept.

At Savannah, he was welcomed by salutes and bonfires. But he refused any alteration in the titles of land. The request for the allowance of slaves he rejected sternly, declaring that, if negroes should be introduced into Georgia, "he would have no further concern with the colony;" and he used his nearly arbitrary power as the civil and military head of the state, the founder and delegated legislator of Georgia, to interdict negro slavery. The trustees applauded this decision, and, notwithstanding "repeated applications," "persisted in denying the use of negroes;" even though many of the planters, believing success impossible with "white servants," prepared to desert the colony. Oct. 20.

The openness and fidelity of Oglethorpe preserved the affection of the natives. Muskohgees and Chickasaws came round him once more, to renew their covenants of friendship. The former had, from the first, regarded him as their father; and, as he had made some progress in their language, they appealed to him directly in every emergency.

Nor was this all. In the summer of 1739, the civil and war chiefs of the Muskohgees held a general council in Cowetas, and adjourned it to Cusitas on the 1739. Aug.

Chattahoochee; and Oglethorpe, making his way through solitary paths, fearless of the suns of summer, the night dews, or the treachery of some hireling Indian, came into the large square of their council-place, to distribute presents to his red friends; to renew and explain their covenants; to address them in words of affection; and to smoke with their nations the pipe of peace. It was then agreed that the ancient love of the tribes to the British king should remain unimpaired; that the lands from the St. John's to the Savannah, between the sea and the mountains, belonged of ancient right to the Muskohgees. Their cession to the English of the land on the Savannah, as far as the Ogeechee, and along the coast to the St. John's as far into the interior as the tide flows, was, with a few reservations, confirmed; and the entrance to the rest of their domains was barred for ever against the Spaniards. The right of pre-emption was reserved for the trustees of Georgia alone; nor might they enlarge their possessions except with the consent of the ancient proprietaries of the soil.

1739. Oct. The news of this treaty could not have reached England before the negotiations with Spain were abruptly terminated. Walpole desired peace; he pleaded for it in the name of national honor, of justice, and of the true interests of commerce. But the active English mind had become debauched by the hopes of sudden gains and soured by disappointment, and was resolved on illicit commerce, or on plunder and conquest. A war was desired, not because England insisted on cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, where Spain claimed a jurisdiction and had founded no settlements; nor because the South Sea company differed with the king of Spain as to the balances of their accounts; nor yet because the boundary between Carolina and Florida was still in dispute, — these differences could have been adjusted, — but, as all agree, because English "merchants were not permitted to smuggle with impunity." A considerable part of the population of Jamaica was sustained by the profits of the contraband trade with Spanish ports; the annual ship to Porto Bello,

which the assiento permitted, was followed at a distance by smaller vessels; and fresh bales of goods were nightly introduced in the place of those that had been discharged during the day. Not only did the slave-ships assist in violating the revenue laws of Spain; British smuggling vessels, pretending distress, would claim the right by treaty to enter the Spanish harbors on the Gulf of Mexico. In consequence, the colonial commerce of Spain was almost annihilated. In former days, the tonnage of the fleet of Cadiz had amounted to fifteen thousand tons; it was now reduced to two thousand tons, and had no office but to carry the royal revenues from America.

The monarch of Spain, the victim of bigoted scruples, busy in celebrating auto-da-fés and burning heretics, and regarding as an affair of state the question who should be revered as the true patron saint of his kingdom, was at last roused to angry impatience. His complaints, when addressed to England, were turned aside; and when the Spanish officers showed vigor in maintaining the commercial system of their sovereign, the English merchants resented their interference as the ebullitions of pride and the wanton aggressions of tyranny. One Jenkins, who to the pursuits of smuggling had joined maraudings which might well have been treated as acts of piracy, was summoned to the bar of the house of commons to give evidence. The tale which he was disciplined to tell of the loss of one of his ears by Spanish cruelty, of dishonor offered to the British flag and the British crown, was received without distrust. "What were your feelings, when in the hands of such barbarians?" was asked by a member, as his mutilated ears were exhibited. "I commended my soul to my God," answered the impudent fabler, "and my cause to my country." "We have no need of allies to enable us to command justice; the story of Jenkins will raise volunteers:" such was the cry of Pulteney, resolved to find fault at any rate, and to embarrass and overthrow the administration of Walpole. The clamor of orators was seconded by the poets of that age: Pope, in his dying notes, sneered at the timidity which was willing to avoid offence,

And own the Spaniard did a waggish thing,
Who cropped our ears, and sent them to the king;

and Samuel Johnson, in more earnest language, exclaims:—

Has Heaven reserved, in pity to the poor,
No pathless waste or undiscovered shore?
No secret island in the boundless main?
No peaceful desert yet unclaimed by Spain?

1739. Jan. At last, a convention was signed. The mutual claims for damages sustained in commerce were balanced and liquidated; and while the king of Spain demanded of the South Sea company sixty-eight thousand pounds, as due to him for his share of their profits, he agreed to pay, as an indemnity to British merchants for losses sustained by unwarranted seizures, the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds. On these questions, no dispute remained but the trivial one whether the British government should guarantee to Spain the acknowledged debt of the South Sea company. The question with regard to the boundaries of Florida was equally well settled; the actual possessions of each nation were to remain without change till commissioners could mark the boundary. In other words, England was to hold undisturbed jurisdiction over the country as far as the mouth of the St. Mary's.

It is to the honor of Walpole that he dared to resist the clamor of the mercantile interest, and, opposing the imbecile Duke of Newcastle, advocated the acceptance of the convention. "It requires no great abilities in a minister," he said, "to pursue such measures as may make a war unavoidable. But how many ministers have known the art of avoiding war by making a safe and honorable peace?" "The convention," said William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, — giving an augury, in his first speech on American affairs, that his political career might be marked by energy, but not by superiority to the selfish prejudices of nationality, — "the convention is insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonorable: I think, from my soul, it is nothing but a stipulation for national ignominy. The complaints of your despairing merchants and the voice of England have condemned it. Be the guilt of it upon the head of the

advisers; God forbid that this committee should share the guilt by approving it." What judgment posterity would form of Pulteney was foreshadowed in the poetry of Akenside; but there was no need of awaiting the judgment of posterity, or listening to the indignation of contemporary patriotism: Pulteney and his associates stand self-condemned. The original documents demonstrate "the extreme injustice" of their opposition. "It was my fortune," said Edmund Burke, "to converse with those who principally excited that clamor. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct."

In an ill hour for herself, in a happy one for America, England, on the twenty-third of October, 1739, declared war against Spain. If the rightfulness of the European colonial system be conceded, the declaration was a wanton invasion of it for immediate selfish purposes; but, in endeavoring to open the ports of Spanish America to the mercantile enterprise of her own people, she was beginning a war on colonial monopoly, which could not end till American colonies of her own, as well as of Spain, should obtain independence. 1739. Oct. 23.

To acquire possession of the richest portions of Spanish America, Anson was sent with a small squadron into the Pacific; but disasters at sea compelled him to renounce the hope of conquest, and seek only booty. As he passed Cape Horn, the winds, of which the fury made an ordinary gale appear as a gentle breeze, scattered his ships; one after another of them was wrecked or disabled; and at last, with a single vessel, after circumnavigating the globe, he returned to England, laden with spoils, rich in adventures, having won a merited celebrity by his sufferings, his good judgment, and his cheerful perseverance; while the brilliant sketches of the Ladrones by the historian of his voyage made his name familiar to the lovers of romance throughout Europe. 1740 to 1744.

In November, 1739, Edward Vernon, with six men-of-war, appeared off Porto Bello. The attack on the feeble and ill-supplied garrison began on the twenty- 1739.

first; and, on the next day, Vernon, losing but seven men, was in possession of the town and the castles. A booty of ten thousand dollars, and the pleasure of demolishing the fortifications of the place, were the sole fruits of the enterprise; and, having acquired no rightful claim to glory, Vernon returned to Jamaica. Party spirit in free governments sometimes vitiates the contemporary verdict of opinion. Vernon belonged to the opposition; and the enemies of Walpole exalted his praises, till his heroism was made a proverb, his birthday signalized by lights and bonfires, and his head selected as the favorite ornament for sign-
1740. posts. Meantime, he took and demolished Fort Chagre on this side of the Isthmus of Darien, but without result, for want of the co-operation of Anson at Panama.

England now prepared to send to the West Indies by far the largest fleet and army that had ever appeared in the Gulf of Mexico, and summoned the colonies north of Carolina to contribute four battalions to the armament. No one of them refused its quota; even Pennsylvania voted a contribution of money, and thus enabled its governor to enlist troops for the occasion. "It will not be amiss," wrote Sir Charles Wager to Admiral Vernon, "for both French and Spaniards to be a month or two in the West Indies before us, that they may be half-dead and half-roasted before our fleet arrives." So the expedition from England did not begin its voyage till October, and, after stopping for water at Dominica, where Lord Cathcart, the commander of the land forces, fell a victim to the climate, reached Ja-
1741. Jan. 9. maica in the early part of the following year. He [illegible] succeeded by the inexperienced, irresolute Went- naval force was under Vernon, who was impa- adiction, and ill disposed to endure even an e enterprise, instead of having one good o bad ones.

ing at Jamaica the time from the ninth of , 1741, till near the end of the month, at last, fleet of twenty-nine ships of the line, beside smaller vessels, with fifteen thousand sailors,

with twelve thousand land troops, equipped with all sorts of warlike instruments and every kind of convenience, Vernon weighed anchor, without any definite purpose. Havana lay within three days' sail; its conquest would have made England supreme in the Gulf of Mexico. But Vernon insisted on searching for the fleet of the French and Spaniards; and the French had already left the fatal climate.

The council of war, yielding to the vehemence of Admiral Vernon, resolved to attack Carthagena, the strongest place in Spanish America. The fleet appeared before the town on the fourth of March, and lost five days by inactivity. Fifteen days were required to gain possession of the fortress that rose near the entrance to the harbor; the Spaniards themselves abandoned Castillo Grande. It remained to storm Fort San Lazaro, which commanded the town. The attack, devised without judgment, was made by twelve hundred men with intrepidity; but the assailants were repulsed with the loss of half their number, while the admiral gave no timely aid to the land forces, and discord aggravated defeat. Ere long, rains set in. The fever of the low country in the tropics began its rapid work; every hour swept away battalions; the dead were cast into the sea, sometimes without winding-sheet or sinkers; the hospital ships were crowded in the three days that elapsed between the descent and the re-embarkation; the effective land force dwindled from six thousand six hundred to three thousand two hundred. The English could only demolish the fortifications and retire.

In July, an attack on Santiago in Cuba was meditated, and abandoned almost as soon as attempted.

When, late in November, the expedition which was to have prepared the way for conquering Mexico and Peru returned to Jamaica, the total loss of lives was estimated at about twenty thousand, of whom few fell by the enemy. Of the recruits from the colonies, nine out of ten fell victims to the climate and the service.

In March, 1742, Vernon and Wentworth planned an expedition against Panama; but, on reaching Porto Bello, the design was voted impracticable, and they returned. Mean-

time, the commerce of England with Spain was destroyed; the assiento was interrupted; even the contraband was impaired; while English ships became the plunder of privateers. England had made no acquisitions, and had inflicted on the Spanish West Indies far less evil than she herself had suffered.

1739. On receiving instructions from England of the approaching war with Spain, Oglethorpe, before the close of the year, extended the boundaries of Georgia once more to the St. John's, and in the first week of 1740 he entered Florida. Re-enforcements from South Carolina were delayed so long, that June had come before he could lead six hundred regular troops, four hundred militia from Carolina, and two hundred Indian auxiliaries, to the walls

1740. June 2. of St. Augustine. The garrison, commanded by Monteano, a man of courage and energy, had already received supplies. For nearly five weeks, Oglethorpe endeavored, in defiance of his own weakness and the strength of the place, to devise measures for victory, but in vain. Threatened with desertion by his troops, he returned to Frederica without molestation. The few prisoners whom he made were kindly treated; not a field, nor a garden, nor a house near St. Augustine was injured, unless by the Indians whose cruelties he reproved and restrained.

1742. To make good its pretensions, the Spanish government resolved on invading Georgia. In 1742, it collected its forces from Cuba; and a large fleet, with an armament of which the force has been greatly exaggerated, sailed towards the mouth of the St. Mary's. Fort William, which Oglethorpe had constructed at the southern extremity of Cumberland Island, defended the entrance successfully, till, fighting his way through Spanish vessels, the general himself re-enforced it. Then returning to St. Simon's, with less than a thousand men, he prepared for defence.

July 5. On the fifth of July, seven days after it first came to anchor off Simon's Bar, the Spanish fleet of thirty-six vessels, with the tide of flood and a brisk gale, entered St. Simon's harbor, and succeeded in passing the English

batteries on the southern point of the island. The general signalled his ships to run up to Frederica, and, spiking the guns of the lower fort, withdrew to the town; while the Spaniards landed at Gascoin's Bluff, and took possession of the camps which the English had abandoned. But, in constructing the road to Frederica, Oglethorpe had left a morass on the one side, and a dense oak wood on the other. A body of Spaniards advanced within a mile of the town; they were met by Oglethorpe with the Highland company, were overcome, pursued, and most of them killed or taken prisoners. A second party of the Spaniards marched to the assault; at a spot where the narrow avenue, bending with the edge of the morass, forms a crescent, they fell into an ambuscade, and were driven back with a loss of about two hundred men, leaving to the ground, which was now strown with the dead, the name of "the Bloody Marsh." During the night of the fourteenth, the Spaniards re-embarked, leaving a quantity of ammunition and guns behind them. On the eighteenth, as they proceeded to the south, they once more attacked Fort William, which was bravely defended by Stuart and his garrison of fifty men. On the twenty-fourth of July, Oglethorpe could order a general thanksgiving for the end of the invasion.

1743. July 7.

July 14.

Florida still lingered under the jurisdiction of Spain; but its limits were narrowed, and the frontiers of Georgia were safe against inroads. After a year of tranquillity, Oglethorpe sailed for England, never again to behold the colony to which he consecrated the disinterested toils of ten years. Gentle in nature; affable even to talkativeness, and slightly boastful; hating nothing but papists and Spain; merciful to the prisoner; a father to the emigrant; the unwavering friend of Wesley; the constant benefactor of the Moravians; honestly zealous for the conversion of the Indians; invoking for the negro the panoply of the gospel; the reliever of the poor, — his name became another expression for "vast benevolence of soul." In a commercial period, a monarchist in the state, and friendly to the church, he seemed even in youth like the relic of a

July.

more chivalrous century. His life was prolonged to near fivescore; and, even in the last year of it, he was extolled as "the finest figure" ever seen, the impersonation of venerable age; his faculties were bright, his eye undimmed; "heroic, romantic, and full of the old gallantry," he was like the sound of the lyre, as it still vibrates after the spirit that sweeps its strings has passed away. His legislation did not outlive his power. The system of tail male went gradually into oblivion; the importation of rum ceased to be forbidden; slaves from Carolina were hired by the planter, first for a short period, then for life or a hundred years. Slavers from Africa sailed directly to Savannah, and the laws against them were not rigidly enforced. Whitefield, who believed that God's providence would certainly make slavery terminate for the advantage of the Africans, pleaded before the trustees in its favor, as essential to the prosperity of Georgia; even the poorest people desired the change. At last the Salzburgers began to think that negro slaves might be employed in a Christian spirit; and
1751. that, if the negroes were treated in a Christian manner, their change of country would prove to them a benefit. A message from Germany assisted to hush their scruples. "If you take slaves in faith and with the intent of conducting them to Christ, the action will not be a sin, but may prove a benediction."

After the departure of Oglethorpe, the southern colonies enjoyed repose; as the war for colonial commerce became merged in a vast European struggle, involving the prin-
1740. ciples and the designs which had agitated the civilized world for centuries. In France, Fleury, like Walpole desiring to adhere to the policy of peace, was, like Walpole, overruled by selfish rivals. As he looked anxiously upon the commotions in Europe, it appeared to him that the end of the world was at hand; and it was so with regard to the world of feudalism and Catholic legitimacy. He expressed his aversion to all wars; and when the king of Spain — whom natural melancholy, irritated by ill-health and losses, prompted to abdicate the throne — obtained of Louis XV., under his own hand, a promise of

fifty ships of the line, the prime minister explained his purposes: "I do not propose to begin a war with England, or to seize or to annoy one British ship, or to take one foot of land possessed by England in any part of the world. Yet I must prevent England from accomplishing its great purpose of appropriating to itself the entire commerce of the West Indies." "France, though it has no treaty with Spain, cannot consent that the Spanish colonies should fall into English hands." "It is our object," said the statesmen of France, "not to make war on England, but to induce it to consent to a peace."

Such was the wise disposition of the aged Fleury, when, by the death of Charles VI., the extinction of the male line of the house of Hapsburg raised a question about the Austrian succession. The pragmatic sanction, to which France was a party, secured the Austrian dominions to Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI.; while, from an erudite genealogy or previous marriages, the sovereigns of Spain, of Saxony, and of Bavaria, each derived a claim to the undivided heritage. The interest of the French king, his political system, his faith as pledged by a solemn treaty, the advice of his minister, demanded of him the recognition of the rights of Maria Theresa in their integrity; and yet, swayed by the intrigues of the Belle-Isles and the hereditary hatred of Austria, without one decent pretext, he constituted himself the centre of an alliance against her. The condition of European political relations was that of tangled intrigues. No statesman of that day, except Frederic, seemed in any degree to perceive the tendency of events. As England, by its arrogant encroachments on Spain, unconsciously enlarged commercial freedom, and began the independence of colonies, so France, by its unjustifiable war on Austria, floated from its moorings, and foreboded the wreck of Catholic legitimacy.

In the great European contest, England, true to its policy of connecting itself with the second continental power, gave subsidies to Austria. The fleets of England and France meet in the Mediterranean; the fleet of England is victorious. France declares war against 1744. Feb. Mar. 15

England; and the conflicts in America are lost in the conflagration of Europe.

Never did history present such a scene of confusion. While the selfishness which had produced the general war was itself without faith, it made use of all the resources that were offered by ancient creeds or ancient animosities, by Protestantism and the Roman church, legitimacy and the mercantile system, the ancient rivalry of France and Austria, the reciprocal jealousies of France and England. The enthusiasm of other centuries in religious strifes was extinct; and the new passion for popular power was but just beginning to swell. Europe rocked like the ocean on the lulling of a long storm, when the opposite wind has just sprung up, throwing the heaving billows into tumultuous conflict.

The absence of purity in public life extinguished attachment to the administration, and left an opportunity to the Pretender to invade Great Britain, to conquer Scotland, to advance within four days' march of London. This invasion had no partisans in America, where the house of Hanover was respected as the representative of Protestantism. In England, the vices of the reigning family had produced disgust and indifference, and renewed the question of a choice of dynasty; America was destined to elect not between kings, but forms of government; while the civil war in the mother country brought to her colonists from Scotland.

On the continent, France gained fruitless victories. Her flag waved over Prague only to be struck down. Saxony, Bavaria, her allies on the borders of Austria, one after another, abandoned her. The fields of blood at Fontenoy, at Raucoux, at Laffeldt, were barren of results; for the collision of armies was but an unmeaning, selfish collision of brute force. Statesmen scoffed at virtue, and she avenged herself by bringing their counsels to nought. In vain did they marshal all Europe in hostile array; they had no torch of truth to pass from nation to nation; and therefore, though they could besiege cities and burn the granges of the peasant, yet, except as their purposes were overruled, their lavish prodigality of treasure and honor and life was fruitless to humanity.

1745. 1746. 1747.

One result, however, of which the character did not at first appear, was during the conflict achieved in the north. Protestantism was represented on the continent by no great power. Frederic II., a pupil of Leibnitz and Wolf, took advantage of the confusion, and with the happy audacity of youth, and a discreet ambition which knew where to set bounds to its own impetuosity, wrested Silesia from Austria. Indifferent to alliances with powers which, having no fixed aims, could have no fixed friendships, he entered into the contest alone and withdrew from it alone. Twice assuming arms and twice concluding a separate peace, 1742. 1745. he retired with a guarantee from England of the acquisitions which, aided by the power of opinion, constituted his monarchy the central point of political interest on the continent of Europe.

In the East Indies, the commercial companies of France and England struggled for supremacy. The empire of the Great Mogul lay in ruins, inviting a restorer. But who should undertake its reconstruction? An active instinct urged the commercial world of England to seek a nearer connection with Hindostan; again the project of discovering a north-western passage to India was re- 1742. 1747. newed; and, to encourage the spirit of adventurous curiosity, the English parliament promised liberal rewards for success. Meantime, the French company of the Indies, aided by the king, confirmed its power at Pondicherry; but as the Sorbonne had published to a credulous nation that dividends on the stock of the commercial company would be usurious and therefore a crime against religion, the corporation was unfortunate, though private merchants were gaining wealth in the Carnatic and on the Ganges. The brave mariner from St. Malo, the enterprising La Bourdonnais, from his government in the Isle of France, devised schemes of conquest. But the future was not foreseen; and, limited by instructions from the French ministers to make no acquisitions of territory whatever, though, with the aid of the governor of Pondicherry, he might have gained for France the ascendency in Hindostan, he pledged his word of honor to restore Madras to the English, in the

1746. Sept. very hour of victory, when he proudly planted the flag of France on the fortress of the city which, next to Goa and Batavia, was the most opulent of the European establishments in India.

Russia was invoked to take part in the contest; and, in her first political associations with our country, she was the stipendiary of England. By her interference, she hastened the return of peace. But, at an earlier period of the war, she had, in the opposite direction, drawn near our present borders. After the empire of the czars had been extended over Kamtschatka, Peter the Great had planned a voyage of discovery along the shores of Asia; and, in 1728, Behring demonstrated the insulation of that continent on the

1741. June 4. east. In 1741, the same intrepid navigator, sailing with two vessels from Okhotsk, discovered the narrow straits which divide the continents; caught glimpses of the mountains of North-west America; traced the

Dec. 8. line of the Aleutian archipelago; and, in the midst of snows and ice, fell a victim to fatigue on a desert island of the group which bears his name. The gallant Danish mariner did not know that he had seen America; and, though Russia by right of discovery thus gained the north-west of our continent, no conception dawned on the lewd revellers who surrounded the empress Elizabeth, of the political institutions which already felt the weight of her influence in diplomacy.

While the states of Europe, by means of their wide relations, were fast forming the nations of the whole world into one political system, the few incidents of war in our America could obtain no interest. The true theatre of the war was not there. A proposition was brought forward to form a union of all the colonies, for the purposes of defence; but danger was not so universal or so imminent as to furnish a sufficient motive for a confederacy. The peace of the central provinces was unbroken; the government of Virginia feared dissenters more than Spaniards. In one of its counties in the south-west range, Morris chanced to have a copy of Luther on Galatians and Bunyan's works, and read from them every Lord's Day to his neighbors. A

meeting-house was built for him to read in. His fame spread, and he was taken up for examination; 1743. but, when asked of what sect he was, he could not tell. In the glens of the Old Dominion, he had not heard of sects; he knew not that men could disagree.

At Lancaster in Pennsylvania, the governor of that state, with commissioners from Maryland and from Virginia, in 1744, met the deputies of the Iroquois, who 1744. since the union with the Tuscaroras became known as the Six Nations. "We conquered," said they, "the country of the Indians beyond the mountains: if the Virginians ever gain a good right to it, it must be by us." And, for about four hundred pounds, the deputies of the Six Nations made "a deed recognising the king's July 2. right to all the lands that are or shall be, by his majesty's appointment, in the colony of Virginia." The lands in Maryland were in like manner confirmed to Lord Baltimore, but with definite limits; the deed to Virginia extended the claim of that colony indefinitely in the west and north-west.

The events of the war of England with France were then detailed, and the conditions of the former treaties of alliance were called to mind. "The covenant chain between us and Pennsylvania," replied Canassatego, "is an ancient one, and has never contracted rust. We shall have all your country under our eye. Before we came here, we told Onondio there was room enough at sea to fight, where he might do what he pleased; but he should not come upon our land to do any damage to our brethren." After a pause, it was added: "The Six Nations have a great authority over the praying Indians, who stand in the gates of the French: to show our further care, we have engaged these very Indians and other allies of the French; they have agreed with us they will not join against you." Then the chain of union was made as bright as the sun. The Virginians proposed to educate the children of the Iroquois at their public school. "Brother Assaragoa," they replied, "we must let you know we love our children too well to send them so great a way; and the Indians are not inclined

to give their children learning. Your invitation is good, but our customs differ from yours." And then, acknowledging the rich gifts from the three provinces, they continued, as if aware of their doom: "We have provided a small present for you; but, alas! we are poor, and shall ever remain so, as long as there are so many Indian traders among us. Theirs and the white people's cattle eat up all the grass, and make deer scarce." And they presented three bundles of skins. At the close of the conference, the Indians gave, in their order, five loud cries; and the
1744. July 4. English agents, after a health to the king of England and the Six Nations, put an end to the assembly by three huzzas. Thus did Great Britain at once confirm its claims to the basin of the Ohio, and protect its northern frontier.

The sense of danger led the Pennsylvanians for the first time to a military organization effected by a voluntary system, under the influence of Franklin. "He was the sole author of two lotteries, that raised above six thou-
1747. sand pounds to pay for the charge of batteries on the river;" and he "found a way to put the country on raising above one hundred and twenty companies of militia, of which Philadelphia raised ten, of about a hundred men each." "The women were so zealous that they furnished ten pairs of silk colors, wrought with various mottoes." Of the Quakers, many admitted the propriety of self-defence. "I principally esteem Benjamin Franklin," wrote Logan, "for saving the country by his contriving the militia. He was the prime actor in all this;" and, when elected to the command of a regiment, he declined the distinction, and, as a humble volunteer, "himself carried a musket among the common soldiers."

1744. May. A body of French from Cape Breton, before the news of the declaration of war with France had been received in New England, surprised the little English garrison at Canso; destroyed the fishery, the fort, and the other buildings there; and removed eighty men, as prisoners of war, to Louisburg. The fortifications of Annapolis, the only remaining defence of Nova Scotia, were in a state of ruin.

An attack made upon it by Indians in the service of the French, accompanied by Le Loutre, their missionary, was with difficulty repelled. The inhabitants of the province, sixteen thousand in number, were of French origin; and a revolt of the people, with the aid of Indian allies, might have once more placed France in possession of it. While William Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, foresaw the danger, and solicited aid from England, the officers and men taken at Canso, after passing the summer in captivity at Louisburg, were sent to Boston on parole. They brought accurate accounts of the condition of that fortress; and Shirley resolved on an enterprise for its reduction. The fishermen, especially of Marblehead, interrupted in their pursuits by the war, disdained an idle summer, and entered readily into the design. The legislature of Massachusetts, after some hesitation, resolved on the expedition by a majority of one vote. Solicited to render assistance, New York sent a small supply of artillery, and Pennsylvania of provisions; New England alone furnished men; of whom, Connecticut raised five hundred and sixteen; New Hampshire — to whose troops Whitefield gave, as Charles Wesley had done to Oglethorpe, the motto, "Nothing is to be despaired of, with Christ for the leader" — contributed a detachment of three hundred and four; while the forces levied for the occasion by Massachusetts exceeded three thousand volunteers. Three hundred men sailed from Rhode Island, but too late for active service. An express-boat requested the co-operation of Commodore Warren at Antigua, with such ships as could be spared from the leeward islands; but, in a consultation with the captains of his squadron, it was unanimously resolved, in the absence of directions from England, not to engage in the scheme. 1745. Jan.

Thus, then, relying on themselves, the volunteers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, with a merchant, William Pepperell of Maine, for their chief commander, met at Canso. The inventive genius of New England had been aroused; one proposed a model of a flying bridge, to scale the walls even before a breach should be made; another was ready with a caution against mines; April.

a third, who was a minister, presented to the merchant general, ignorant of war, a plan for encamping the army, opening trenches, and placing batteries. Shirley, wisest of all, gave instructions for the fleet of a hundred vessels to arrive together at a precise hour; heedless of the surf, to land in the dark on the rocky shore; to march forthwith, through thicket and bog, to the city, and beyond it; and to take the fortress and royal battery by surprise before day-break. Such was the confiding spirit at home. The expedition itself was composed of fishermen, who, in time of war, could no longer use the hook and line on the Grand Bank, but with prudent forethought took with them their cod-lines; of mechanics, skilled from childhood in the use of the gun; of lumberers, inured to fatigue and encampments in the woods; of husbandmen from the interior, who had grown up with arms in their hands, accustomed to danger, keenest marksmen, disciplined in the pursuit of larger and smaller game; all volunteers; all commanded by officers from among themselves; many of them church members; almost all having wives and children. On the
1745. April 7. first Sabbath, how did "the very great company of people" come together on shore, to hear the sermon on enlisting as volunteers in the service of the Great Captain of our salvation! As the ice of Cape Breton was drifting in such heaps that a vessel could not enter its harbors, the New England fleet was detained many days at Canso, when, under a clear sky and a bright sun, the
Apr. 23. squadron of Commodore Warren happily arrived. Hardly had his council at Antigua declined the enterprise, when instructions from England bade him render every aid to Massachusetts; and, learning at sea the embarkation of the troops, he sailed directly to Canso.
Apr. 24. The next day arrived nine vessels from Connecticut with the forces from that colony in high spirits and good health.

On the last day of April, an hour after sunrise, the armament, in a hundred vessels of New England, entering the Bay of Chapeau Rouge, or Gabarus, as the English called it, came in sight of Louisburg. Its walls, raised on a neck

of land on the south side of the harbor, forty feet thick at the base, and from twenty to thirty feet high, all within sweep of the bastions, surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide, were furnished with one hundred and one cannon, seventy-six swivels, and six mortars. The harbor was defended by an island battery of thirty twenty-two pounders, and by the royal battery on the shore, having thirty large cannon, a moat and bastions, all so perfect that it was thought two hundred men could have defended it against five thousand. On the other hand, the New England forces had but eighteen cannon and three mortars; but no sooner did they come in sight of the city, than, letting down the whale-boats, "they flew to shore, like eagles to the quarry." The French that came down to prevent the landing were put to flight, and driven into the woods. On the next day, a detachment of four hundred men, led by William Vaughan, a volunteer from New Hampshire, marched by the city, which it greeted with three cheers, and took post near the north-east harbor. The French who held the royal battery, struck with panic, spiked its guns, and abandoned it in the night. In the morning, boats from the city came to recover it; but Vaughan and thirteen men, standing on the beach, kept them from landing till a re-enforcement arrived. To a major in one of the regiments of Massachusetts, Seth Pomeroy from Northampton, a gunsmith, was assigned the oversight of above twenty smiths in drilling the cannon, which were little injured; and the fire from the city and the island battery was soon returned. "Louisburg," wrote Pomeroy to his family, "is an exceedingly strong place, and seems impregnable. It looks as if our campaign would last long; but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands." "Suffer no anxious thought to rest in your mind about me," replied his wife, from the bosom of New England. "The whole town is much engaged with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week are maintained. I leave you in the hand of God."

1745. May 1.

The troops made a jest of technical military terms; they laughed at proposals for zigzags and epaulements. The light of nature, however, taught them to erect fascine batteries at the west and south-west of the city. Of these, the most effective was commanded by Tidcomb, whose readiness to engage in hazardous enterprises was justly applauded. As it was necessary, for the purposes of attack, to drag the cannon over boggy morasses, impassable for wheels, Meserve, a New Hampshire colonel, who was a carpenter, constructed sledges; and on these the men, with straps over their shoulders, sinking to their knees in mud, drew them safely. Thus the siege proceeded in a random manner. The men knew little of strict discipline; they had no fixed encampment; their lodgings were turf and brush houses; their bed was the earth, dangerous resting-place for those of the people "unacquainted with lying in the woods." Yet the weather was fair; and the atmosphere, usually thick with palpable fogs, was during the whole time singularly dry. All day long, the men, if not on duty, were busy with amusements, — firing at marks, fishing, fowling, wrestling, racing, or running after balls shot from the enemy's guns. The feebleness of the garrison, which had only six hundred regular soldiers, with about a thousand Breton militia, prevented sallies; the hunting-parties, as vigilant for the trail of an enemy as for game, rendered a surprise by land impossible; while the fleet of Admiral Warren guarded the approaches by sea.

Four or five attempts to take the island battery, which commanded the entrance to the harbor, had failed. The failure is talked of among the troops; a party of volunteers, after the fashion of Indian expeditions, under a chief of their own election, enlist for a vigorous attack by night; "but now Providence seemed remarkably to frown upon the affair." The assailants are discovered; a murderous fire strikes their boats before they land; only a part of them reach the island; a severe contest for near an hour ensues; those who can reach the boats escape, with the loss of sixty killed and one hundred and sixteen taken prisoners.

1745. May 26.

To annoy the island battery, the Americans, under the direction of Gridley of Boston, erected a battery near the north cape of the harbor, on the Light-house Cliff; and within two hundred yards of the city, trenches had been thrown up near an advanced post, which with guns from the royal battery played upon the north-west gate of Louisburg.

Still no breach had been effected, while the labors of the garrison were making the fortifications stronger than ever. The expedition must be abandoned, or the walls of the city scaled. The naval officers, who had been joined by several ships-of-war, ordered from England on the service, agreed to sail into the harbor and bombard the city, while the land forces were to attempt to enter it by storm. But, strong as were the works, the garrison was discontented; and Duchambon, their commander, ignorant of his duties. The "Vigilant," a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with military stores for his supply, had been decoyed by Douglas, of the "Mermaid," into the English fleet, and, after an engagement of some hours, had been taken in sight of the besieged town. The desponding governor sent out a flag of truce; terms of capitulation were accepted; on the seventeenth of June, the city, the fort, the batteries, were surrendered; and a New England minister soon preached in the French chapel. As the troops, marching into the place, beheld its strength, their hearts for the first time sunk within them. "God has gone out of the way of his common providence," said they, "in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to incline the hearts of the French to give up, and deliver this strong city into our hands." When the news of success reached Boston, the bells of the town were rung merrily, and all the people were in transports of joy. The strongest fortress of North America capitulated to an army of undisciplined New England mechanics and farmers and fishermen. It was the greatest success achieved by England during the war.

1745. May 18.

July 3.

The capture of Louisburg threatened a transfer of the scene of earnest hostilities to America. France

1746.

planned its recovery and the desolation of the English colonies; but, in 1746, the large fleet from France, under the command of the Duke d'Anville, wasted by storms and shipwrecks and pestilential disease, enfeebled by the sudden death of its commander and the delirium and suicide of his successor, did not even attack Annapolis. In the
1747. next year, the French fleet, with troops destined for Canada and Nova Scotia, was encountered by Anson and Warren; and all its intrepidity could not save it from striking its colors. The American colonies suffered only on the frontier. Fort Massachusetts in Williamstown, the post nearest to Crown Point, having but twenty-two
1746. Aug. 20. men for its garrison, capitulated to a large body of French and Indians. In the wars of Queen Anne, Deerfield and Haverhill were the scenes of massacre. It marks the progress of settlements that danger was
1747. April. repelled from Concord on the Merrimack, and from the township now called Charlestown on the Connecticut.

Repairing to Louisburg, Shirley, with Warren, had concerted a project for reducing all Canada; and the
1746. Duke of Newcastle replied to their proposals by directing preparations for the conquest. The colonies north of Virginia voted to raise more than eight thousand men; but no fleet arrived from England; and the French were not even driven from their posts in Nova
1747. Scotia. The summer of the next year passed in that inactivity which attends the expectation of peace; and in September the provincial army, by direction of the Duke of Newcastle, was disbanded. "There is reason enough for doubting whether the king, if he had the power, would wish to drive the French from their possessions in Canada." Such was public opinion at New York,
1748. Nov. in 1748, as preserved for us by the Swedish traveller, Peter Kalm. "The English colonies in this part of the world," he continues, "have increased so much in wealth and population that they will vie with European England. But, to maintain the commerce and the power of the metropolis, they are forbid to establish new manufac-

tures which might compete with the English; they may dig for gold and silver only on condition of shipping them immediately to England; they have, with the exception of a few fixed places, no liberty to trade to any parts not belonging to the English dominions; and foreigners are not allowed the least commerce with these American colonies. And there are many similar restrictions. These oppressions have made the inhabitants of the English colonies less tender towards their mother land. This coldness is increased by the many foreigners who are settled among them; for Dutch, Germans, and French are here blended with English, and have no special love for Old England. Besides, some people are always discontented, and love change; and exceeding freedom and prosperity nurse an untamable spirit. I have been told, not only by native Americans, but by English emigrants, publicly, that within thirty or fifty years the English colonies in North America may constitute a separate state, entirely independent of England. But, as this whole country is towards the sea unguarded, and on the frontier is kept uneasy by the French, these dangerous neighbors are the reason why the love of these colonies for their metropolis does not utterly decline. The English government has therefore reason to regard the French in North America as the chief power that urges their colonies to submission."

The Swede heard but the truth, though that truth lay concealed from British statesmen. Even during the war, the spirit of resistance to tyranny was kindled into a fury at Boston. Sir Charles Knowles, the British naval commander, whom Smollett is thought to have described justly as "an officer without resolution, and a man without veracity," having been deserted by some of his crew, while lying off Nantasket, early one morning, sent his boats up to Boston, and impressed seamen from vessels, mechanics and laborers from the wharfs. "Such a surprise could not be borne here," wrote Hutchinson, who was present; and he assigns, as the reason of impatience, that "the people had not been used to it." "Men would not be contented with fair promises from the gov-

1747. Nov. 17.

ernor;" "the seizure and restraint of the commanders and other officers who were in town was insisted upon, as the only effectual method to procure the release of the inhabitants aboard the ships." And the mob executed what the governor declined. At last, after three days of rage and resentment, through the mediation of the house of representatives, order was restored. The officers were liberated from their irregular imprisonment; and, in return, most, if not all, of the impressed citizens of Boston were dismissed from the English fleet.

The alliance of Austria with Russia hastened negotiations for the pacification of Europe; and a congress con-
1748. vened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to restore tranquillity to the civilized world. Between England and Spain, and between France and England, after eight years of reciprocal annoyance, after an immense accumulation of national debt, the condition of peace was a return to the state before the war. Nothing was gained. Humanity had suffered, without a purpose and without a result. In the colonial world, Madras was restored for Cape Breton; the boundaries between the British and the French provinces in America were left unsettled, neither party acknowledging the right of the other to the basin of the Penobscot or of the Ohio; the frontier of Florida was not traced. Neither did Spain relinquish the right of searching English vessels suspected of smuggling; and, though it was agreed that the assiento treaty should continue for four years more, the right was soon abandoned, under a new convention, for an inconsiderable pecuniary indemnity. The principle of the freedom of the seas was asserted only by Frederic II. Holland, remaining neutral as long as possible, claimed, under the treaty of 1674, freedom of goods for her free ships; but England, disregarding the treaty, captured and condemned her vessels. On occasion of the war between Sweden and Russia, the principle was again urged by the Dutch, and likewise rejected by the Swedes. Even Prussian ships were seized; but the king of Prussia indemnified the sufferers by reprisals on English property. Of higher questions, in which the interests of civilization were involved, not one was adjusted.

To the balance of power, sustained by standing armies of a million of men, the statesmen of that day intrusted the preservation of tranquillity, and, ignorant of the 1748. might of principles to mould the relations of states, saw in Austria the certain ally of England, in France the natural ally of Prussia.

Thus, after long years of strife, of repose, and of strife renewed, England and France solemnly agreed to be at peace. The treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle had been negotiated by the ablest statesmen of Europe, in the forms of monarchical diplomacy. They believed themselves the arbiters of mankind, the pacificators of the world; reconstructing the colonial system on a basis which should endure for ages, and confirming the peace of Europe by the nice adjustment of material forces. At the very time of the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the woods of Virginia sheltered the youthful George Washington, who had been born by the side of the Potomac, beneath the roof of a Westmoreland planter, and whose lot almost from infancy had been that of an orphan. No academy had welcomed him to its shades, no college crowned him with its honors: to read, to write, to cipher, these had been his degrees in knowledge. And now, at sixteen years of age, in quest of an honest maintenance encountering the severest toil; cheered onward by being able to write to a schoolboy friend, "Dear Richard, a doubloon is my constant gain every day, and sometimes six pistoles;" "himself his own cook, having no spit but a forked stick, no plate but a large chip;" roaming over spurs of the Alleghanies, and along the banks of the Shenandoah; alive to nature, and sometimes "spending the best of the day in admiring the trees and richness of the land;" among skin-clad savages with their scalps and rattles, or uncouth emigrants "that would never speak English;" rarely sleeping in a bed; holding a bearskin a splendid couch; glad of a resting-place for the night upon a little hay, straw, or fodder, and often camping in the forests, where the place nearest the fire was a happy luxury, — this stripling surveyor in the woods, with no companion but his unlettered associates, and no implements of science

but his compass and chain, contrasted strangely with the imperial magnificence of the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1748. And yet God had selected, not Kaunitz nor Newcastle, not a monarch of the house of Hapsburg nor of Hanover, but the Virginia stripling, to give an impulse to human affairs; and, as far as events can depend on an individual, had placed the rights and the destinies of countless millions in the keeping of the widow's son.

END OF VOLUME TWO.

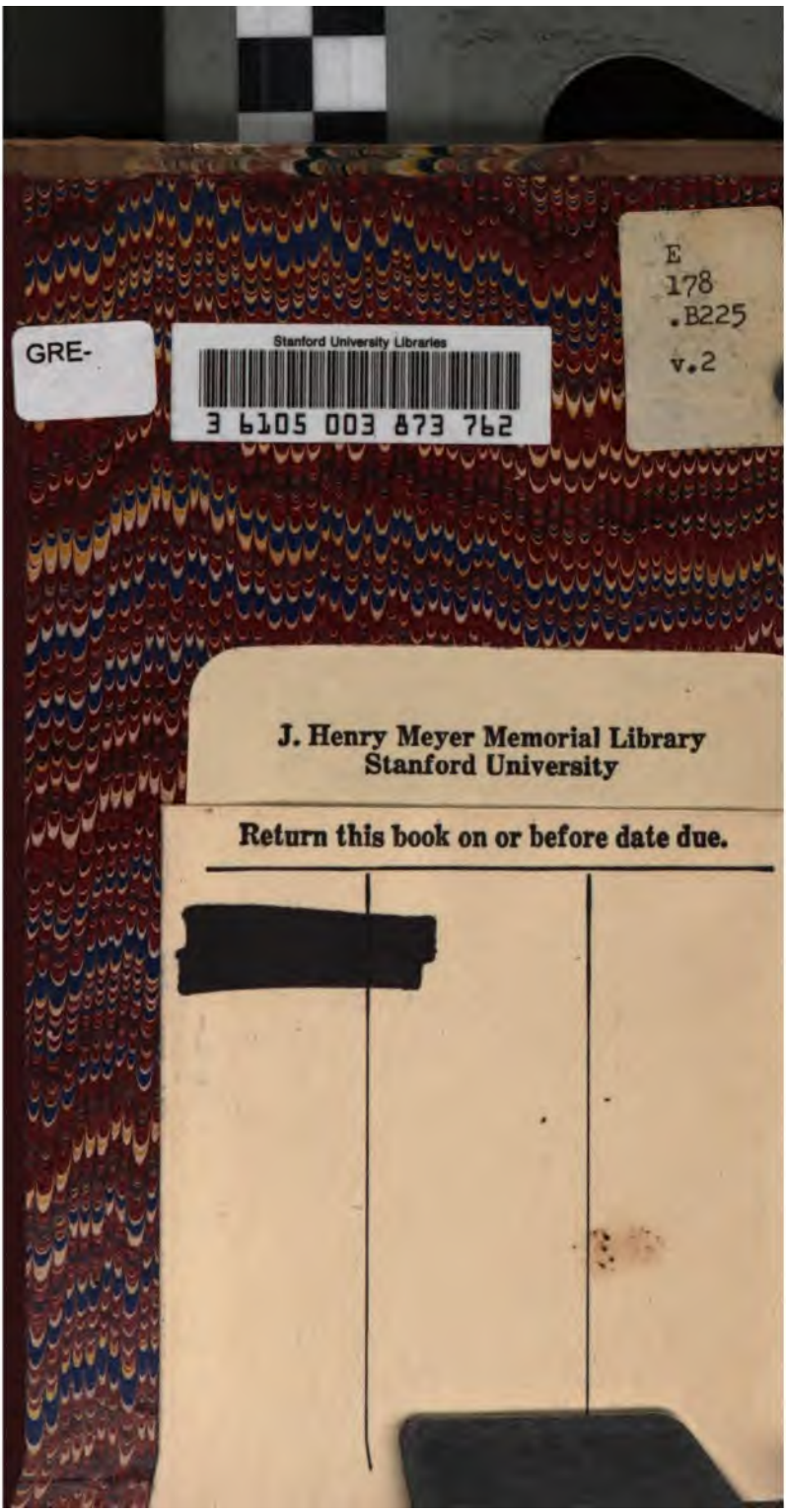
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